# DR. R. C. HAZRA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

Part I



ALL INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST
FORT, RAMNAGAR

# Dr. R. C. HAZRA COMMEMORATION VOLUME

**(Selected Articles of the Late Dr. R. C. Hazra)**

Part I (Puranic and Vedic Studies)



**ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST**

**FORT, RAMNAGAR, VARANASI**

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## FOREWORD

It is gratifying to note that the All-India Kashiraj Trust is bringing out a Commemoration Volume (in two parts) containing the articles by the late Prof. Dr. R. C. Hazra, the doyen of Purāṇic Studies. The first part contains articles on the Purāṇas and the Vedas; the second part (which is in the press) contains articles on Dharmaśāstra, Sanskrit literature, Vyākaraṇa etc.

Dr. Hazra was born in 1905 in the District Dacca (now in Bangladesh). He passed B. A. (Hons) and M. A. in Sanskrit (standing first in both the examinations) in 1929 and 1931 respectively. He earned his Ph. D. in 1936 under the guidance of Dr. S. K. De for his thesis 'Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs' and D. Litt. in 1947 for his 'Studies in the Upapurāṇas, Vol. I'.

Dr. Hazra started his career as a Lecturer in Sanskrit and Bengali in the Jagannath Intermediate College, Dacca in 1931. He served as Lecturer (1939-49) and then as Reader in Sanskrit (1949-51) in Dacca University.

After migrating from Dacca Dr. Hazra joined the Department of Post-graduate Studies, Sanskrit College, Calcutta as Associate Professor of Smṛti and Purāṇa (1951-54) and worked as Professor in this Department from 1954 till his retirement in 1972.

Prof. Hazra was awarded by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, the S. C. Chakravarty medal in 1973 for his contribution 'Ancient Indian language with special reference to Smṛti and Purāṇa' and the Naresh Chandra Sengupta medal in 1980 by the same Institution.

Prof. Hazra was associated with several Institutions. He worked (i) as a member of the Editorial Board of the 'Cultural Heritage of India' (Vol. II) (a publication of the Rama Krishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta); (ii) as a member of the Publication Committee in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta; (iii) as a member of the Anthology Compilation Committee, Sahitya

Academy, New Delhi and (iv) as a member of the Editorial Board, All-India Kashiraj Trust. He worked jointly with Dr. S. K. De, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Dr. A. D. Pusalker, Dr. R. C. Majumdar and others in preparing a few works of outstanding merit. In 1964 he was elected Fellow of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Dr. Hazra left for his heavenly abode on May 10, 1982.

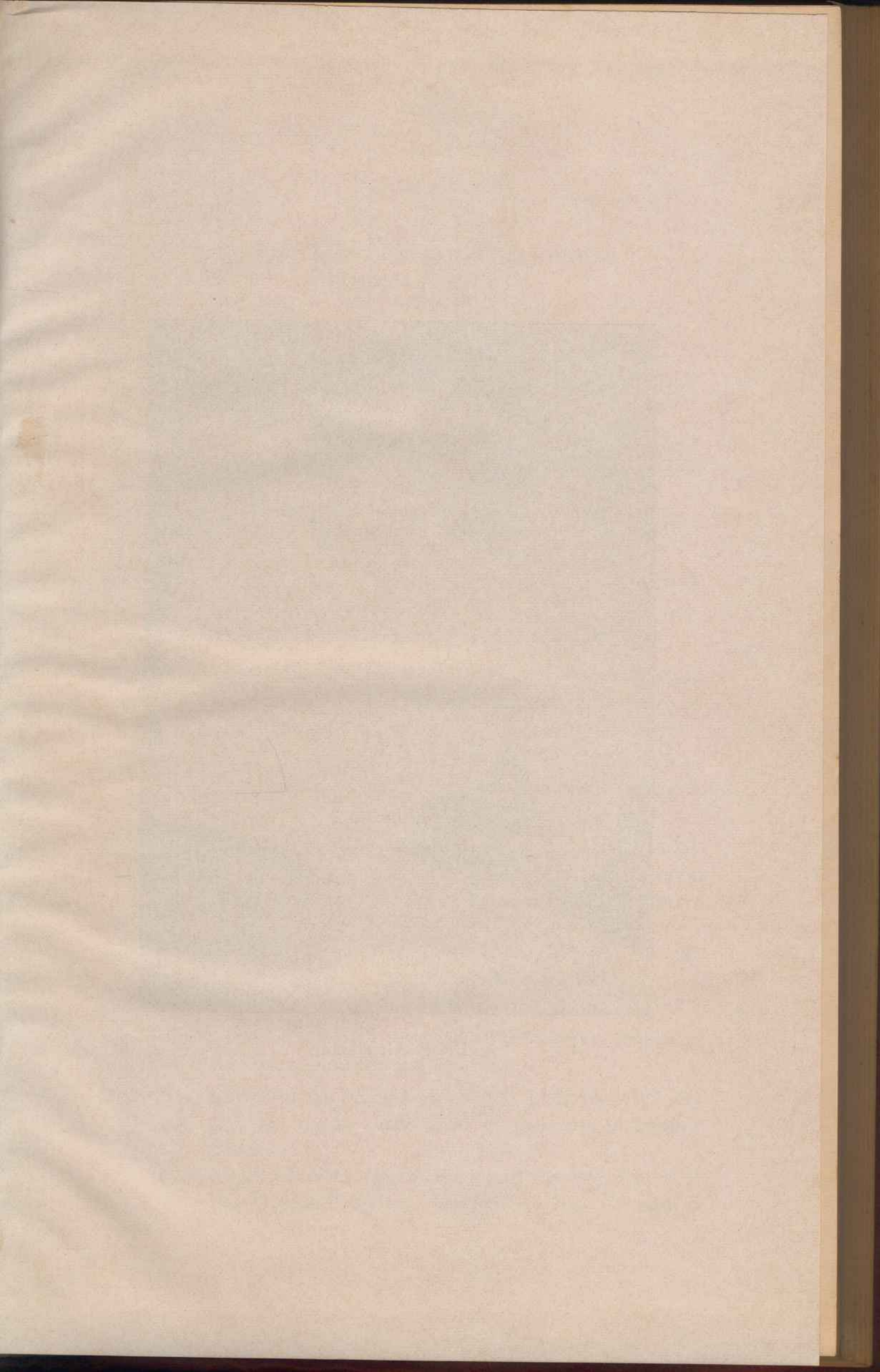
Dr. Hazra had identified himself with the Puranic Studies. Nowhere else we can find that exhaustive treatment of individual Purāṇic Works (the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas) as we find in his learned articles published in various Indological journals. These articles written in a period of more than 30 years represent thesaurus of information on historical, cultural, linguistic and other aspects of Puranic Studies. His essays dealing with the Upapurāṇas (which, according to him, are more than one hundred) are undoubtedly of special scholarly significance. One can confidently assert that Prof. Hazra rescued the entire Puranic literature from oblivion and neglect. He was really an unquestioned Guru of all modern scholars interested in Puranic Studies.

Thus it is quite in the fitness of things that the All-India Kashiraj Trust should have thought of bringing out a Commemoration Volume in honour of Prof. Hazra, the torch-bearer of Purāṇic Studies in this century, in recognition of his pioneering contributions to this field.

We are thankful to Mrs. Jayanti Biswas, daughter of Prof. Hazra, who, with a view to perpetuating the memory of her father, authorised the Trust to publish the articles of Dr. Hazra in a book form. She not only supplied us with the reprints of the articles but also took the trouble of preparing 'the personal history of Dr. Hazra'.

Heartiest congratulations to Kāśinareśa, Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh Ju Deva but for whose dedicated efforts and deep interest, Puranic Studies would have perhaps lost their scholarly grounds in India long ago.

**Dr. R. K. Sharma**
Vice-Chancellor
Sampurnanand Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya





Dr. R. C. Hazra

## PERSONAL HISTORY OF DR. RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

Year of Birth —1905 A. D.

Date & Year of Demise —10th May, 1982

Place of Birth —Vill. Dogachi (P. S. Srinagar, Dist. Dacca; now in Bangladesh.)

Name of Father —Late Kamini Kumar Hazra, who died when *R.* C. Hazra was only about two years old.

1916-1923—Sripur M. C. H. E. School, Distt. Jessore (In maternal uncle's house).

1923-1924—Kazirpagla A. T. Institution, Dist. Dacca. Passed Matriculation examination in 1924 in First Division with Distinction in Sanskrit and Mathematics.

1924-1926—Jagannath Intermediate College, Dacca. Passed Intermediate exam. (Science with Botany) in 1926 in First Division.

1926-1929—Dacca University. Passed B. A. (Hons.) in Sanskrit in 1929 standing First in First Class and was awarded Govt. Scholarship of Rs. 40/- per month.

1929-1930—Dacca University. Passed M. A. in Sanskrit in 1931 standing First in First Class and was awarded a University prize worth Rs. 100/-.

1932-1936— ,, ,, Obtained Ph. D. degree (of the higher standard) in 1936.

1947— ,, ,, Obtained D. Litt. degree in 1947.

1931—Joined Jagannath Intermediate College, Dacca as Lecturer in Sanskrit and Bengali.

1939-1951—Served in the Dacca University as Lecturer (1939-49) and as Reader and Head of the Deptt. of Sanskrit (1949-51).

1951—Migrated from Dacca and joined the Department of Post-Graduate Studies, Sanskrit College, Calcutta as

Associate Professor of Smriti & Purana (1951-54) and then held the post of Professor, Smriti & Purana at the same Institution from 1954 till his retirement from service in 1972.

1964—Elected a Fellow of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

1973—Awarded S. C. Chakravorty Medal for outstanding contribution in Ancient Indian Language with special reference to Smriti and Purana by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

1980—Awarded Naresh Ch. Sengupta Medal by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Dr. Hazra worked ( i ) for several years as Secretary, Oriental Text Publication Committee, Dacca University;

( ii) Worked for many years as a member of the Governing Body of the Ramakrishna Mission Sevasram, Dacca;

(iii) Worked as a member of the Editorial Board of the Cultural Heritage of India (a publication of the Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta);

(iv) Served the Asiatic Society, Calcutta as a member of the Publication Committee;

( v) Worked as a member of the Anthology Compilation Committee, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi;

(vi) Acted as a member of the Editorial Board of the Bulletin "Purana".

WORKS BY DR. HAZRA

**Independent Works**

1. Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs. Published by the Dacca University in 1940. (Reprinted; Delhi).
2. Studies in the Upapurāṇas, Vol. I. (Saura and Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas) Published in the Sanskrit College Research Series, 1958.
3. Studies in the Upapurāṇas Vol. II. (Śākta and Non-Sectarian Upapurāṇas) Published in the Sanskrit College Research Series, 1963.

4. Śava-sūtakāśauca-prakaraṇa of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.—(Edited). Published in the Sanskrit College Research Series, 1959.

5. Kṛtya-Tattvārṇava (Part I)—(Edited). Published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1975.

**Joint Works**

6. Sāhitya-ratna-kośa, Part II. Purāṇetihāsa-saṁgraha—An Anthology of the Epics and Purāṇas. Edited by S. K. Dey & R. C. Hazra. (Sahitya Akademi—1959)

7. The Cultural Heritage of India—Vol. II. Edited jointly with S. K. Dey, Dr. U. N. Ghosal, Dr. A. D. Pusalker, for the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture and published in 1962.

8. Chapter XV (on Society) of the History of Bengal, Vol. I, This Chapter was written jointly with Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. D. C. Ganguly. Published by the Dacca University, 1943.

**Articles**

More than 100 articles published in different Research Journals.

## ABBREVIATIONS

( Journals marked with asterisk)

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|---|---|
| A. B. O. R. I. | Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. |
| I. H. Q. | Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta. |
| J. A. I. H. | Journal of Ancient Indian History, Calcutta. |
| J. G. J, R. I. Or J. G. N. Jha. R. I. | Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad. |
| J. O. I. | Journal of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda. |
| J. O. R. | Journal of the Oriental Research, Madras. |
| V. I. Journal | Viśveśvarānanda Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur. |

CONTENTS

# Section I
# PURANIC STUDIES

## AN ASPECT OF EPIC AND PURĀṆIC MYTHOLOGY*

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas present a very large mass of Indian myths which, in their vast extent and endless variety, have surpassed all limits of easy comprehension. The numerous mythical figures, created early or late with the intention of establishing some faith or practice or popularising some idea or belief, have often been connected mutually by events in such a way or made to play their parts in such a great variety of incidents that it is now impossible in many cases to trace their beginning and discover their original nature or to follow and interpret their activities correctly. There are, however, some mythical persons, divine or otherwise, who are still to be recognised as personifications either of some natural objects or phenomena, or of certain principles or forces of nature, or of some human faculties or purely abstract notions. As a matter of fact, the extant epics and Purāṇas record numerous myths, contained very often in the sections on creation and re-creation and not much less frequently in the other parts, in which we find personifications not only of the natural elements, planets, stars, mountains, rivers, trees, plants, epithets or attributes of deities, and so on, but also of such principles or forces of Nature and abstract ideas or feelings, faculties or activities of the human mind as Niyati (Fate), Kāla (Time), Mṛtyu (Death), Māyā (Illusion, or Fraud), Āśā (Hope), Kṣamā (Tolerance, or Forbearance). ñāna (Knowledge), Dharma (Righteousness), Śama (Quietism), Dama (Self-restraint), Dhṛti (Fortitude), Nīti (Morality), Śraddhā (Faith), Maitrī (Good Will), Dayā (Mercy), Śānti (Peace), Tuṣṭi (Contentment), Puṣṭi (Prosperity), Medhā (Intellect), Hrī (Modesty), Titikṣā (Patience), Smṛti (Memory), Ṛta (Truth), Prasāda (Complacence), Abhaya (Fearlessness, or Security), Sukha (Happiness), Kṣema (Well-being), Kāma (Desire), Krodha (Anger, or Rage), Lobha (Greed), Hiṁsā (Mischief ), Dambha (Ostentation, or Hypocrisy), Darpa (Pride), Smaya (Self-conceit), Moha (Delusion), Adharma (Unrighteous-

* *Our Heritage*, Vol. vi, pp. 105-118.

ness), Anṛta (Untruth), Duḥkha (Misery), Naraka (Hell), Nirṛti (Evil, or Destruction), Nikṛti (Deceit, or Insult), etc. The personification in the cases of these abstract mythical figures is so complete in the epics and the Purāṇas that their genealogies have been conceived of and actually worked out and given in a number of cases. Thus, in the course of its treatment of re-creation by Brahmā the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* (i. 9. 17-67) presents us with the following account (which is to be found also in the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Kūrma*, *Padma* and several other Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas[1] with some changes here and there).

Being intent upon creation Brahmā had from his own self twelve mind-born (*mānasa*) sons including Dharma, Ruci and Dakṣa, of whom Dharma was created from his intellect (*buddhi*), Ruci from his mind (*manas*), and Dakṣa from his vital air Prāṇa. As the creation made by these sons of Brahmā did not multiply, he came under the sway of the quality of darkness and the sentiment of grief[2] and gave birth to Adharma and Hiṁsā who are described respectively as going against the flow of creation and being inauspicious[3]. He then divided his body into two parts, by one of which he became a male (*puruṣa*) known as Svāyambhuva Manu and by the other he became a female named Śatarūpā, who is described as Brahmā's Prakṛti sustaining the entire creation and pervading the earth and heaven by her greatness and said to be

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1. *See Vāyu-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona) 10, 1-43; *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press edition, Calcutta) i. 7. 14-32; *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press edition, Calcutta) 50. 13-37; *Kūrma-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press edition, Calcutta) i. 8. 1-29; *Padma-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona), v (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa), 3. 168-187; *Liṅga-purāṇa* (Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition, Calcutta) i. 5. 10-27, 34-37; and so on.

2. *tamo-mātrāvṛtaḥ so 'bhūc choka-pratihataś ca vai—Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*. i.9. 29. The *Vāyu-p.* (10.2) reads this line as '*tamo-mātrāvṛto brahmā tadā-prabhṛti duḥkhitaḥ*', and the *Kūrma-p.* (i. 8.2) has it as '*tamo-mātrāvṛto brahmā tadāśocata duḥkhitaḥ*'.

3. *pratisrotātmako 'dharmo hiṁsā caivāśubhātmikā—Brahmāṇḍa-p.* i. 9. 31. For this line the *Vāyu-p.* (10.5) has '*adharmāc caraṇāj jajñe hiṁsā śokād ajāyata*', and the *Kūrmā-p.* (i. 8. 5) has '*adharmācaraṇo viprā hiṁsā cāśubha-lakṣaṇā*'.

his former body as he existed by covering the sky[4]. Śatarūpā practised severe austerities for a million years and had Svāyaṁbhuva Manu as her husband (*bhartṛ*). From 'the first union of this couple, which took place at the beginning of the Kalpa', were born two sons named Priyavrata and Uttānapāda and two daughters Ākūti[5] and Prasūti, who were given by their father respectively to Prajāpati Ruci and Dakṣa, the mind-born sons of Brahmā. Ruci procreated on Ākūti a couple (*mithuna*) named Yajña sacrifice and Dākṣiṇā (Sacrificial Free), who had twelve sons known as Yāmas. Dakṣa had on Prasūti as many as twenty-four daughters, who became the mothers of the worlds and the universe and also the mistresses and mothers of *yoga*[6]. Of these, thirteen, named Śraddhā, Lakṣmī, Dhṛti, Tuṣṭi[7], Puṣṭi, Medhā, Kriyā, Buddhi, Lajjā, Vasu[8], Śānti, Siddhi and Kīrtti, were given by Dakṣa to Dharma, and the remaining eleven, named Satī[9], Khyāti, Saṁbhūti, Smṛti, Prīti, Kṣamā, Saṁnati[10], Anasūyā[11], Ūrjā, Svāhā and Svadhā, who were younger

4. प्रकृतिर्भूतधात्री सा कामाद् वै सृजतः प्रभोः ।।
सा दिवं पृथिवीं चैव महिम्ना व्याप्य सुस्थिता ।
ब्रह्मणः सा तनुः पूर्वा दिवमावृत्य तिष्ठतः ।। (ब्रह्माण्ड० १।९।३३-३४)
The *Vāyu-p.* (10. 8-9) read these as follows :
प्राकृतां भूतधात्रीं तां कामान् वै सृष्टवान् विभुः ।।
सा दिवं पृथिवीं चैव महिम्ना व्याप्य धिष्ठिता ।
ब्रह्मणः सा तनुः पूर्वा दिवमावृत्य तिष्ठति ।।
See also *Kūrma-p.* 1. 8. 7.

5. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* (50. 16 ) names Ākūti as Ṛddhi

6. योगपत्न्यश्च ताः सर्वाः सर्वास्ता योगमातरः ।
सर्वास्ता ब्रह्मवादिन्यः सर्वा विश्वस्य मातरः ।।
*Brahmāṇḍa-p.* i. 9. 48-49; *Vāyu-p.* 10. 24 (v. l. सर्वाश्च ब्रह्म-)

7. The *Liṅga.p.* (i. 5. 20) names Tuṣṭi immediately after Puṣṭi.

8. The *Vāyu* (10.25), *Viṣṇu* (i. 7. 21), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (50. 21), *Kūrma* (i. 8. 16), *Padma* (v. 3. 175), *Liṅga* (i. 5. 21), and several other Purāṇas name 'Vasu' as 'Vapuṣ').

9. The *Liṅga-p.* (i. 5. 21) and the Ānandāśrama Press (Poona) edition of the *Padma-p.* (v. 3. 177) wrongly read 'Śānti' for 'Satī'. The latter work reads 'Satī' in the footnote.

10. In *Viṣṇu-p.* i. 7. 23 Saṁnati is named as Saṁniti.

11. In some Purāṇas such as the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (50, 23), *Padma* (v. 3. 177), *Liṅga* (i. 5. 22), etc. Anasūyā has been named as 'Anusūyā'.

in age, were offered by him respectively to Rudra (also called Bhava), Bhṛgu, Marīci, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Atri[12] Vasiṣṭha, Agni (also called Vahni) and Pitṛs (pitaraḥ). Dharma's descendants from the thirteen daughters of Dakṣa were as follows : Śraddhā gave birth to Kāma, Lakṣmī[13] to Darpa, Dhṛti to Niyama, Tuṣṭi to Saṁtoṣa, Puṣṭi to Lābha[14], Medhā to Śruta[15], Kriyā[16] to Dama and Śama, Buddhi to Bodha and Apramāda[17], Lajjā to Vinaya, Vasu[18] to Vyavasāya, Śānti to Kṣema, Siddhi to Sukha, and Kīrtti to Yaśas; and Kāma procreated on Siddhi[19] (?) a son named Harṣa.[20] This creation by Dharma, which proceeded from

12. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* (50. 24) names Atri immediately after Vasiṣṭha.

13. Also named as Calā in *Viṣṇu-p.* i. 7. 23 and as Śrī in *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 50. 25.

14. The *Viṣṇu* (i. 7. 26), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (50.26), *Padma* (v. 3. 180), *Liṅga* (i. 5. 35), and several other Purāṇas name Puṣṭi's son as 'Lobha'.

15. For 'Śruta' the *Kūrma-p.* (i. 8. 21) names 'Śama' and the *Padma-p* (v. 3. 181) has 'Śrī'.

16. The sons of Kriyā are named in the *Vāyu-p.* (10.35) as Naya, Daṇḍa and Samaya, in the *Viṣṇu* (i. 7. 27), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (50. 26) and *Padma* (v. 3. 181) as Naya, Daṇḍa and Vinaya, in the *Kūrma* (i. 8. 22) as Daṇḍa and Naya, in the *Liṅga* (i. 5. 35) as Daṇḍa and Samaya, and so on.

17. The *Viṣṇu* (i. 7. 27), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (50. 27) and *Padma-p.* (v. 3. 181) omit this name.

18. It has already been said that in the *Viṣṇu* and several other Purāṇas the name is given as 'Vapuḥ'. See footnote 8 above.

19. The name 'Siddhi' has been replaced by 'Rati' in the *Vāyu-p.* (10. 38), by 'Nandā' in the *Viṣṇu-p.* (i. 7. 29), and by 'Nandī' in the *Padma-p.* (v. 3. 183).

20. *kāmasya tu suto harṣo devyāṁ siddhyāṁ vyajāyata—Brahmāṇḍa-p.* i. 9. 62.

*kāmasya harṣaḥ putro vai devyāṁ ratyāṁ vyajāyata—Vāyu-p.* 10. 38.

For these lines the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (50. 28) and the *Kūrma-p.* (i. 8. 24) read "*kāmād atimudaṁ harṣaṁ dharma-pautram asūyata*" and "*kāmasya harṣaḥ putro 'bhūd devānando py ajāyata*" respectively.

Brahmā's quality of goodness (*sāttvika*), is said to have resulted in happiness.[21]

Next follows the description of Brahmā's Tāmasa Sarga or the creation which proceeded from his quality of darkness and restricted the spread of Dharma (*dharma-niyāmakaḥ*)[22]. It has already been said that Adharma was born from Brahmā's quality of darkness (*tamas*) and Hiṁsā from his grief (*śoka*). This Adharma procreated on Hiṁsā a son and a daughter named respectively as Anṛta and Nikṛti[23], from whose union were born two sons named Bhaya and (Raurava) Naraka and two daughters named Māyā and Vedanā. From Bhaya Māyā had a son named Mṛtyu, 'who carries of all beings[24], from Raurava (Naraka) Vedanā had a son named Duḥkha; and from Mṛtyu were born Vyādhi, Jarā, Śoka, Krodha and Asūyā[25]. All these descendants of Mṛtyu are said to 'bring misery in their train' and 'bear the characteristics of Adharma or Unrighteousness'; none of them has a wife or a son, and all are known as 'imperishable[26].

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21. *ityeṣa vai sukhodarkaḥ sargo dharmasya sāttvikaḥ*—*Brahmāṇḍa-p.* i. 9. 63, *Vāyu-p.* 10. 38, and *Kūrma-p.* i. 8. 25 (v. i. '*kīrtitaḥ*' for '*sāttvikaḥ*' in the *Vāyu* and the *Kūrma-p.*).

22. *ity eṣa tāmasaḥ sargo jajñe dharma-niyāmakaḥ*—*Brahmāṇḍa-p.* i. 9. 67, *Vāyu-p.* 10. 43, and *Kūrma-p.* i. 8. 29.

23. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* (50.29) names Adharma's daughter as 'Nirṛti' (and not as 'Nikṛti').

24. *bhayāj jajñe 'tha vai māyā mṛtyuṁ bhūtāpahāriṇam*—*Brahmāṇḍa-p.* i. 9. 65, *Vāyu-p.* 10.40 (v. i. '*sa*' for '*vai*'), and *Kūrma-p.* i. 8. 27. See also *Viṣṇu-p.* i. 7. 30, *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 50. 30, and *Padma-p.* v. 3. 185 (v. 1. '*tayoḥ*' for '*bhayāt*' in all these three Purāṇas, but '*tathā*' for '*atha vai*' only in the third).

25. The *Viṣṇu* (i. 7. 31), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (50. 31), *Kūrma* (i. 8. 28) *Padma* (v. 3. 186), etc. name 'Tṛṣṇā' in place of 'Asūyā'.

26. दुःखोत्तराः स्मृता ह्येते सर्वे चाधर्मलक्षणाः ।
नैषां भार्यास्ति पुत्रो वा सर्वे ह्यनिधनाः स्मृताः ॥

*Brahmāṇḍa-p.* i. 9. 66-67, *Vāyu-p.* 10.42, *Kūrma-p.* i. 8. 28-29, *Viṣṇu-p.* i. 7. 32, *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 50. 32, *Padma-p.* v. 3. 186-187, and so on.

In this verse the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* wrongly reads '*teṣāṁ*' for '*naiṣāṁ*' (in line 2); the *Vāyu-p.* reads '*duḥkhāntarāḥ*' for '*duḥkhottarāḥ*' (in line I); the *Kūrma-p.* has '*te hy ūrdhva-retasaḥ*' for '*hy anidhanāḥ smṛtāḥ*' (in line 2); the *Viṣṇu* and

The *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* (50. 33ff.) further states there was another Nirṛti, named Alakṣmī, who became the wife of Mṛtyu[27]. She gave birth to fourteen sons, who 'carry out the orders of their father' and 'get hold of persons at the time of their meeting their doom'. They take their residence in the ten organs of sense and the mind of a male or a female and cause him or her to be attached to their respective object of sense (*viṣaya*). They attack the organs of sense of people and create in them passion, and other vices to such an extent that their resulting impiousness etc. bring about their ruin[28].

According to the *Bhāgavata-p.* (iv. 1. 1-7) Svāyaṁbhuva Manu begot of Śatarūpā three daughters Akūti, Devahūti and Prasūti, and two sons named Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, of whom Ākūti was given by her parents to Prajāpati Ruci by following the *'putrikā-dharma'* (which makes the son of a daughter thus given away a son to his mother's father). Prajāpati Ruci, in his turn, procreated on Ākūti a couple (*mithuna*) consisting of a male named Yajña 'who was Viṣṇu himself appearing in that form'[29] and a female named Dakṣiṇā 'who was an inseparable part of Śrī (Fortune)'[30]; and this couple became the parents of twelve sons named Toṣa, Pratoṣa, Saṁtoṣa, Bhadra, Śānti, Iḍaspati, Idhma, Kavi, Vibhu, Svahna, Sudeva and Rocana and known as Tuṣita gods in the Svāyaṁbhuva Manvantara.

The *Bhāgavata-p.* (iv. 1.46-51) further states that Prasūti, one of the daughers of Svāyaṁbhuva Manu, was offered by her

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the *Padma-p.* have *'te sarve hy ūrdhva-retasah'* for *'sarve hy anidhanāḥ smṛtāḥ'*; and the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* has *'duḥkhodbhavāḥ'* for *'duḥkhottarāḥ'*, *'vā'* for *'ca'* and *'te hy ūrdhva-retasaḥ'* for *'hy anidhanāḥ smṛtāḥ'*.

27. निर्ऋतिश्च तथा चान्या मृत्योर्भार्याभवन्मुने ।
अलक्ष्मीर्नाम.................................... ॥ (मार्कण्डेय० ५०।३३)

28. इन्द्रियेषु दशस्वेते तथा मनसि च स्थिताः ।
स्वे स्वे नरं स्त्रियं वापि विषये योजयन्ति हि ॥
अथेन्द्रियाणि चाक्रम्य रागक्रोधादिभिर्नरान् ।
योजयन्ति यथा हानिं यान्त्यधर्मादिभिर्द्विज ॥
(मार्कण्डेय० ५०।३५-३६)

29-30. यस्तयोः पुरुषः साक्षाद् विष्णुर्यज्ञस्वरूपधृक् ।
या स्त्री सा दक्षिणा भूतेरशंभूतानपायिनी ॥ (भागवत० ४।१।४)

father to Dakṣa, who begot on her sixteen daughters 'with stainless eyes' (*amala-locanāḥ*). Of these, thirteen, named Śraddhā, Maitrī, Dayā, Śānti, Tuṣṭi, Puṣṭi, Kriyā, Unnati, Buddhi, Medhā, Titikṣā, Hrī and Mūrti, were given by their father to Dharma, and one each of the remaining three to Agni, Pitṛs and Bhava. Dharma's descendants on these thirteen daughters of Dakṣa were as follows : Śraddhā gave birth to Ṛta (or Śubha)[31], Maitrī to Prasāda, Dayā to Abhaya, Śānti to Sukha, Tuṣṭi to Mud, Puṣṭi to Smaya, Kriyā to Yoga, Unnati to Darpa, Buddhi to Artha, Medhā to Smṛti, Titikṣā to Kṣema, Hrī to Praśraya, and Mūrti, 'the source of origin of all virtues' (*sarva-guṇotpattiḥ*), to the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa.

As regards the descendants of Adharma the *Bhāgavata-p.* (iv. 8. 2-5) says that Mṛṣā, wife of Adharma, gave birth to Dambha and Māyā, a couple accepted (as his own son and daughter-in-law) by Nirṛti who had no issue (and who, according to the commentators, was a demon regent of the north-western direction). From the union of Dambha and Māyā were born Lobha and Nikṛti, who, in their turn, became the parents of Krodha and Hiṁsā. From these two were born Kali and his sister Durukti. Kali procreated on Durukti a son and a daughter named Mṛtyu and Bhī respectively, from whose union were born Yātanā and Niyama.

Similar, or to some extent varying, accounts of the descedants of Ākūti and Prasūti (daughters of Svāyaṁbhuva Manu) are to be found in the different parts of the epics and the Purāṇas, and there are also stories recording the births and activities of persons who owe their origin to personification of seasons, human faculties or notions, or some object or power of Nature. As instances, we may refer to *Mahābhārata* ii (Sabhā-parvan), chapters 7, 9 and 11 which contain Nārada's description of the assemblies of Śakra (Indra), Varuṇa and Brahmā respectively. It is said that Śakra's assembly was attended not only by certain gods, sages and others but also by Śraddhā, Medhā, Sarasvatī, Artha, Dharma and Kāma, who remained there in human forms, that in Varuṇa's assembly there

31. Some texts of the *Bhāgavata-p.* name Śraddhā's son as 'Śubha'. See, for instance, Burnouf's edition (iv. 1. 50— *śraddhāsūta śubhaṁ maitrī prasādam abhayaṁ dayā*), and also the commentaries of Vīrarāghavācārya and Rādhāramaṇa dāsa-gosvāmin.

were the Rivers, Lakes, Pools etc. all appearing in person[32] and that Brahmā's assembly had in it various attendants of the god including Artha, Dharma, Kāma, Harṣa, Dveṣa, Tapas, Dama, Medhā, Dhṛti, Śruti, Prajñā, Buddhi, Yaśas, Kṣamā, Vedas, Śāstras, Itihāsa, Upavedas, Vedāṅgas, Nāṭakas, Kāvyas, Kathās, Ākhyāyikās, Songs, various Gāthās, Planets, Sacrifices, Sāvitrī, and so on, all of whom were there by assuming bodies (*dehavanti*). In *Mahābhārata* xiii (Anuśāsana-parvan). I which deals with the story of the death of the son of the old but tranquil lady Gautamī as a result of snake bite and contains Gautamī's conversation with a hunter and the snake, we find that Mṛtyu and Kāla appear in person and join the conversation on the cause and agent of death. The *Viṣṇu-p.* (iii. 17-18) narrates the story of Viṣṇu's creation from his own body of Māyāmoha or Illusion incarnate, who deluded the demons by preaching the doctrines of ahiṁsā (non-killing) and brought about their ruin. In the story of king Hariścandra, as given in *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.*, chap. 8, we are told that Dharma purchased Hariścandra to slavery by assuming the form of a Caṇḍāla[33] and then appeared in person before the king when the latter recognised his wife Śaivyā in the cemetery and was going to burn himself, together with his wife, in the funeral pyre prepared for his dead son[34]. According to the *Kālikā-p.* (chaps. 1-3), Saṁdhyā (Evening Prayer) and Kāma, both of exquisite beauty, were born from Brahmā's mind, and the latter was cursed by Brahmā for trying to attract his mind towards Saṁdhyā. The *Saura-p.* (chaps. 38-40) tells us how, after Śiva's burning of Madana to ashes, the latter's enraged wife Rati called together husband's friends Vasanta and others and urged them to decry Śiva in order that this god might not be worshipped by the people, how Vasanta and others practised severe austerities and met Brahmā, who granted a boon that they would be able to decry Śiva in future, how Kali encouraged Vasanta saying that with his advent Vasanta (also called Madhu) would be born as a Brahmin bastard named Madhuśarman, read all the Śāstras with a Vedāntist teacher named Padmapāduka, be cursed by that teacher to be

32. *dehavanti* (*Mahābhārata* ii. 9. 25); *vigrahavantaḥ* (*Mahābhārata* ii. 9. 29).

33, *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 8. 80-82.

34. *Ibid.*, 8. 228-235.

versed only in *'pūrva-pakṣa'* (*prima facie* argument), write a commentary on the *'Bādarāyaṇasūtras'*, and pollute Karṇāta, Tilaṅga etc. by his preachings, and how Vasanta and his associates communicated to Rati the news of their future activities. In the *Matsya-p.* (chap. 154), *Vāmana-p.* (chaps. 6-7), *Devī-bhāgavata* (iv, chaps 5-7 and 17), etc. Indra is said to have sent Kāma and Vasanta to disturb the minds of Śiva and the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa. It is needless to multiply examples.

From the occasional statements made in the epics and the Purāṇas with regard to the mythical figures such as Dharma and Adharma and their wives and descendants, and also Niyati, Kāla, Mṛtyu, Yajña, Dakṣiṇā, and others, it is evident that they are not mythical or historical persons allegorised later on for their significant names, but they owe their origin definitely to the personification of some natural objects or phenomena, or of certain principles or forces of Nature, or of some states or conditions or purely abstract notions. That the orthodox tradition about the original nature of these mythical figures was completely in agreement with this view is shown by the remarks made by the commentators on some of these works. For instance, in commenting on *Bhāgavata-p.* iv. 1. 1-7, 46-51 and iv. 8. 2-5 (on the names of the wives and descendants of Prajāpati Ruci and Dharma and Adharma) Śrīdhara-svāmin and others take 'Śraddhā', 'Maitrī', 'Dayā', 'Dambha', 'Māyā', 'Nikṛti', etc. not as mere names of certain mythical persons but as words expressive of the personifications of particular virtues or vices as known from their literal meanings. Thus, in explaining 'Dambha', Māyā', etc. occurring in *Bhāgavata-p.* iv. 8. 2-4 as names of Adharma's descendants, Śrīdhara-svāmin says :

"दम्भः परप्रतारणम्, माया तदुचिता चेष्टा, तयोः सोदरयोरपि दाम्पत्यम् अधर्मांशतया । .... निकृतिः शठता .... यातना तीव्रवेदना .... ।"

And his interpretation is followed by Vīrarāghavācārya, Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Śukadeva and others, of whom the first takes *'krodha'* to mean *'amarṣa'* (rage), and *'bhī'* to mean *'bhīti'* (fear)[35], and the third explains 'dambha', 'māyā' etc. as follows:

35 *krodho 'marṣaḥ .... .... | .... .... bhayaṁ bhītim .... |* See Vīrarāghavācārya's commentary *Bhāgavata-candra-candrikā* on *Bhāgavata p.* iv. 8. 3-4.

"…. दम्भं परप्रतारणार्थं स्वोत्कर्षख्यापनम्, मायां तदनुरूपां वञ्चनम्….। लोभोऽन्यायेनान्यार्थग्रहणसंकल्पः ….।"[36]

Similarly, in bringing out the significance of the names 'Śraddhā', 'Maitrī', etc, for Dharma's wives and descendants as given in *Bhāgavata-p*. iv. 1. 46-51 Vīrarāghavācārya says in his comment on *Bhāgavata-p*. iv. 1. 50 :

"….आसां श्रद्धादिनामत्वं तदपत्यानां शुभादिनामत्वं[37] च श्रद्धादिधर्म-युक्तत्वेन श्रद्धादिकार्यशुभादिधर्म-युक्तत्वेन च बोध्यम्, नाम्नामन्वर्थत्वात्। यद् वा, श्रद्धाशुभाद्यभिमानि-देवतात्वाद् वा तेषां तेषां च तन्नामत्वम्।"

Thus, according to Vīrarāghavācārya the names of Śraddhā and others were due to their respective virtues such as 'faith' (*śraddhā*), etc., and 'Śubha' and the other names, given to their descendants, were likewise determined by the association of these descendants with 'welfare' (*śubha*) etc. which are the results of 'faith' and the other virtues forming the bases of the names 'Śraddā etc.' Vīrarāghavācārya suggests another explanation, according to which Śraddhā, Śubha and others are the presiding deities of 'faith', 'welfare', etc.; and this interpretation agrees with that given by Viśvanātha Cakravartin, who says :

"श्रद्धाद्याः स्वस्वनामनिरुक्त्या सात्त्विकशक्तीनाम् अधिष्ठात्र्यः, तदंशाश्च तदनुरूपाः।"

Similarly, Rādhā-ramaṇa-dāsa-gosvāmin explains *Bhāgavata-p* iv. 1. 50-52, saying :

"श्रद्धा शास्त्रार्थविषयशक्त्यधिष्ठात्री देवी, शुभं सत्सङ्गाद्यधिष्ठातारम्, मैत्री हिताचरणशक्त्यधिष्ठात्री, दया निर्हेतुकपरदुःखप्रहाणेच्छा-शक्त्यधिष्ठात्री। शान्तिरन्तःकरणनिरोध-शक्त्यधिष्ठात्री। तुष्टिः सन्तोषशक्त्यधिष्ठात्री, …. …. स्मयोऽत्र धर्मोत्साहः, एवं दर्पोऽपि, तपो योगादिसामर्थ्यख्यापनम्। मेधा धारणा-वती धीः ….।"

For another instance of the attitude of orthodox scholars towards the mythical persons mentioned above we may refer to the commentaries on *Bhagavad-gītā* x. 34 in which the Bhagavat says

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36. Sec Śukadeva's commentary *Siddhānta-pradīpa* on *Bhāgavata-p*. iv. 8. 2-4.

37. For the texts of the *Bhāgavata-p*. naming Śraddhā's son as 'Śubha' see footnote 31 above.

that among women He is Kīrti, Śrī, Smṛti, Medhā, Dhṛti, and Kṣamā (the seven select females through whom His power has become manifest to the highest degree). As we have already seen and as Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Sadānanda, and some other commentators of the *Bhagavad-gītā* expressly say, these seven divine females are the wives of Dharma (*dharma-patnyaḥ*); and they owe their origin to the personification of certain virtues or faculties, 'the slightest presence of which in a human being makes his life fruitful'. Thus, in his Bhāṣya on the said verse of the *Bhagavad-gītā* Śaṁkarācārya says :

"…. कीर्तिः श्रीर्वाक् च नारीणां स्मृतिर्मेधा धृतिः क्षमा इत्येता उत्तमाः स्त्रीणाम् अहमस्मि यासाम् आभासमात्रसम्बन्धेनापि लोकः कृतार्थमात्मानं मन्यते ।"

Ānandagiri explains Śaṁkara's Bhāṣya saying :

"कीर्तिधार्मिकत्वनिमित्ता ख्यातिः, श्रीर्लक्ष्मीः, कान्तिः शोभा, वाग् वाणी सर्वस्य प्रकाशिका, स्मृतिश्चिरानुभूतस्मरणशक्तिः, मेधा ग्रन्थधारणशक्तिः, धृतिर्धैर्यम्, क्षमा मानापमानयो रविकृतचित्तता …. …. ।"

Madhusūdana Sarasvatī also explains the seven names as follows :

"…. नारीणां मध्ये कीर्तिःश्रीर्वाक् स्मृतिर्मेधा धृतिः क्षमेति च सप्त धर्म-पत्न्योऽहमेव । तत्र कीर्तिर्धार्मिकत्वनिमित्ता प्रशस्तत्वेन नानादिग्देशीयलोकज्ञान-विषयतारूपा ख्यातिः, श्री धर्मार्थकामसंपत् शरीरशोभा वा कान्तिर्वा, वाक् सरस्वती सर्वस्यार्थस्य प्रकाशिका संस्कृता वाणी । चकारान् मूर्त्यादयोऽपि धर्मपत्न्यो गृह्यन्ते । स्मृतिश्चिरानुभूतार्थस्मरणशक्तिः । अनेकग्रन्थार्थधारणाशक्तिर्मेधा । धृतिरवसादेऽपि शरीरेन्द्रियसंघातोत्तम्भन-शक्तिः । उच्छृङ्खलप्रवृत्तिकारणेन चापलप्राप्तौ तन्निवर्तनशक्तिर्वा । क्षमा हर्षविषादयोरविकृतचित्तता । यासाम् आभासमात्रसंबन्धेनापि जनः सर्वलोकादरणीयो भवति तासां सर्वस्त्रीषूत्तम-त्वमिति प्रसिद्धमेव ।"

For similar explanations of the said names we may refer to several other commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gītā* such as Hanūmat's *Paiśāca-bhāṣya*, Veṅkaṭanātha's *Tātparya-candrikā*, Sadānanda's *Bhāva-prakāśa*, and so on, in all of which these names have been taken to be those of certain females who are the embodiments of virtues or faculties denoted by these names.

…………………………………

It is gratifying to note that the above personification does not proceed from childish imagination but has a sound philosophical basis. The conception of the all-comprising and all-powerful Paramātman or Bhagavat encourages one to perceive that the entire creation, subjective or objective, abstract or concrete, proceeds from Him and is as conscious as his own Self. Thus, in the *Gītā* (x. 4-7) the Bhagavat says :

"बुद्धिर्ज्ञानमसंमोहः क्षमा सत्यं दमः शमः ।
सुखं दुःखं भवोऽभावो भयं चाभयमेव च ॥
अहिंसा समता तुष्टिस्तपो ज्ञानं यशोऽयशः ।
भवन्ति भावा भूतानां मत्त एव पृथग्विधाः ॥
महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वे चत्वारो मनवस्तथा ।
मद्भावा मानसा जाता येषां लोक इमाः प्रजाः ॥
एतां विभूतिं योगं च मम यो वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ।
सोऽविकम्पेन योगेन युज्यते नात्र संशयः ॥"

"Enlightenment, knowledge, non-infatuation, tolerance, truth, control, peace, pleasure, pain, being, non-being, fear, and fearlessness too.

"Harmlessness, equanimity, content, austerity, benevolence, fame and infamy--(all these) various dispositions of beings arise from Me alone.

"The seven great sages of old, as well as the four Manus, originate from Me as My mental offspring, from whom spring these creatures in the world.

"One who knows this manifestation (of power) and Yoga of Mine in (their) very truth, is furnished with unswerving Yoga; there is no doubt about it."

And in speaking of the best manifestation of His powers He declares :

"सर्गानामादिरन्तश्च मध्यं चैवाहमर्जुन ।
अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां वादः प्रवदतामहम् ॥
..........................................................
अहमेवाक्षयः कालः ..........................................
मृत्युः सर्वहरश्चाहमुद्भवश्च भविष्यताम् ।
कीर्तिश्रीर्वाक् च नारीणां स्मृतिर्मेधा धृतिः क्षमा ॥
..........................................................

द्यूतं छलयतामस्मि तेजस्तेजस्विनामहम् ।
जयोऽस्मि व्यवसायोऽस्मि सत्त्वं सत्त्ववतामहम् ॥

.........................................................

दण्डो दमयतामस्मि नीतिरस्मि जिगीषताम् ।
मौनं चैवास्मि गुह्यानां ज्ञानं ज्ञानवतामहम् ॥
यश्चापि सर्वभूतानां बीजं तदहमर्जुन ।
न तदस्ति विना यत् स्यान्मया भूतं चराचरम् ॥[38]

"Of creations I am the beginning, the end, and the middle, (Oh) Arjuna. Of sciences I am the science of the Self, (and) of excellent debaters I am the (truth-finding) debate.

"............................It is I Who am undecaying time...................,

"I am death that carries off all, and (I am) the origin of things that are to be. Of females I am Fame, Fortune, Speech, Memory, Intellect, Firmness, Patience.

"..........................................................................

"I am gambling of cheats, I am spirit of the spirited; I am victory, perseverence, and courage of the courageous.

"I am the (chastising) rod of stern controllers; I am state-craft of those who aspire after political success; silence too am I of secrets, (and) I am knowledge of the knowing.

"And whatsoever is the seed of all beings, that am I, (Oh) Arjuna. There is no such being, moving or unmoving, as may come into existence without me."

As all faculties, virtues and vices, originating from the Bhagavat's conscious self cannot but be conscious and as some of them are sometimes found to proceed from others of their respective class, it is no wonder that in the epics and Purāṇas these have been looked upon as sentient beings and their genealogies have been fabricated and recorded like those of men and gods. But the authors of these works were careful enough in giving a note of warning that as these faculties, virtues or vices have no material

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38. *Bhagavad-gītā* x. 32-39. In translating these verses and the others quoted above I have used Franklin Edgerton's *Bhagavad Gītā* published in the Harvard Oriental Series (No. 38, 1952).

body, their mutual relation as brother and sister, husband and wife, father and son, and the like, must not be taken in the same way as that of human beings of flesh and blood. Thus, the *Matsya-purāṇa* nicely explains this matter after narrating, in chapter 3, the interesting story of Śatarūpā as follows :

Brahmā, wishing to create beings, had ten sons born from his *mind*, namely Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulaha, Kratu, Pracetas Vasiṣṭha, Bhṛgu and Nārada. He then produced from his *body* a few more sons who had no mothers (*mātṛ-hīna*). Thus, Prajāpati Dakṣa was born from his right thumb, Dharma from the place of his breasts, the flower-missiled (Cupid) from his heart, Krodha from the space between his eyebrows, Lobha from his lips, Moha from his intellect, Mada from his egoism, Pramoda from his throat, Mṛtyu from his eyes, and Bharata from the middle of his palm. Next, as he muttered the Sāvitrī for the sake of creation, his body broke up into two parts, one of which turned into a male and the other into an extremely beautiful female variouly named as Śatarūpā, Sāvitrī, Sarasvatī, and Brahmāṇī. Brahmā took this Śatarūpā to be his own daughter (*ātmajā*), because the latter was born from his own body (*sva-deha-saṁbhūtā*); but at her sight Brahmā became so much afflicted with sexual passion that he exclaimed 'Oh the beauty, Oh the beauty !'[39] Although Vasiṣṭha and others called Śatarūpā their sister, Brahmā could not desist from looking amorously at her and continued to praise her beauty by repeatedly saying 'Oh the beauty, Oh the beauty !' His conduct in the presence of his own sons ashamed him, but he felt such a strong desire for Śatarūpā's sight that at the time of her going round him for salutation he had four more faces developed for stealing glances at her. He then sent out his sons for creation, married Śatarūpā, repaired with her into his lotus-abode and enjoyed union with her like an ordinary human being for a hundred divine years.

Manu was shocked to hear from the Fish this story of a father's incest with his own daughter, and at the very beginning of the next chapter he is found to put to the divine narrator a question, saying :

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39. दृष्ट्वा तां व्यथितस्तावत् कामबाणार्दितो विभुः ।
अहो रूपमहोरूपमिति चाह प्रजापतिः ॥ (मत्स्य० ३।३३)

अहो कष्टतरं चैतदङ्गजागमनं विभो ।
कथं न दोष मगमत् कर्मणानेन पद्मभूः ॥
परस्परं च संबन्धः सगोत्राणामभूत् कथम् ।
वैवाहिकस्तत्सुतानां छिन्धि मे संशयं विभो ॥[40]

"Ah, this incest with (a female) born of (one's own) limbs is indeed very painful, Oh lord ! (But) how did the lotus-born (god) escape censure for this act, and how could the sons and daughters of the same Gotra have matrimonial relation among themselves ? Remove my doubt, Oh lord !"

In reply to this question the Fish said :

"But this first creation was divine and had its origin from the quality of Rajas. Its organs lay beyond the reach of the senses, and its body was likewise beyond the ken of the organs of sense. It consisted of divine energy and had its origin in divine knowledge. (So,) it cannot be spoken out thoroughly by mortals (who view things) with eyes of flesh. As serpents know the paths (of movement) of snakes, and the sky knows those of all the birds, so it is only the divine (beings), and not human, who know the course of the divine. Inasmuch as right and wrong actions of gods are not productive of good and evil, any discussion on these, Oh king, is not auspicious to human beings. Further, the four-faced (Brahmā) resides in the Vedas; and Gāyatrī likewise said to from a part (or, limb) of Brahman. Whether unembodied or embodied, they are said to form a couple. Wherever there is the powerful Viriñci, there is the goddess Sarasvatī; (and) wherever there is Bhāratī (the goddess of speech), there is Prajāpati (the lord of beings). Just as light is nowhere found to be dissociated from shade, similarly Gāyatrī does not leave the side of Brahmā. The multitude of Veda (knowledge) is traditionally known as Brahmā, (and) Sāvitrī resides in it; so, no blame attaches to the mighty god in case of his union with Sāvitrī."[41]

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40. *Matsya-p.* 4. 1-2.
41. दिव्येयमादिसृष्टिस्तु रजोगुणसमुद्भवा ।
अतीन्द्रियेन्द्रिया तद्वद् अतीन्द्रियशरीरिका ॥

Thus the *Matsya-purāṇa* makes it clear that the relation, in which the personified faculties, virtues or vices have been said to stand to one another in the epics and Purāṇas, is subtle and supersensual and must not be confused with the gross physical relation of human beings. As, being subtle, it lies beyond the reach of the organs of sense, it cannot be comprehended fully by the human mind and expressed adequately in human speech. It is for this reason that in the epics and Purāṇas (which are meant for popular instruction) this relation has been expressed in a popular way by the most familiar relation of human beings.

The above personification, which forms a distinguishing feature of Indian mythology, did not certainly originate with the epics and Purāṇas but had a much earlier beginning. In the comparatively late Books of the *Ṛgveda*, especially in Book x, we find a number of deities who are clear personifications of states or conditions or abstract notions. Thus, 'Manyu', literally meaning 'praise', 'energy', 'wrath', etc. and used as such in Books i-ix of the *Ṛgveda*, is deified in *Ṛgveda* x. 83-84 as a destructive force primarily appearing in the form of Indra's wrath represented by his thunder-bolt. In these two hymns Manyu is twice addressed as the thunder-

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दिव्यतेजोमयी भूप दिव्यज्ञानसमुद्भवा ।
न मर्त्यैरभितः शक्या वक्तुं वै मांसचक्षुभिः ॥
यथा भुजङ्गाः सर्पाणामाकाशं विश्वपक्षिणाम् ।
विदन्ति मार्गं दिव्यानां दिव्या एव न मानवाः ॥
कार्याकार्ये न देवानां शुभाशुभफलप्रदे ।
यस्मात्तस्मान्न राजेन्द्र तद्विचारो नृणां शुभः ॥
अन्यच्च सर्वदेवानामधिष्ठाता चतुर्मुखः ।
गायत्री ब्रह्मणस्तद्वद् अङ्गभूता निगद्यते ॥
अमूर्तं मूर्तिमद् वापि मिथुनं तत् प्रचक्षते ।
विरिञ्चिर्यत्र भगवांस्तत्र देवी सरस्वती ।
भारती यत्र यत्रैव तत्र तत्र प्रजापतिः ॥
यथा तपो न रहितश्छायया दृश्यते क्वचित् ।
गायत्री ब्रह्मणः पार्श्वं तथैव न विमुञ्चति ॥
वेदराशिः स्मृतो ब्रह्मा सावित्री तदधिष्ठिता ।
तस्मान्न कश्चिद् दोषः स्यात् सावित्रीगमने विभोः ॥
(मत्स्यु० ४।३-१०)

bolt (*vajra*) and once as 'the bearer of the thunderbolt' (*vajrin*) and is called a 'god' (*deva*) and expressly identified with Indra himself as well as with the sacrificing priest Agni and the omniscient Varuṇa. He is said to possess overpowering stength and vigour, with which he overcomes and destroys the enemies of his worshippers and gives them victory in battles like Indra. His worshippers invoke him to appear in their bodies and give them strength in battles, so that they may earn wealth by overcoming the Dāsa and the Ārya and slaying 'the Dasyus' and 'a multitude of foes'. His description as 'self-born' (*svayaṁbhūḥ*) and 'all-beholding' (*viśvacarṣaṇiḥ*) throws a flood of light on his origin and nature as a full-fledged god. 'Tapas', literally meaning 'ardour' or 'physical heat' (caused by wrath—*manyu*) appears as a deity in *Ṛgveda* x. 83. 2-3, where he is said to attend Manyu as an ally ((*yuj*) in overthrowing the enemies of the latter's worshippers. The word 'śraddhā' has been used on several occasions in the *Ṛgveda* simply as an abstract noun meaning 'faith', which makes men acquire wealth and with which a sacrificer is to kindle the sacrificial fire, offer oblations to it, and do similar other acts for the attainment of success in his enterprise; but in *Ṛgveda* x. 151 we find Śraddhā as a full-fledged deity who is invoked at dawn, midday and sunset to inspire the sacrificers with faith and grant their desires. Her personification is more advanced in the Brāhmaṇas, of which the *Taittirīya* (ii. 3. 10.1) names her as the daughter of Prajāpati, and the *Śatapatha* (xii. 7. 3. 11), as that of Sūrya. Anumati, 'grace (of gods)', is deified only twice in the *Ṛgveda* (x. 59. 6, and x. 167. 3), but her personality as a deity improves in the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda*. Among other abstract deities we may name 'Sūnṛtā', and 'Asunīti', whose personification is clearly based on the literal meanings of these words.

Although, from the mention of Aramati and Puraṁdhi in the *Ṛgveda* and their parallels Aramaiti and Parendi in the *Avesta*, it is evident that personification of abstract ideas had begun from the Indo-Iranian period, it was from the later *Ṛgvedic* age that such personification grew in importance and practice. We have already seen how the tenth Book of the *Ṛgveda* names some abstract deities who are clear personifications of states or conditions or abstract notions, but who cannot be traced in the earlier Books. The other Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas testify to a remarkable increase

in the number and importance of such deities, very few of which can be said to have their germs in the Ṛgveda. Thus, the word '*kāma*' has been used in a large number of verses of the Ṛgveda as a substantive meaning 'desire', and it is only once (in Ṛgveda x. 129. 4) that '*kāma*' has been viewed in its cosmic aspect and called 'the first seed of mind' (*manaso retaḥ prathamam*). But in *Atharva-veda* xix. 52 Kāma appears as a mighty and formidable god, who is invoked to impart power and abundant wealth to the sacrificers. He is called, as in the Ṛgveda, 'the first seed of mind' (*manaso retaḥ prathamam*) and said to have come into being in the beginning (*kāmas tad-agre samavartata*) and to be 'of one origin with *Great Desire* (*kāmena mahatā sayoniḥ*—xix. 52. 1). So, the cosmic aspect of his character as Mahākāma is too prominent to be lost sight of. There are two more hymns in the *Atharva-veda* (viz., iii. 25, and ix. 2) in which Kāma has been viewed in his limited sphere of activity and presented definitely as the god of love, who pierces a lover's heart with his 'terrible shaft' (*iṣuḥ kāmasya yā bhīmā*) 'feathered with longing, tipped with desire, and necked with resolve' (*ādhīparṇāṁ kāma-śalyām iṣuṃ saṁkalpa-kulmalām*), and thus make him have no peaceful rest in bed. He is said to have auspicious and lovely forms (*yās te śivās tanvaḥ kāma bhadrāḥ*) and to be capable of casting down and slaying the rivals (*sapatna*) of sacrificers and leading them to prosperity (ix. 2. 11). Under his influence a maiden steals to her lover with parching lips after leaving her parents and yields to his wish by sacrificing her own free-will. Thus, Kāma of the said two hymns of the *Atharva-veda* is much the same as that of the epics and Purāṇas, the main difference being that the *Atharva-veda* makes no mention of Rati, who must be of later origin.

So, A. B. Keith does not appear to be justified in stating that 'it is not until the later literature in the last strata of the epic that we meet with the Indian Cupid with his arrows, who is described as the disturber of the hearts of men whom he vexes with the pangs of love'.[42] The word 'kāla', meaning 'time', has been used only once in the *Ṛgveda* (x. 42. 9); and its occurrence in the tenth Book points to its comparatively late origin or use by the Aryans. But in *Atharva-veda* xix. 53-54 Kāla (Time) has been personified as

42. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*. p. 210.

the highest cosmogonic force and called the god supreme (*paramo devaḥ*) who is the source of origin or all other gods (including Prajāpati), all creatures, and all things and objects of nature, and who is said to have made the heaven and the worlds of life and to be identical with 'Brahma'. The word 'śrī', meaning 'beauty' or 'prosperity' has been used on many occasions in the *Ṛgveda*, but it is in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (xi. 4. 3. 1) that Śrī appears as a deity of shining beauty, who is said to have originated from Prajāpati practising austerities. These and other instances of personification of abstract ideas, as found in the Vedic literature, were clearly due to the height of philosophical speculation reached in India in the distant past.

# THE AŚVAMEDHA, THE COMMON SOURCE OF ORIGIN OF THE PURĀṆA PAÑCA-LAKṢAṆA AND THE MAHĀBHĀRATA*

[This short paper embodies some of my central ideas developed in two extensive chapters in my forthcoming work on the origin of the present Purāṇas. For want of space here, I adduce only select materials in support of my views and do not enter into any detailed examination of them. My complete writings on this subject will appear in oriental journals in due course].

While, about four years ago, I was groping in the dark for a clue to the solution of the problem of the origin of the Purāṇa literature, my searching eyes chanced to notice some peculiarity in the following verse of the *Atharva-veda* :

ऋचः सामानि च्छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह ।
उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे सर्वे दिवि देवा दिविश्रितः ॥

(*Atharva-veda* xi. 7. 24).

"The verses (of the *Ṛg-veda*), the songs (of the *Sāma-veda*), the metres, (and) *the Purāṇa with the sacrificial text* (*of the Yajur-veda*) originated from the residue (of the Sacrifice), (as also) all the heaven-resorting gods in heaven."

In this verse I observed that in tracing their origin from the residue of the Vedic Sacrifice the Ṛk verses, etc. were mentioned separately, whereas the 'Purāṇa'[1] was associated with the 'Yajus'. This seemed to me highly significant, and I began my search, with the result that I have now been fully convinced that the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa and the *Mahābhārata* owe their origin to the Aśvamedha sacrifice, and especially to its Pāriplava Ākhyānas.

From the description of the Aśvamedha, as given in the different Vedic works, especially the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, *Āśvalāyana-*

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* *Annals* (*B.O.R.I.*), vol. XXXVI, parts III-IV, pp. 190-203.

1. In a separate paper I have discussed the significance of the word 'पुराण' as used in the *Atharva-veda*.

*śrauta-sūtra* and *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, we learn that throughout the whole year during which the sacrificial horse was allowed to roam under the protection of armed guards, the Adhvaryu offered, for the safe movements of the animal by day, three Iṣṭis daily to god Savitṛ,—one in the morning, another at mid-day, and the third in the afternoon; and in the evening (i. e. at nightfall) he performed four Dhṛti Homas for the safe sheltering of the horse at night. These Iṣṭis and Dhṛti Homas were generally begun from the day following that on which the horse was let loose, but according to the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and the *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra* these sacrifices were to be commenced from the very day on which the horse was set free. During the performance of the morning Iṣṭi, or of all the three Iṣṭis, as the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and the *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra* say, a Brāhmaṇa lute-player (*vīṇāgāthī*) sang to his lute three songs, called Gāthās, in which the sacrificer was praised with the mention of the sacrifices he performed, the donations he made to Brahmins, the various kinds of food he had prepared for them, and similar other activities with which he sought to please them.[2] In the evening also, while the Dhṛti Homas were in progress, a Rājanya (i. e. Kṣatriya) lute-player (*vīṇāgāthī*) sang to his lute three songs, called Gāthās, in which he praised the royal sacrificer with the mention of his heroic exploits, viz., the wars he waged, the battles he won, the conquests he made, and so on.[3] As to the origin of these Gāthās we are told in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and the *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra* that they were composed by the lute-players themselves.[4] It should be mentioned here that a Gāthā did not in all cases consist of a single

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2. See *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press ed.) iii. 9. 14. 3–4, *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (A. Weber's ed.) xiii. 1. 5. 6 and xiii. 4. 2. 8. 11 and 14, *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra* (A. Weber's ed.) xx. 2. 7, *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) xx. 6. 5 *Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) xv. 8, *Vārāha-śrauta-sūtra* (ed. W. Caland and Raghu Vira) iii. 4. 1. 37, and *Satyāṣāḍha-śrauta-sūtra* (Ānandāśrama Press ed.) xiv. 2. 6.
3. *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* iii. 9. 14. 4, *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* xiii. 1. 5. 6 and 4. 3. 5, *Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra* xx. 2. 8, *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* xx. 6. 1. 14, *Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* xv. 9, *Vārāha-śrauta-sūtra* iii. 4. 1. 39, *Satyāṣāḍha-śrauta-sūtra* xiv. 2. 17.
4. *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* xiii, 4, 2, 5, 3, 11 and 14 and *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra* xx. 2, 7–8.

verse. The ocasional mention of a group of verses as 'a Gāthā' in early sources and the nature of the contents of the Gāthās to be sung by the Brahmin and the Kṣatriya lute-player, indicate that these Gāthās did not in all cases consist of single verses. It is also not possible that the same Gāthās were repeated every day, for such repetition would mar the charm and interest of the function.

Daily, after the third Iṣṭi had been performed, the four officiating priests (viz., Hotṛ, Brahman, Udgātṛ and Adhvaryu), the king (with his sons and ministers), bands of lute-players (*vīṇā-gaṇaginaḥ* or *viṇāgaṇakinaḥ*), and other people took their respective seats near the Fire-altar, and the Hotṛ, being called upon by the Adhvaryu, narrated the Pāriplava Ākhyānas[5], which were so called for their revolving nature. Each cycle of these Ākhyānas consisted of ten discourses on ten different topics and recurred after every ten days in the same order as in the first. Thus, during the whole year of the horse's absence, there were thirty-six cycles in all, and thirty-six days were devoted to each of the ten topics forming a cycle. According to the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, *Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra* and *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, the topics, on which the Hotṛ spoke on this occasion, and the Vedas, from which he recited extracts or narrated stories in course of his speeches or at the ends of these, were as follows:

| Day of discourse. | Subjects spoken on | Veda (from which citations were made or stories were narrated). |
|---|---|---|
| First day— | King Manu Vaivasvata and his people, the human beings. | *Ṛg-veda.* |
| Second day— | King Yama Vaivasvata and his subjects, the *Pitṛs.* | *Yajur-veda.* |
| Third day— | King Varuṇa Āditya and his people, the *Gandharvas.* | Veda of the Atharvans (called *Atharva-veda* in the *Śākhāyana-śrauta-sūtra*). |

5. For an account of the Pāriplava see R. D. Karmarkar in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,* XXXIII 1952, pp. 26-40. See also P. E. Dumont, *L' Aśvamedha* (Paris. 1927), pp. 44-49.

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|---|---|---|
| Fourth day— | King Soma Vaiṣṇava and his subjects, the Apsarases. | Veda of the Aṅgirases (called *Āṅgiras Veda* in the two Śrauta-sūtras). |
| Fifth day— | King Arbuda Kādraveya and his subjects, the Snakes. | Veda, viz., Serpent-lore (Sarpa-vidyā or Viṣa-vidyā according to the *Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra*). |
| Sixth day— | King Kuvera Vaiśravaṇa and his subjects, the *Rakṣases*. | Veda, viz., *Deva-janavidyā* (or Piśācavidyā according to the *Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, or Rakṣovidyā according to the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta sūtra*). |
| Seventh day— | King Asita Dhānva(or Asita Dhānvana according to the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra*) and his subjects, the *Asuras*. | Veda, viz., Māyā (or Asuravidyā according to the Śrauta-sūtras). |
| Eighth day— | King Matsya Sāṁmada and his people, the water-dwellers (i. e. the fishes and the fishermen). | Veda, viz., 'Itihāsa' (or 'Itihāsa-veda' according to the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, or 'Purāṇa-vidyā' according to the *Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra*). |
| Ninth day— | King Tārkṣya Vaipaśyata according to the *Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra*) and his subjects, the birds. | Veda, viz., 'Purāṇa' (or 'Purāṇa-veda' according to the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra*, or 'Itihāsa' according to the *Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra*). |
| Tenth day— | King Dharma Indra and his subjects, the gods. | *Sama-veda.* |

There are indications in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and the Śrauta-sūtras that the Hotṛ did not finish his duty merely by reciting extracts from the relevant Vedas but took sufficient liberty in

narrating the legends at length and also in citing Gāthās wherever necessary, as he did in narrating the Śunaḥśepa legend during the Rājasūya sacrifice.[6] He also narrated, on every occasion, stories of ancient kings[7] who ruled over the relevant sections of creation represented there, and gave instructions, with accounts of the groups or sections of creation represented. The importance and interest of the function demanded that in discharging his duty he would take care to avoid repetition to the greatest possible extent.

Every day, after the Hotṛ had finished his speech, all the lute–players, present there in bands, sang to their lutes in a chorus the praise of their royal sacrificer as well as of the righteous kings of old who ruled over the different sections of creation represented there, and in so doing they raised their king over the latter. These lute-players also sang about gods and raised the royal sacrificer to their level during the ceremony of Dīkṣā which was performed after the return of the horse.

Although nothing has been said anywhere about the sections of population from which the lute-players attending the Pāriplava came, there is little scope for doubt about the fact that some of them were Brahmins and some Rājanyas. The Gṛhya-sūtras show that the members of these two sections of the Aryan population sometimes became professional lute-players and attended social functions such as the Sīmantonnayana (partition of a pregnant wife's hair by the husband) during which they were required to sing songs about some heroic king or King Soma or both.[8]

6. See for instance, *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* vii. 18 *Āśvalāyna-śrauta-sūtra* ix. 3, *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* xv. 27, *Satyāṣāḍha-śrauta-sūtra* xiii. 6.35-38.

7. *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* xx. 6 7- * * * होता * उपविशति पारिप्लवं भौवन्यवं चाचिख्यासन् ।
*Satyāṣāḍha-śrauta-sūtra* xiv. 2.15- पारिप्लवमाख्यास्यन् भोवन्यवं च; also xiv. 2. 16 and 18 (for mention of पारिप्लव and भौवन्यव). The word 'भौवन्यव', which has been derived from the word 'भुवन्यु' (भू + कन्युच्) meaning 'a matter', 'a lord', signifies tales of ancient kings.

8. This matter has been dealt with in my paper on "The Interpretation and History of two Ancient Vedic Gāthās and their Social and Political Interest".

From the above accounts of the nature of the speeches of the Hotṛ and of that of the songs of the lute-players it is evident that they practically cover all the contents of the early Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa, as an extant representative of which we may take the *Vāyu-purāṇa*. As to the inclusion of the accounts of creation and re-creation in a Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa it may be said that they were very natural and relevant, because god Prajāpati, who is identified with the Aśvamedha and said to have created beings by becoming a horse and who later on came to be known as Brahmā, has been said in the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrauta-sūtras to be the source of all creation.

We have already seen that the duty of the Hotṛ in the Pāriplava was not easy one. He had not only to narrate tales and legends about Manu, Yama and many other kings belonging to each of the different tribes and races and sections of creation but also to give accounts of these tribes, etc. with relevant instructions, and to recite Gāthās in course of his speeches. So, it is very natural that, for helping his memory, a Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa would be composed with all the materials necessary for him on this occasion as well as on others. From the widely popular tradition of Vyāsa's authorship of the original Purāṇa it appears that such a work was actually composed, though perhaps much later, by Vyāsa, who, as the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* say, composed his 'Purāṇa-saṁhitā' by means of the Ākhyānas (tales, legends), Upākhyānas (subsidiary stories), Gāthās (songs) and Kalpajoktis (sayings of different ages) current in his days.[9] From the Saṁhitās of the *Yajur-veda* we learn that

9. *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.) ii. 34. 21—

आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानै गाथाभिः कल्पजोक्तिभिः ।
पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थविशारदः ॥

For this verse see also *Vāyu-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press ed.) 60. 21 and *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press ed.) iii. 6. 16. For 'कल्पजोक्तिभिः' the *Vāyu-purāṇa* reads 'कुलकर्मभिः' in all its editions, and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* has 'कल्पशुद्धिभिः' in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed. as well as in that of Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara but 'कल्पसिद्धिभिः' in the Vaṅgavāsī Press edition. In their commentaries on the *Viṣṇu-purāṇā* Śrīdhara-svāmin and Ratnagarbha-bhaṭṭācārya read

from an early period the Brahmins had begun to be conscious of their position, so much so that they distinguished themselves from the rest of the population and claimed to be the subjects of King Soma and not of any Kṣatriya ruler.[10] This pride must have impelled the Hotṛ priest to cease from praising Kṣatriyas, and the result was that the Pāriplava, as a constituent rite of the Aśvamedha, became obsolete in the post-Sūtra period,[11] and the original Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa, compiled for his use, passed into the hands of the Brahmin and Kṣatriya lute-players. With the extinction of the Pāriplava these lute-players became dissociated from the Aśvamedha and in course of time turned into popular bards singing mainly the praise of kings on different occasions through the Purāṇa. The Brahmin lute-players got mixed up socially and professionally with their Kṣatriya colleagues, and both together gave rise to a new *class* called Sūta. These Sūtas, again, had social relation with other bards (called Sūtas) of lower status and came to be degraded from their original position of respect and looked upon as members of a Partiloma caste originating from the Kṣatriya father and the Brahmin mother However, it is the above process of transference of the Purāṇa which seems to be referred to in the tradition, recorded in the extant Purāṇas, that after composing the original 'Purāṇa-saṁhitā' Vyāsa taught it to his disciple Sūta Romaharṣaṇa.

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'कल्पशुद्धिभिः'. For 'पुराणसंहितां' the Veṅkat. ed. of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* reads 'संहिताः'. The word 'कल्पजोक्तिभिः' may also be taken to mean 'the statements arising from the procedures of sacrifices'. This is indicated by the fact that the original *Āgneya-purāṇa* (which now exists under the title '*Vahni-purāṇa*') had a number of chapters on the sacrificial rituals.

10. See *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* i 8. 10. 2—एष वो भरता राजा सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा (said by the priest during the Rājasūya ceremony). See also *Taitt. saṁ.* i. 8. 12. 2, *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* ii. 6. 9, *Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā* xv. 7, *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* ix. 40 and x. 18, *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* i. 7. 4 and 6 (एष वो भरता राजा सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजेत्याह। तस्मात् सोमराजानो ब्राह्मणाः ॥), *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* v. 3.3. 12, *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* xviii. 12. 6–8, and so on.

11. As a matter of fact, the description of the Aśvamedha, as given in the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, etc. makes no mention of the Pāriplava.

The connection of the Aśvamedha sacrifice with the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa and the *Mahābhārata* as the source of their origin, was not unknown in ancient India. This is indicated chiefly by the statements, recorded in these works, about the origin of the Purāṇic Sūta. For instance, some of the Purāṇic works (especially the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Kūrma*, *Brahma*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Padma*, *Skanda*, *Śiva*, and the genuine *Āgneya*[12] as well as the *Hari-vaṁśa* and the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* state that during a sacrifice, called as 'Paitāmaha Yajña,' 'Svāyambhuva Yajña' or 'Brahmā's Pauṣkara *Yajña*' in different sources, Sūta, the narrator of the Purāṇas, was born after the Soma juice had been extracted on a day of Soma-pressing.[13] According to the great majority of these sources this

12. I have said in foot-note 9 that the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* still exists in manuscripts under the litle '*Vahni-purāṇa*. This work, which is quite different from the spurious *Agni-purāṇa* now available in more printed editions than one, comes from a fairly early date and was drawn upon by Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Vallālasena, Hemādri and others. After disovering this work in 1952, I contributed to '*Our Heritage*' (published by the Government of West Bengal) an extensive article dealing exhaustively with the questions of its title, date, identification, etc. I am also preparing a critical edition of this Purāṇa.

13. See *Vāyu-p*. 62. 137. (also I. 33-34) : *Viṣṇu-p*. i. 13. 50b-51a; *Kūrma-p*. ( Vaṅgavāsī Press ed. ) i. 1. 6, ( also i. 14, 12); *Brahma-p*. (Ānandāśrama Press ed.) 4. 60 (also 2. 24–25a); *Brahmāṇḍa-p*. ii. 36, 158b-159; *Padma-p*. (Ānandāśrama Press ed.), *Bhūmi-khaṇḍa*, 27, 65b-66a, and Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, i, 29b–31; *Skanda-p*. (Vaṅgavāsi Press ed.), VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa) i. 1. 8; *Śiva-p*. (Vaṅgavāsi Press ed.) Dharma-saṁhitā, 56. 30 (also 52. 19-20a); genuine *Āgneya-p*. (Ms. No. G. 8090, Asiatic Society. Calcutta) 1. 2. (fol. 1b), 9.30 (fol. 27a) and 12.6 (fol. 36a); *Hari-vaṁśa* (Vaṅgavāsi Press ed.) i. 5. 33 (also i. 2. 24); *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.) i. 109. 13b-14a.

In all these works, except the *Brahmāṇḍa-p*. *Padma-p*. (*Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa*) and *Skanda-p*. (*Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa*), the sacrifice, from which the Paurāṇika Sūta sprang up, is called 'Paitāmaha Yajña; In *Kūrma-p*. i. 1. 6 and *Skanda-p*. VII. i. 1. 8 this sacrifice has been called '*Svāyambhuva Yajña*'. In *Āgneya-p*. (*alias Vahni-p*.) 1-2 it is called *Brahmā's Pauṣkara* Yajña'; and in *Āgneya-p*. 12. 6 (fol. 36a) Sūta has been called 'ब्रह्मसुत्याहसंभव', the said sacrifice being thus connected with Brahmā. The *Brahmāṇḍa-p*. and the *Padma-p*. (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) do not give any particular name to the sacrifice.

sacrifice was instituted during the reign of king *Pṛthu*, the first king son of Veṇa; and the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, *Kūrma-purāṇa*, *Padma-purāṇa* and *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* state that it was performed by Pṛthu himself. The original *Āgneya-purāṇa* (*alias Vahni-purāṇa*) calls the 'Purāṇavit' or 'Paurāṇika' Sūta a 'dvija,' decribes him as 'the speaker of the Vedas and other Śāstras, and distinguishes him from the other Sūta who, though born after the 'Purāṇavit' Sūta from the same sacrifice, was engaged by the sages to eulogise king Pṛthu.[14] In the Bhūmi-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-purāṇa* also the Paurāṇika Sūta has been said to be entitled to perform Agnihotra rites and to use Vedic Mantras in sacrifices.[15] The *Vāyu* and the *Padma-purāṇa*, on the other hand, state that the Sūta, born from the Paitāmaha Yaiña, was not found to be entitled to study the Veda.[16] These two Purāṇas as well as the *Brahmāṇḍa* distinguish this Sūta from that born of a Kṣatriya father and a Brahmin mother[17] and explains 'the change in his caste' (*varṇa-vaikṛtam*) thus[18]: During the Paitāmaha Yajña the sacrificial oblation, meant for Bṛhaspati, somehow got mixed up with that intended for Indra. Through mistake this mixed oblation was offered in fire for the latter god. From this offering the Paurāṇika Sūta was born, and there arose in the rituals an occasion for atonement. 'As the sacrificial oblation, meant for the preceptor (Bṛhaspati), was mixed up with that for the disciple (Indra) and was (thus) subordinated, there occurred a change in the Sūta's

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14. *Āgneya-p.* 1. 2-3 (fol. 1 b), 9.30-34 (fol. 27a–b). and 14. 1 (fol. 41b).

15. See *Padma-p.*, Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, 27. 67ff (=Vaṅgavāsī Press ed. 28. 71ff. =Vaṅkaṭ. Press ed. 28. 68b ff ).

16. *Vāyu-p.* 1. 33a and *Padma-p.* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) 1. 29a.

17. *Vāyu-p.* 1. 37, and 62. 140; *Padma-p.* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) 1. 34; *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* ii. 36. 163b–164a.

    The texts of the verse, as given in these sources, are not exactly the same always. They differ even in different editions of the same work.

18. See *Vāyu-p.* 1. 33b–36, and 62. 137–139; *Padma-p.* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) i. 32–33; *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* ii. 36. 161–163a.

caste due to the reversal of the inferior and the superior (oblation).[19]

The above statements of the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Padma-purāṇa* regarding the origin of the Paurāṇika Sūta may, at first sight, appear to be fanciful and meaningless, but we shall see below that they are perfectly consistent and full of significance and throw a flood of light on the problem of origin of the Paurāṇika Sūta and thereby on those of the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa and the *Mahābhārata*.

A perusal of the Vedic works as well as of the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Manu-smṛti* and the Purāṇas shows that the Vedic god Prajāpati, who was regarded as the father of creation and as Svayambhū, came later to be identified with god Brahmā, the creator. As the nine mind-born sons of this god (Brahmā) were entrusted by their father with the work of creation, they came to be known as 'nine Brahmās' (*nava Brahmāṇaḥ*), and consequently the original Brahmā was called 'Pitāmaha' (grandfather) in relation to the created beings. Now, in the Vedic works we are told that Prajāpati produced the Aśvamedha[20] and that after creating the sacrifices he assigned them to the gods but kept the Aśvamedha for himself.[21] So, there is little scope for doubt that it was the Aśvamedha which, being thus a Prājāpatya Yajña, was meant by the names 'Paitāmaha Yajña', 'Svāyambhuva Yajña' and 'Brahmā's Pauṣkara Yajña', all these expressions being used to mean the sacrifice which originated from, or belonged to, Pitāmaha, also known as Svayaṁbhū and Brahmā. The connection of 'Brahmā's sacrifice' with Puṣkara was due either to a tradition that Pṛthu

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19. *Vāyu-p*, 62. 139—

शिष्यहव्येन यत्पृक्तमभिभूतं गुरोर्हविः ।
अवरोत्तरचारेण जज्ञे तद्वर्णवैकृतम् ॥

See also *Vāyu-p*. 1. 36 (v. 1. 'तद्वर्णवैकृतः' ), *Brahmāṇḍa-p*. ii. 36. 162b–163a, *Padma-p*. (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) 1. 33 (v. 1. 'शिष्यहस्तेन', 'अधरोत्तरधारेण', and 'तद्वर्णसंकरम्' ).

20. *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* iii. 8. 15. 1, 9. 1. 1. and 9. 13. 1; *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* xiii. 1. 1. 4, 1. 4. 1, 1. 8. 1, and 2. 5. 1.

21. *Taitt. brāh*. iii. 8. 14. 1; *Śat. brāh*. xiii. 2. 1. 1.

performed his Aśvamedha sacrifice at Puṣkara or to the prominence of Puṣkara as a holy place sacred to Brahmā.

The above identification of the Aśvamedha with the Paitāmaha Yajña (which is the same as the 'Svāyaṁbhuva Yajña' and 'Brahmā's Pauṣkara Yajña') finds strong support in a statement of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*, an early work[22] in which 'the ancient Paitāmaha Yajña', which was instituted by Pṛthu and from which the Paurāṇika Sūta sprang up, has been called 'Hayamedha'.[23]

The description of the Aśvamedha, as given in the Vedic works, shows that although the costly preliminaries of this great sacrifice require more than a year, its actual performance extended only over three days of Soma-pressing (*sutyāha*). During the first of these three days, as the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* tells us, a number of deities (including Indra and Bṛhaspati) were gratified *with offerings made in the proper order*[24], and any disturbance in this order would create sin and call for atonement. So, the mistake, mentioned in the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Padma-purāṇa*, with regard to the offering made to Indra, refers to the above mentioned Homas of the first Soma-day of the Aśvamedha. As in the Vedic works Bṛhaspati has been said to be the holy power (brahma)[25] as well as the Purohita and the priest (brahmā) of the gods (and therefore a Brahmin)[26] and Indra to be the royal power (kṣattra,[27] and therefore a Kṣatriya), the atonable mistake, viz., the mixing up of the

22. I am inclined to place the date of composition of the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* between 400 and 500 A. D. For my article on this work see *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. III, 1952, pp. 39-64.

23. *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1, 109, 13b–14a—

तस्य पैतामहे यज्ञे हयमेधे पुरातने ।
आप्तुर्यामस्य सुत्येऽह्नि सूतो जातः परन्तप ॥

24. *Śat. brāh.* xiii. 2. 1. 5—अनुपूर्वं जुहोत्यनुपूर्वमेवैनांस्तत् प्रीणाति ।

25. See, for instance, *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* i. 5. 4. 3. ii. 2. 9. 1. 4. 13. 1, 6. 9. 3, and iii. 1. 1. 3

26. *Ṛg-veda* x. 141. 3, *Atharva-veda* iii. 20, 4, *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* ix. 26, *Taitt. saṁ.* i. 7. 10. 3, ii. 6. 9. 3. vi. 4. 10. 1, *Taitt. brāh.* iii. 7. 6. 2, and so on.

27. *Taitt. brāh.* iii. 9. 16. 3, *Jaiminīya brāhmaṇa* (ed. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra) 1. 182, *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad* i. 4. 11, and so on.

sacrificial oblations meant for Bṛhaspati (a Brahmin) and Indra (a Kṣatriya) and the offering of this mixed oblation to the latter, has been made responsible for giving birth to, and affecting the caste of, the Paurāṇika Sūta, who is thus made up of a degraded Brahmin and an elevated Kṣatriya. This is a clear and unmistakable reference to the fact that by following the profession of eulogising Kṣatriyas the Brahmin lute-players degraded themselves from their superior position and formed with their Kṣatriya colleagues a separate class in which there was no difference in duty between the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas. We have already seen that during the performance of the daily Iṣṭis and the Dhṛti Homas the Brahmin and the Kṣatriya lute-players were required to sing songs about the royal sacrificer's liberality to Brahmins and his heroic exploits respectively. So, by mutually sharing their duties the Kṣatriya lute-players seemed to elevate themselves to a higher position, but the Brahmin lute-players degraded themselves all the more. It is for this reason that the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Padma-purāṇa* say that the caste of the Paurāṇika Sūta was affected 'due to the reversal of the inferior and the superior (oblation)' (*adharottaracāreṇa*). The way in which the class of the Paurāṇika Sūtas grew up, and the profession they followed, could not earn for them much respect in society. Like atonable acts, they were looked down upon and considered as unfit for studying the Vedas. Yet, for their origin from a common profession, they were considered as distinct from and higher than those Sūtas who were born of marriages in the reverse order of castes between Kṣatriya males and Brahmin females.

It is to be noted in this connection that although both the Brahmin and the Kṣatriya lute-players began to play their parts in the Aśvamedha more than a year before the time of the actual performance of this sacrifice, the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Padma-purāṇa* say that the Purāṇic Sūta was born on one of the three days of Soma-pressing (when there was no necessity of these lute-players). This statement of the Purāṇas, though appearing to be inconsistent with the actual state of things, is certainly not without a meaning. It suggests that the Sūta, as a distinct class or caste, grew afterwards from the lute-players of the Aśvamedha sacrifice.

From what has been said above it is evident that the origin of the Paurāṇika Sūta from the Brahmin and the Kṣatriya lute-players of the Aśvamedha was widely known in ancient India. The way in which this Sūta has been connected with the sacrifice shows that the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa also, which, as the extent Purāṇas show, consisted practically of materials used by him as well as by the Hotṛ priest in the Aśvamedha, must have originated from the same source. The vital connection of this literature and the *Mahābhārata* with the Aśvamedha is also indicated by their frequent mention and praise of the Rājasūya and Aśvamedha ceremonies, especially the latter, as well as by the great prominence given in these works to kings and their genealogies and activities. In his commentary on *Chāndogya-upaniṣad* iii. 4. 1-2 Śaṅkarācārya says that the employment of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa as a part of the ceremony during the Pāriplava nights became established by practice.[28] Following Śaṅkara, Ānandagiri also makes the same statement with regard to the use of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa.[29]

We have already seen from the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sutra* that on the eighth day of the Pāriplava the Hotṛ priest spoke on king Matsya Sāṁmada and his people,

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28. * * * इतिहासपुराणं पुष्पम् । तयोश्चेतिहासपुराणयोरश्वमेधे पारिप्लवासु रात्रिषु कर्माङ्गत्वेन विनियोगः सिद्धः ॥ * * *

Śaṅkara's use of the word 'रात्रि' in the plural number (in 'रात्रिषु') shows that in his opinion the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa were employed every night during the Pāriplava and not merely on the eighth and the ninth night respectively, as the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* say. (See also the next foot-note for Ānandagiri's view).

29. * * * यदा प्रसिद्धयोरितिहासपुराणयोरुपादानं तदापि न दूषणमित्याह । तयोश्चेति । अश्वमेधे कर्मणि जामितापरिहारार्थं पारिप्लवो नानाविधोपाख्यानसमुदायो यत्र तत् पारिप्लवमाचक्षीतेति विधिवशात् प्रयुज्यते । तासु रात्रिषु तस्यैव कर्मणोऽङ्गत्वेन मनुर्वैवस्वतो राजेत्येवंप्रकारयोरितिहासपुराणयोर्विनियोगस्य पूर्वतन्त्रे पारिप्लवार्थाधिकरणेनैव सिद्धत्वात् तत्संबन्धि कर्म पुष्पमित्यर्थः ॥

the water-dwellers,[30] viz., the fishes and the fishermen,[31] and narrated some 'Itihāsa (tale or legend), and on the ninth day he spoke on king Tārkṣya Vaipaśyata and his subjects, the birds, with the narration of a 'Purāṇa' (ancient tale). We have also noted the variations made in the *Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sutra* with regard to the name of the king of the birds and to the narration of stories from the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa. From these three works we learn that the words 'इतिहास' and 'पुराण' were used in them to mean certain kinds of stories or, at best collections of these and not any works of the types of the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa and the *Mahābhārata*, and that the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa owed its origin and form to all the topics constituting the Pāriplava, whereas the *Mahābhārata* was based only on the topics of the eighth day which related to the king of fishermen. As a matter of fact, the story of the extant *Mahābhārata* actually begins with that of Satyavatī, daughter of the king of the Dāśas (fishermen) and seems originally to have been meant for glorifying the Dāśa-rāja as well as his people by showing how a Dāśa princess became the mother of a great sage named Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana or Vyāsa as well as of the famous royal family of Hastināpura. It is to be noted that in the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* and the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* the world 'इतिहास' has been used to mean the accounts and stories of fishermen and their king and the Veda of Itihāsa has been associated with these accounts and stories.

It is, however, not our intention to say that all the constituents of the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa and the *Mahābhārata* derived their origin from the Aśvamedha sacrifice. There are evidences to show that from long before the period of inclusion of the Pāriplava in the Vedic works there were bards who were good genealogists and earned their livelihood by singing the praise of gods, kings and others. As a matter of fact, the existence of these bards saved

30. उदकेचराः (*Śat. brāh.* xiii. 4. 3. 12 and *Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra* ii. 4. 7. 8) or उदकचराः (*Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* xvi. 2. 23),—literally meaning 'those who move in water'.

31. मत्स्याश्च मत्स्यहनश्च—*Śat. brāh.* xiii. 4. 3. 12 : मत्स्याः पुञ्जिष्ठाः—*Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra* ii. 4. 7. 8; मत्स्यान् मत्स्यविदो वा—*Śāṅkhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* xvi. 2.23.

the ancient traditions from dying out and made it possible for the Hotṛ priest and the lute-players to play their respective parts successfully. During the Aśvamedha these ancient traditions were brought together, systematised, developed, and not rarely recorded afresh, and in these respects this great sacrifice can be said to be the source of origin of the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa and the *Mahābhārata*.

## DID VYĀSA OWE HIS ORIGIN TO BEROSSUS ?*

Indian tradition of a very long standing and wide acceptance connects Vyāsa with the compilation of the Vedas and the authorship of the Itihāsa and the Purāṇa. The real name of this venerable sage of uncommon wisdom was 'Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana' (literally meaning 'The Black Island-born one'), because, as the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas say, he was born in an island of the river Yamunā and had a dark complexion. His second name 'Vyāsa' was due to his arranging the Vedic materials into four Vedas, and this name has been used much more frequently in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas than his original name 'Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana'.

From a comparative study of the Epics and the Purāṇas both textually and materially and from the early dates to which the oldest of the extant Purāṇas may reasonably be assigned, it appears that Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana had come to be known as Vyāsa much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. But the absence of any such record naming Vyāsa as can be assigned to a definite date and our lack of information about the earliest works containing his name, leave us in absolute darkness about the antiquity of the tradition. As a result, scholars have sometimes differed widely with regard to the age and historicity of Vyāsa who has occupied our mind and enjoyed our veneration for such a long time. Of the views of these scholars the most striking seems to be that of Sri Buddha Prakash, who, in his interesting and informative article entitled 'Vyāsa (A Study in Indo-Babylonian Cultural Contact)'[1] has tried to show that 'Vyāsa' was indebted for his origin, name and principal activities to Berossus, a Babylonian priest and historian of great fame and learning, who lived immediately after Alexander's conquest of Babylonia about 300 B. C. and wrote in Greek, for the new rulers, a comprehensive history of Babylonia by recording in it the earliest traditions about the local people and their religion and culture. The original work of

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* *Purāṇa*, vol. II, pp. 17-22.

1. This article was published in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XXXVII, 1951, pp. 32-42.

Berossus is now lost, but quotations from it in the works of later writers still exist to give us an idea of the performance of the noted historian of the past.

The above view put forward by Sri Buddha Prakash deserves credit for its novelty and originality, but in spite of the evidences adduced in its support we cannot accept it for reasons stated below.

The *Viṣṇudharma*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Vahmi-purāṇa*, *Vāyu-purāṇā*, *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, etc., which come from early dates[2], are all fully acquainted with the tradition of Vyāsa's original authoriship of the Purāṇas, and these works presuppose and often utilise the *Mahābhārata*, which, therefore, pushes back the said tradition to a date much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, which betrays its knowledge of the *Mahābhārata* by frequently alluding to its legends and quoting its verses on a number of occasions, contains the name of 'Śuka Vaiyāsaki' (Śuka, son of Vyāsa); Kātyāyana names 'Vyāsa' in his Vārttika 'vyāsa-varuḍa-niṣāda-caṇḍāla-bimbānāṃ ceti vaktavyam', with which he provides for the formation of the Taddhitānta words 'Vaiyāsaki' etc.; the *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* (ii. 5.27) names 'Vyāsa', 'Vasiṣṭha' and others in its section on the offering of libation (*tarpaṇa*) to gods and sages; the *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka* (1. 9.2) names 'Vyāsa Pārāśarya' ('Vyāsa, son of Parāśara') in the line 'sa hovāca vyāsaḥ pārāśaryaḥ, vidyud-vadham evāhaṁ mṛtyum aiccham iti'; and in giving a list of teachers the *Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa* (iii. 9. 8) names 'Vyāsa Pārāśarya' as a pupil of Viṣvaksena and preceptor of Jaimini in the following passage :

सोऽयं प्राजापत्यो विधिः, तमिमं प्रजापतिर्बृहस्पतये प्रोवाच बृहस्पतिर्नारदाय, नारदो विष्वक्सेनाय विश्वक्सेनो व्यासाय पाराशर्याय व्यासः पाराशर्यो जैमिनये जैमिनिः पौष्पिण्ड्याय .... ....

The facts that in dealing with *tarpaṇa* the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra* (iii. 4. 4) is completely silent about Vyāsa, although it names Sumantu, Jaimini, Vaiśaṁpāyana and Paila, who are sup-

2. For the probable dates of these works see R. C. Hazra *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, vol. I, pp. 143 and 212; *Our Heritage*, vol. II, Part 1, 1954, p. 83; Hazra, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 13-19.

posed to be Vyāsa's pupils, that in the same topic the *Baūdhāyana-gṛhyasūtra* (iii. 9. 3) and the *Bhāradvāja-gṛhyasūtra* (3.9) name the sage Dvaipāyana as Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana (and not as Vyāsa), and that the Buddhist Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana-jātaka frequently names this sage as 'Kaṇha-dīpāyana' (Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana) or simply 'Dīpāyana' (Dvaipāyana) but not even once as 'Vyāsa', do not deserve any serious consideration, because the list of teachers (ācāryāḥ) in the said aphorism of the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhyasūtra* is not exhaustive as the words 'ye cānye ācāryās te sarve tṛpyantu' indicate, and the *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*, which cannot be placed later than the sixth century B.C., names 'Vyāsa' in the following passage :

अथर्वणां चन्द्रमा देवतं तदेव ज्योतिः। सर्वाणि छन्दांस्यापः स्थानम्। शंनो देवीरभिष्टय इत्येवमादिं कृत्वाथर्ववेद मधीयते। अद्भ्यः स्थावरजङ्गमो भूतग्रामः संभवति, तस्मात् सर्वमापोमयं भूतं सर्वं भृग्वङ्गिरोमयम्। अन्तरैते त्रयो वेदा भृगून् अङ्गिरसः श्रिता इत्यबिति प्रकृतिरपाम् ओंकारेण चैतस्माद् व्यासः पुरोवाच भृग्वङ्गिरोविदा संस्कृतोऽन्यान् वेदान् अधीयीत नान्यत्र संस्कृतो भृग्वङ्गिरसोऽधीयीत।.... (*Gopatha-brāhmaṇa* 1.1.29)

So, the name of 'Vyāsa' had been known in India centuries before the birth af Berossus of Babylon.

The legend of the divine Man-Fish ( Ea-Han or Oannas ) and great flood, described in detail both by Berossus and Vyāsa, and the fact that both these authors wrote on the history and mythology of their own country, must not be taken to prove the indebtedness of the latter to the former. There is much evidence to show that the proto-Indians were familiar with the idea of the horned fish and a particular divinity attached to it[3]; and Berossus himself says 'that the civilization was first established in Sumer by men who came from the east, and that those were half-men and half-fishes. According to Father Heras these must have been the same as the Mīnas of India, whose deity was closely associated with the fish.[4] So, there is little doubt about the fact that the flood legend migrated from India to Babylonia and other places at a very early period.

It is true that in his *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana* ( which forms the eighth chapter of his *Prākṛta Dvyāśraya-kāvya* alias *Kumārapāla-*

3-4. A. P. Karmarkar, *Religions of India*, Vol. I p. 157.

*carita*[5]. Hemacandra gives two rules, viz. '*vādho ro luk*' ( viii. 4. 398) and '*abhūtopi kvacit*' (viii. 4. 399), which he explains thus :

अपभ्रंशे संयोगाद् अधो वर्तमानो रेफो लुग् वा भवति ॥ जइ केवँइ पावीसु पिउ[6] ॥ पक्षे जइ भग्गा पारक्कडा तो सहि मज्झु प्रियेण[7] ॥ ३९८ ॥

and

अपभ्रंशे क्वचिद् अविद्यमानोऽपि रेफो भवति ।
व्रासु महारिसि एउ भणइ जै सुई सत्थु पमाणु ।
मायहँ चलण नवन्ताहं दिवि दिवि गङ्गाण्हाणु[8] ॥
क्वचिदिति किम् । वासेण वि भारह खम्भि बद्ध[9] ॥ ३९९ ॥

Of these two rules (which have been repeated in Lakṣmīdhara's *Ṣaḍ-bhāṣā-candrikā*)[9] the first relates to the optional elimination of 'r' ( र् ) forming the second member of a conjunct consonant, but the second has been translated by P. L. Vaidya as follows :

"*repha* is substituted for a member of the conjunct in some cases; e. g. Vrāsa for Vyāsa."

5. Ed. S. P. Pandit, (second edition revised by P. L. Vaidya, Poona 1936).
6. "*yadi kathamapi prāpsyāmi priyam*'—(If somehow I meet my lover) *Ibid.*, Notes, p. 694.
7. "*yadi bhagnāḥ parakīyāḥ tat sakhi mama priyeṇa*"—If the enemies have been defeated, that, my friend, (must have been done) by my lover.
8. "*Vyāsaḥ maharṣiḥ etad bhaṇati yadi śruti-śāstraṁ pramāṇam*/ *mātṛṇāṃ caraṇau namatāṁ divase divase gaṅgā-snānam*// Vyāsa, the great sage, says this : If the Veda and the Śāstra are to be regarded as authoritative, then those who pay homage to the feet of their mothers get the merit of bathing in the Ganges every day." *Kumārapāla-carita*, Notes, pp. 694-5.

   It is probable that the word 'śruti-śāstra' like 'veda-śāstra' in *Manu-smṛti* 4. 260, means 'the Vedic scripture'.
9. "vyāsenāpi bhārata-stambhe baddham."

   Recorded also by Vyāsa on the pillar (of fame) in the form of the (Maha–) Bhārata. After translating this line wrongly as "Vyāsa also has said this in the Bhārata books" P. L. Vaidya Says : "The other reading gives 'vyāsenāpi Bhārataṁ stambhe baddham'. For want of context the meaning of the line is uncertain." —*See Kumārapāla-charita*, Notes, pp. 394-5.

From the use of the *'kta'*-pratyaya in 'abhūta' in the second rule and from Hemacandra's explanation of the same it is clear that this rule (abhūtopi kvacit) relates not to any case of substitution of 'r' for any member of a conjunct, as P. L. Vaidya says, but definitely to cases of insertion of 'r' immediately after a consonant. So this rule should be translated as follows :

"In Apabhraṁśa the 'r', though absent, sometimes comes in (as a second member of a conjunct consonant)."

It is evident that by this rule Hemacandra provides for the derivation of the Apabhraṁśa form 'Vrāsa' optionally from its *tat-sama* form 'Vāsa' derived from the Sanskrit 'Vyāsa'. But this is not a solitary case in which 'r' is inserted in an Apabhraṁśa word. Similar insertion of 'r', though very rare, is also found in the words 'Vrāḍi' (for Sanskrit 'Vyāḍi)',[10] 'bhrāsa' (for Sanskrit 'bhāṣya'),[11] 'vrāgaraṇu' and 'vrākrosu' (for Sanskrit 'vyākaraṇam' and 'vyākrośa' respectively),[12] prassadi (for Sanskrit 'paśyati')[13], 'bhrāntri' (for Sanskrit 'bhrānti')[14] and so on.[15] So, Śri Buddha Prakash is not right when he says "Evidently 'Vāsa' is derived from the Sanskrit form 'Vyāsa', but it cannot be the *tatsama* form of 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu', since there is no rule of universal application by which a 'r' is inserted in the Apabhraṁśa forms of such words. Hemacandra found the form 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu' in use in popular speech and he had to make a rule simply to describe this particular irregular form. The *tatsama* form of 'Vrāsa' or 'Vrāsu' has to be searched elsewhere".[16] As a matter of fact, 'the insertion of -r- as a second member of a consonant group where no such historical relation is traceable to Old Indo-Aryan, is one of the

10. Ed. K. P Trivedi (Bombay Sanskrit Series LXXI, 1916), p. 267 (Sūtras 3. 3. 5 and 3. 3. 6).
11. See Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛta-sarvasva* (ed. Bhaṭṭaṇāthasvāmin, Vizagapatam, 1912), 17. 3.
12. Kramadīśvara's *Saṁkṣipta-sāra*, 5. 5.
13. Mārkaṇḍeya's *Prākṛta-sarvasva*, 17. 3.
14. Hemacandra's *Siddha-hema śabdānuśāsana*, 4. 393 and 360.
15. For more instances see G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṁśa* (Poona, 1948) pp. 100-101
16. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXVII, 1951, p. 33.

distinguishing characteristics of Apabhraṁśa',[17] and *the final u in 'Vrāsu' is a case-termination* (as in 'mohu' 'kālu', 'bhamaru' etc. respectively for Sanskrit 'mohaḥ' 'kālaḥ', bhramaraḥ' etc.). If, for the presence of 'r' and final u, 'Vrāsu' is to be derived from 'Berossus', how then are we to account for the forms 'Vrāḍi', 'bhrāsa', 'vrākrosu' 'vrāgaraṇu', 'piu', 'sui-satthu', 'pamāṇu' etc. ? We do not deny the possibility of the spread of the name and fame of Berossus into Gujarat through merchants who carried on maritime commerce between Babylon and the mouth of the Indus and that might be the reason for the confusion of Sankrit Vyāsa with 'Vrāsa' in Apabhraṁśa in Gujarat, but how could 'Vyāsa' be derived from Apabhraṁśa 'Vrāsa' and how could the final 'u' of 'Brāsu' (<Berossus) be changed into 'a' in the Apabhraṁśa form ? Neither Hemacandra, Lakṣmīdhara or Mārkaṇḍeya, nor any other Prakrit grammarian provides for these changes. So, the attempt to derive 'Vyāsa' from 'Berossus' is against the Indian tradition[18] and its antiquity and also against the prescription of grammarians.

17. G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṁśa*, p. 100.

18. We must not overlook the epic and Purāṇic statements that Vyāsa's name was due to his arranging the Vedic materials into the four Vedas.

## PURĀṆA LITERATURE AS KNOWN TO BALLĀLASENA*

Of the learned kings of Bengal, whose distinct contributions to Sanskrit literature have added to the literary treasure of the province, Ballālasena of the Sena dynasty should be assigned the foremost place. He flourished about the middle of the twelfth century A.D. and is said to have written four well-known digests, *viz.*, *Ācārasāgara*, *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara*, *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*. Of these four works, the first two are known only by name from references and quotations, no Mss. of these having yet come to light; a Ms. of the third has been preserved in two parts in the India Office Library, London; and the fourth has been edited by Muralīdhara Jhā and published by Prabhākarī & Co., Benares, 1905.

Towards the beginning of the *Dānasāgara*[1] we are informed that Ballālasena found an able teacher (*guru*) in Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, a profound scholar deserving comparison with Bṛhaspati, and learnt from him the essence of the entire Purāṇa and Smṛti literature.[2] This information supplied by Ballālasena himself of his own erudition in the two branches of Sanskrit literature is corroborated by the copious quotations from numerous Purāṇic and Smṛti works as well as by the valuable remarks he makes in his *Dānasāgara* on the contents and authenticity of a number of

* *J. O. R.*, Vol. XII, pt. II pp. 129—146

1. Mss. nos. 719-720, India Office Library, London. Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, nos. 1704–5.

2. Cf. वृत्रारेरिव गीष्पतिर्नरपतेर्यस्यानिरुद्धो गुरुः ॥
अधिगतसकलपुराणस्मृतिसारः श्रद्धया गुरोरस्मात् ।
........दाननिबन्धं विधत्ते........
*Dānasāgara*, fol. 1b–2a.

It is often said that the *Dānasāgara* ascribed to Ballālasena was really written by Aniruddhabhaṭṭa and passed in the name of his royal patron (*cf.*, for example, '*viṣṇurahasyasyānārṣatvasya dānasāgare aniruddhabhaṭṭena abhihitatvāc ca*',—*Smṛtitattva*, II, 44). But from the lines quoted above it would appear that though Aniruddhabhaṭṭa was Ballālasena's teacher, he had little to do with the authorship of the work.

Purāṇas. These remarks, which are the results of a highly critical study of the Purāṇas, reveal the character of these works in his days and are consequently of immense importance for the study of the Purāṇa literature

Before taking up the topics dealt with in the *Dānasāgara* Ballālasena gives an account of himself and his family, names the works consulted in writting the digest, enumerates the different kinds of gifts, and names those Purāṇas, or parts thereof, which he rejected as unreliable. Among the works used in the *Dānasāgara* the author includes the following Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas :

*Brāhma*, *Vārāha*, *Āgneya*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Mātsya*, *Vāmana*, *Vāyavīya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Vaiṣṇava*, *Śaiva*, *Skānda*, *Pādma*, *Kaurma*, *Ādya* (i. e. *Ādi*), *Śāmba*, *Kālikā*, *Nandi*, *Āditya*, *Nārasiṁha*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* declared by Mārkaṇḍeya (Mārkaṇḍeya-kṛta), and *Viṣṇudharma*.

Of the Upapurāṇas beginning with the *Ādya* the author says that these works contained directions on gifts and were enumerated in the *Kūrma* and the *Ādipurāṇa*.[3]

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3. ब्राह्मं वाराहमाग्नेयं भविष्यं मात्स्यमेव च ।
वामनं नारदीयं च मार्कण्डेयं च वैष्णवम् ॥
शैवं स्कान्दं च पाद्मं च पुराणं कौर्ममेव च ।
पुराणानि तथा कूर्मपुराणादिपुराणयो : ॥
उक्तान्युपपुराणानि व्यक्तदानविधीनि च ॥
आद्यं पुराणं साम्बं च कालिका[ह्व]यमेव च ।
नन्दिमादित्यसंज्ञं च नारसिंहं तथैव च ॥
मार्कण्डेयकृतं तद्व (?तद्वद्) विष्णुधर्मोत्तरा[ह्व]यम् ।
शास्त्रं च विष्णुधर्माख्यं.......................... ॥
...............इत्यालोच्य पुराणोपपुराणश्रुतिसंहिता: ।
..................................................

(*Dānasāgara*, 2a–b).

The conjuct consonant preceding 'ya' in 'kālikā [ ] yam' in the Ms. is too difficult to be deciphered. Though it may be read both as 'hva' and 'dva', the former reading must be accepted; because, of the *Kūrma* and the *Ādipurāṇas* which are mentioned as containing the names of Upapurāṇas, the former (Vaṅga. ed.) gives a list of

In the *Adbhutasāgara* also the author gives a similar list of quoted authorities including the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, *Skanda purāṇa*, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Ādyapurāṇa*, *Agnipurāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa Viṣṇudharmottara*[4]. But an examination of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Abdhutasāgara* shows that both these works have verses from such Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas as have not been mentioned in the lists. Thus, the *Dānasāgara* draws upon a *Liṅgapurāṇa*, and the *Abdhutasāgara* upon the *Devī*, *Viṣṇu*, *Nandī*, *Vāyu*, *Āditya*, *Liṅga* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The exclusion of the names of these Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas from the lists may be due either to the inadvertence of the author or to the insertion of verses of these works by people other than the author. Though such incomplete lists are to be found in other Sanskrit works also, a consideration of Ballālasena's critical acumen and of the fact that Lakṣmaṇasena completed this work left unfinished by its author[5] tempts us to suppose that most probably it was Lakṣmaṇasena who revised and improved with further addition of materials not only the *Adbhutasāgara* but also the other works of his father. So, be it Ballālasena himself or his son who may have put the verses of the above-mentioned Purāṇic works into the *Dānasāgara* and the *Abdhutasāgara*, the insertion was made not later than the middle of the 12th century.

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these works in Pūrvabhāga, Chap. I, verses 17-20 and reads 'kālikāhvayam'. As we have not been able to find within our reach a printed copy or a Ms. of the *Ādi-purāṇa*, a work quite different from the later *Ādi* published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, we are quite ignorant of its reading. The reading 'kālikāhvayam', however, is further supported by the word viṣṇudharmottarā [hva] yam' in which the conjunct consonant preceding 'ya' and written in exactly the same way as that before 'y' in 'kālikā [ ] yam' must be read as 'hva' and not as 'dva'. Eggeling also accepts the reading 'kālikāhvayam' in his *India Office Catalogue*, Part III. p, 543.

4. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 2-3.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 4—

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्नसमाप्त एव तनये साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीं मुदा''''अस्थापयत् ।
गङ्गायां विरचय्य निर्जरपुरं भार्यानुयातो गतः ॥
श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिरतिश्लाघ्यो यदुद्योगतो ।
निष्पन्नोऽद्भुतसागरः कृतिरसौ वल्लालभूमीभुजः ॥

Interesting information about the Purāṇas is supplied by Ballālasena when he refers to the contents of a few Purāṇic works by way of explaining why he rejected them partly or wholly. He says that though the *Ādipurāṇa* was well-known for its treatment of gifts divided according to the division of the year, it was slightly touched upon in the *Dānasāgara*, because its contents were already fully utilised in the *Ācārasāgara*; the *Bhāgavata*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* did not contain any chapter on gifts and were consequently set aside; the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, whose volume was expanded by the chapters on great gifts (*mahādāna*) treated of in the *Matsyapurāṇa* and which was thus no better than a digest on gifts, was not drawn upon (*na nibaddham*), because the substance of its contents was already obtained from other Purāṇas; the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* was utilised upto the chapters dealing with saptamī-(kalpa), while those on the aṣṭamī-and navamī-(kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tāntric influence; the *Viṣṇurahasya* and the *Śivarahasya* which were famous among the people, were mere compilations and were consequently not utilised; and though the *Bhaviṣyottara* was famous for its customary laws (or was popularly followed) and did not contradict good customs, it was avoided in the *Dānasāgara* for want of sufficient evidence to prove its authenticity.[6] It is to be noted that Ballālasena says nothing of the

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6. श्रुतान्यादिपुराणे तु दानान्यब्दविभागतः ।
आचारसागरोक्तत्वान् न कीर्त्यन्तेऽत्र कृत्स्नशः ।
भागवतं च पुराणं ब्रह्माण्डं चैव नारदीयं च ।
दानविधिशून्यमेतत् त्रयमिह न निबन्ध(? द्ध)मवधार्य ।
बृहदपि लिङ्गपुराणं मत्स्यपुराणोदितैर्महादानैः ।
अवधा(धी ?)र्य लब्धसारदाननिबन्धेतरनिबन्धम् ।
सप्तम्यवधि पुराणं भविष्यमपि संगृहीतमतियत्नात् ।
त्यक्त्वाष्टमीनवम्योः (? म्यौ) कन्यौ (? ल्यौ )
पाषण्डिभिर्ग्रस्तौ (? ग्रोस्ते) ।
लोके प्रसिद्धमेतद् विष्णुरहस्यं च शिवरहस्यं च ।
द्वयमिह न परिगृहीतं संग्रहरूपत्वमवधार्य ।
भविष्योत्तरमाचारप्रसिद्धमविरोधि च ।
प्रामाण्यं ज्ञापकादृष्टे ग्रन्थादस्मात् पृथक् कृतम् ।
(*Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b.)

*Brahmavaivarta* and the (to him) genuine *Garuḍapurāṇa*, though he does not draw upon them in his *Dānasāgara* or *Adbhutasāgara*.

Next Ballālasena names a set of Purāṇas rejected by him as spurious, viz., *Tārkṣya* (i. e.; *Gāruḍa*), *Brāhma*, *Āgneya*, *Vaiṣṇava* consisting of 23,000 ślokas, and *Liṅga* of 6,000 ślokas; and in connection with their contents he says that these works, dealing with initiation, consecration, ways of salvation for the Tāntriks, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar etc. and containing irrelevant and contradictory statements, were used as means of deception by Mīnaketanas and others who were hypocrites, heretics and pseudo-ascetics.[7] By his remark that due to its wide circulation the *Skandapurāṇa* existed in more parts than one, and that three of its parts dealt with the accounts (*kathā*)

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Eggeling would like to read the word 'लब्धसार etc.' in line 6 as '*labdhasāraṁ dana*'—See India Office Catalogue, Part III, p.544. The last line should be read as 'प्रामाण्यज्ञापका'°. Eggeling reads it as प्रामाण्यं ज्ञापकाद् द्वैर्ग्रन्थाद्° etc.'.

7. ताक्ष्यँ पुराणमपरं ब्राह्ममाग्नेयमेव च ।
त्रयोविंशतिसाहस्रं पुराणमपि वैष्णवम् ।
षट्सहस्रमितं लिङ्गं पुराणमपरं तथा ।
दीक्षाप्रतिष्ठापाषण्डमुक्तिरत्नपरीक्षणैः ।
मृषावंशानुचरितैः कोशव्याकरणादिभिः ।
असंगतकथाबन्धपरस्परविरोधितः ।
तन्मीनकेतनादीनां भण्डपाषण्डलिङ्गिनाम् ।
लोकवञ्चनमालोक्य सर्वमेवावरी(? धी)रितम् ।
(*Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b–4a).

In line 6 Eggeling reads °विरोधत:—*Indian Office Catalogue* part III, p. 544.

It is to be noted that though Ballālasena expressly says here that he rejected the '*Tārkṣya*', '*Āgneya*', '*Vaiṣṇava*' and '*Liṅga*' as spurious and deceptive, he draws considerably upon a *Brahma*, an *Agni* and a *Viṣṇupurāṇa* in his *Dānasāgara* and includes them in the list of Purāṇas used in writing the digest. So, it is sure that he knew another set of Purāṇas which he considered genuine. The word 'apara' used in the above verses is important in this connection.

of Paundra, Revā, and Avanti,[8] Ballālasena seems to include those three parts among the spurious Purāṇas.

Regarding the *Devīpurāṇa* Ballālasena says that due to its treatment of sinful acts it was excluded from the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas and that it was rejected by him because of its Tāntric character.[9]

We have noted above Ballālasena's remarks on the character and contents of the different Purāṇas. We shall now examine these remarks and the Purāṇa quotations made in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* in order to understand the nature and contents of the different Purāṇas known to Ballālasena as well as to see whether any of those Purāṇas have come down to us. Let us take up the Mahāpurāṇas here :—

(1) *Agnipurāṇa* or *Āgneya*—Ballālasena quotes in his *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* a large number of verses from an *Agnipurāṇa*, but, except only a few scattered lines in *Dān?sāgara*, fol. 96–97b, none of these quoted verses is found in the printed *Agni*. So, the *Agnipurāṇa* drawn upon by Ballālasena was different from our present *Agni*.

An examination of the quoted verses shows that the earlier *Agni*, (drawn upon by Ballālasena) contained a large number oi chapters on the methods and merits of making different kinds of gifts[10] and on adbhuta-śānti; that the more important gifts were

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8. प्रचरद्रूपतः स्कन्दपुराणैकांशतोऽधिकम् ।
यत् खण्डत्रितयम् पौण्ड्रेवावन्तिकथाश्रयम् ॥
*Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b.

9. तत्तत्पुराणोपपुराणसंख्या बहिष्कृतं कल्मषकर्मयोगात् ।
पाषण्डशास्त्रानुमतं निरूप्य देवीपुराणं न निबन्ध(? द्ध)मत्र ॥
(*Dānasāgara*, fol. 4a).

10. *Viz.* guḍadhenudāna, tiladhenudāna, ghṛtadhenudāna, alaṅkṛtagavīdāna, kapilagavīdāna, ubhayatomukhīdāna, gosahasradāna, alaṅkṛtavṛṣadāna, analaṅkṛtavṛṣadāna, gavāhnikadāna, annadāna, vastradāna, hemadāna, rūpyadāna, maṇidāna, maṭhapratiśrayadāna, kāṣṭhadāna dāsīdāna. tiladāna, kṛṣṇājinadāna, upānaddāna, aśvadāna, mahiṣīdāna, jaladhenudāna.

dealt with elaborately in distinctly separate sections, short or long; and that in a good number of chapters the interlocutor were Vaśiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa. Regarding the stories occurring in the earlier *Agni*, the *Adbhutasāgara* supplies us with valuable information not only by quoting verses but also by referring to the topics or stories dealt with in the chapters from which these verses were taken. From these quotations and references we understand that the Purāṇa contained a long story of the birth of Vāmana (vāmanotpatti) and the killing of Hiraṇyakaśipu (hiraṇyakaśipuvadha) dealt most probably in more chapters than one.[11] It also contained the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, because there is mention of Rāvaṇa's fight with Indra and the latter's defeat, and of Trijaṭā's detailed dream about the fate of Rāvaṇa and his capital.[12] The quoted verses further show that the chapter or chapters on Hiraṇyakaśipuvadha had a large number of verses, if not all, in common with *Matsyapurāṇa* (Vaṅga. ed.) 161-13, *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣti-khaṇḍa; Ānandāśrama ed.) 42 and *Harivaṁśa*(Vaṅga. ed.) III, 41-47[13] and that the section on Trijaṭāsvapna had many verses in common with the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[14]

The present spurious *Agni*, though greatly different from the earlier one, is not totally an independent work. From a comparison between the present *Agni* and the verses quoted in the Nibandhas from the earlier *Agni* it becomes evident that the former is the result of a destructive recast to which the latter was subjected. How in this recast the form of the older Purāṇa was changed is best exemplified by a comparison between a long passage, or rather an entire chapter, quoted from the '*Agnipurāṇa*' in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 96a-97b and chapter 210 of the present *Agni* (Vaṅga. ed.). In the quoted passage Vaśiṣṭha is found to speak to the king (Ambarīṣa) on the gift of a cow made of raw sugar (guḍadhenudāna), but in the said chapter of the present *Agni* though all the marks proving the existence of the interlocution between Vaśiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa have been eliminated many verses

11. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 19, 50, 320, 708 etc.

12. *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 500, 501 etc.

13. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 50-51 (*harivaṁśa-matsyapurāṇa-padmapurāṇeṣu hiraṇyakaśipuvadhanimittaṁ —somasya* etc. ; *āgneyapurāṇe ca—somasya etc.*); also pp. 320, 378, 412 etc.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 512, 513 etc.

have been retained, e. g. *Agni* 210 verses 13b-17a, 19-21, 22b, 23 and 25-29a tally with some of the verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* (fol. 96a-97b). In these common lines even, the readings differ disappointingly. Sometimes the subject-matter of a good number of stanzas in the *Dānasāgara* is found pressed into a much lesser number of stanzas in the printed edition.

Though Ballālasena drew upon an earlier *Agni,* he was quite familiar with the present one, because (i) the contents of the spurious *Agni* given in *Dānasāgara,* fol. 4a[15] tally fully with those of the present one, (ii) the present *Agni* has Tāntric (*pāṣaṇḍa*) elements, and (iii) the extant *Agni* also is a spurious work.[16]

(2) *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* or *Bhāgavata.*—The present *Bhāgavata* was known to Ballālasena, because (i) it does not contain any chapter on gifts (cf. *dānavidhiśūnyam—Dānasāgara* fol. 3b), (ii) the verses quoted from the *'Bhāgavata'* in the *Adbutasāgara* are all, with the exception of only four lines, found in our present Bhāgavata (Vaṅga. ed., I, 14 and III, 15), and (iii) the stories and episodes (*viz.*, vāsudevotkrānti, hiraṇyakaśipūtpatti, hiraṇyākṣotpatti, kaṁsāriṣṭadarśana, rāvaṇotpatti, vṛṣṇivaṁśakṣaya and the war among the Vṛṣṇis) referred to in connection with the quoted verses occur in *Bhāg.* I, 14 and III, 13-19. It is however not meant that the *Bhāgavata* of Ballāla's time has come down to us totally unaffected by any changes or interpolations. On the other hand, it is highly probable that occasional changes and interpolations were made even after the 12th century A.D.

(3) *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*—The fact that the verses on gifts quoted from a *'Bhaviṣyapurāṇa'* in the *Dānasāgara* are, with a very few exceptions, found in our present *Bhaviṣya* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) I (Brāhma Parvan), chaps. 64, 93, 103, 118 and 181 and the information that the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* dealt, among other things, with the different tithi-kalpas and that the chapters on the aṣṭami- and navamī-kalpa were influenced by Tāntricism, show that many of the chapters of Ballālasena's *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* have been retained in

15. *See* foot-note I on p. 133.

16. *See* may essay on the *Agnipurāṇa* in dian *Historical Quarterly*, XII. pp. 683f.

our present work which seems to have preserved in its Brāhma-parvan the major portion of the earlier *Bhaviṣya* of five Parvans.[17] In his *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.* ABB, Vol. V (no. 3738), Haraprasad Shastri describes a complete Ms. of a *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* which consists of five Parvans, *viz.*, Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga, deals with the different tithi-kalpas, the stories of Rudra and Sūrya, and so forth, and is really *ādityacaritaprāya*. Shastri's description of the Ms. further shows that (*i*) the Brāhma-parvan ends with the pratipat-kalpa, the interlocutors being Śatānīka and Sumantu; (*ii*) the Viṣṇuparvan deals with the remaining tithi-kalpas, has Śatānīka and Sumantu(?) as interlocutors, and consists of 31 chapters; (*iii*) the Rudra-parvan has Sumantu and Śatānīka as interlocutors, deals with the origin of Rudra, Datta and others, and consists of 3 chapters; (*iv*) the Tvaṣṭṛ-parvan has Śatānīka as one of the interlocutors, contains a sūrya-śuka-saṁvāda, and deals with the story of the marriage between Sūrya and Saṁjñā (daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ), Śuka's going to the solar region (*sūrya-maṇḍala*), etc.; and (*v*) the Pratisarga-parvan begins with the Sun as an interlocutor, contains a sūrya-śuka-saṁvāda, and ends with the return of Śuka from the solar region. Much of the above contents is found in the Brāhma-parvan of the printed *Bhaviṣya*.

(4) *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.—The present *Brahmāṇḍa* (Veṅkaṭ ed.) which is a very early work and which, in accordance with the information contained in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b, does not contain any chapter on gifts, was certainly known to Ballālasena in some form or other. The fact that of the 23 lines on kāyariṣṭādbhuta quoted in the *Adbhutasāgara* from the '*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*' not a single is found in the present *Brahmāṇḍa*, while as many as 17 are found in *Vāyu* 19, can be explained by saying that the texts *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* being originally identical, the Ms. of the latter used by Ballālasena contained the chapter on kāyariṣṭādbhuta which has been lost from our printed *Brahmāṇḍa*.

(5) *Brahmapurāṇa* or *Brāhma*.—Not a single of the numerous verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* is found in the present apocryphal *Brahma* which is called an Upapurāṇa by Narasiṁha Vājapeyin of

17. For an analysis of the printed *Bhaviṣya* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition) see my essay in *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 223f.

Orissa.[18] So, it is sure that Ballālasena's genuine *Brahmapurāṇa* was quite different from the extant one. Ballālasena knew a spurious *Brahma* also, but as the contents of the spurious Purāṇas, stated generally in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 4a, do not agree even partially with those of our extant *Brahma*, it is highly probable that Ballāla's spurious *Brahma* also was a different work.

(6) *Kūrmapurāṇa* or *Kaurma*.—The present *Kūrmapurāṇa* is generally the same as that drawn upon by Ballālasena in his *Dānasāgara*, because (i) the great majority of the verses quoted by him from the '*Kūrmapurāṇa*' or '*Kaurma*' is found in *Kūrma* (Vaṅga. ed.) II, chaps. 18, 26 and 44 and (ii) Ballāla refers to the list of Upapurāṇas in *Kūrma* I, 1, 17, 20, which is, therefore, of much earlier date.

(7) *Liṅgapurāṇa* or *Laiṅga*.—It has already been pointed out that the verses from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* can rightly be suspected to have been added by Lakṣmaṇasena for the following reasons : (i) the *Liṅga* is not mentioned in the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas utilised in the above-mentioned Nibandhas, and (ii) in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b, there are clear indications that the *Liṅga* was not drawn upon in the *Dānasāgara*.

The present *Liṅga*,[19] however, is not a late work. It was known in Ballālasena's time; because (i) the verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* from a '*Liṅgapurāṇa*' or '*Laiṅga*' are all found in our present *Liṅga* I, 77 (on the consecration of a Liṅga) and II, 28 (on mahādāna), and those quoted in the *Adbhutasāgara* are, with only a few exceptions, found in *Liṅga* I, 91 and 10; and (ii) the line '*bṛhad api liṅgapurāṇam matsyapurānoditair mahādānaiḥ* '(*Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b) points to the present *Liṅga* which deals, in chaps. 28.44 of its Uttarārdha, with the great gifts treated of in *Matsya* 274-289.

The present *Liṅga* seems to have undergone changes after Ballālasena's time. There are occasional differences in readings between the quoted verses and their parallels in the printed edition; and the verse in *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 513 with the words

18. *See* my essay on the *Brahmapurāṇa* in *Indian Culture*, II. pp. 235f.

19. Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

'*liṅgapurāṇe tripuravadhanimittakathane mayavākyam*' is not found in the present *Liṅga*, though it contains the story of Tripura-vadha.

Besides the present *Liṅga* which itself is an apocryphal work,[20] Ballālasena knew another spurious *Liṅga* consisting of 6,000 ślokas and dealing with initiation etc.[21] That more *Liṅga-purāṇas* than one came into existence at a fairly early date is indicated by our present *Liṅga* itself which says '*laiṅgamekādaśavidhaṁ prabhinnaṁ dvāpare yuge*' (*Liṅga* 1, 39, 64a = *Skanda* VII, i, 2, 101b).

(8) *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*.—This Purāṇa is drawn upon both in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*, and the quoted verses are all, with the exception of only ten (nine on mānuṣādbhuta in *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 485 and one on p. 509), found in the extant *Mārkaṇḍeya*[22] which, therefore, is generally the same as that used by Ballālasena.

(9) *Matsyapurāṇa* or *Mātsya*.—Both in his *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* Ballāla draws profusely upon the *Matsyapurāṇa* by referring, in many cases, to the relevant topics and episodes, and these quoted verses are, with a very few exceptions, found in our present *Matsya*, chapters 22, 53, 67, 82-92, 115, 134, 153, 163, 172, 205-7, 228-238, 240-243, 274-289, and 290 which deal with the respective topics or episodes referred to. In my analysis of the *Matsyapurāṇa* I have already dealt with the dates of most of these chapters.[23] Those remaining (*viz.*, chaps. 134, 153, 163 aud 172) are utilised below to determine the dates of a few more groups of chapters.

The story of the origin and destruction of Tripura, a city built by the demon architect Maya, is dealt with in *Matsya* 129-140. These chapters, except the interpolated portions if any, are earlier than the beginning of the 12th century A.D., for Ballālasena quotes a line from chap. 134 in connection with 'the burning of Tripura'. Chaps. 146-160 deal with the birth of the

20. My essay on the *Liṅgapurāṇa* will shortly be published in *Indian Culture*, Calcutta.

21. *See* foot-note 7 on p. 45.

22. For an analysis of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XI, pp. 108f.

23. See *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Instiitute*, XVII, pp. 1f.

demon Tāraka and his death at the hand of Kārttikeya. Of these, only chaps. 146-148 (especially except verses 1-40 of chap. 146) and chaps. 153-160 (especially except verses 1-221 and 228b to the end of chap. 153, and verses 447-485 of chap. 154) have been borrowed by the *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa). So, the intervening chaps. 149-152, on the description of a war between the gods and demons, seem to be interpolations. As Ballālasena quotes in his *Adbhutasāgara* a line from chap. 153 by mentioning that it is taken from the episode of the war between the gods and the demons, [24] we can be sure that chaps. 146-148 and 153-160 (especially except the verses noted above) are earlier than 1100 A. D. Again, chaps. 39-41 of the *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣti-khaṇḍa), which tally considerably with chaps. 146-148 and 153-160 are to be dated between 800 and 950 A. D. and most probably in the latter half of the eighth century A. D.[25] So, *Matsya* 146-148 and 153-160 (especially except the verses noted above) are to be dated earlier than 200 A. D.

Chaps. 161–163 deal with the killing of Hiraṇyakaśipu by the Man-lion, and chap. 172, which belongs to the group consisting of the closely interrelated chaps 169–179, with the tārakāmaya-yuddha between the gods on the one side and the demons Yakṣas, Serpents, Rākṣasas etc. on the other, As Ballālasena quotes in his *Dānasāgara* a good number of verses from chaps. 163 and 172 by expressly mentioning the stories[26] and as *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) chaps. 42, 37–38 and 43 (verses 6b-9a and 77–85a), which are borrowed from *Matsya* 161–163, 169- 178 and 174 (verses 1–13a) respectively, are to be dated between 800 and 950 A. D. and most probably in the latter half of the eighth century A. D.,[27] the above-mentioned chapters (161–163, 169–178 and verses 1–13a of chap. 179) of the *Matsyapurāṇa* must be placed earlier than 800 A. D.

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24. *Cf. Adbhutasāgara*, p. 478 *matsyapurāṇe devāsurayuddhanimittam*,
25. *See* my essay on the *Padmapurāṇa* in *Indian Culture*, IV, pp. 73f.
26. *See Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 20, 23, 50 etc.; and pp. 319, 358 and 701.
27. *See* my essay on the *Padmapurāṇa*.

A comparison between the present *Matsya* and the quoted verses shows that this Purāṇa has not suffered much through losses, though interpolations continued to be made even after the 12th century A. D.

(10) *Nāradīyapurāṇa* or *Nāradīya*—By his statement that he did not draw upon the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* because it did not contain any chapter on gift (cf. *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b) Ballālasena means most probably the present *Nāradīya* in which also there is no chapter on gift. As neither the *Dānasāgara* nor the *Adbhutasāgara* has even a single line from the *Nāradīya*, it is not possible to say anything definitely.

(11) *Padmapurāṇa* or *Pādma*—This Purāṇa is drawn upon both in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*; and the verses quoted in the former are all found in Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, chaps. 10, 15 and 31, and those quoted in the latter are all found in chaps. 37 and 43 of the same Khaṇḍa. In connection with the quotations the following stories of the *Padmapurāṇa* have been mentioned in the *Adbhutasāgara* :

( *i* ) Hiraṇyakaśipu-vadha—(*Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 20, 23 etc.)
( *ii*) Tārakāmaya-yuddha—( ,, pp. 319, 332, 358 etc.)
(*iii*) Deva-parājaya—(*Adbhutasāgara*, p. 409). These stories occur in the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa.

(12) *Śivapurāṇa* or *Śaiva*—Of the 31 lines (except the repeated ones) quoted in the *Dānasāgara* from a '*Śivapurāṇa*', 27 are found in the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā of the extant *Śiva* (Vaṅgavāsī edition). So, our present *Śiva* has portions which can rightly claim to be fairly old.[28]

(13) *Skandapurāṇa* or *Skānda*—Ballālasena quotes numerous verses from a '*Skāndapurāṇa*' or '*Skānda*' in his Nibandhas, but none of them is found in the printed *Skanda* (Vaṅga ed.)[29]

(14) *Tārkṣya* (i. e. *Gāruḍa*) *Purāṇa*—Ballālāsena includes it among the spurious Purāṇas. Though he does not draw upon it in his Nibandhas, his enumeration of the contents of the spurious Purāṇas shows definitely that this spurious *Tārkṣya* is the same as the present *Garuḍa* which also deals with dīkṣā, pratiṣṭhā, ratnaparīkṣā, mṛṣā-vaṁśānucarita. vyākaraṇa etc.

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28-29. The *Śiva* and the *Skanda* purāṇa will be analysed on other occasions.

(15) *Vāmanapurāṇa*—This Purāṇa is drawn upon in the *Dānasāgara*, and all the quoted verses, except two, are found in chap. 96 of our present *Vāmana* (Vaṅga. ed.), which, therefore, has preserved much of its older materials.

(16) *Varāhapurāṇa* or *Vārāha*—This Purāṇa is drawn upon in the *Dānasāgara*, and all the quoted verses are found in chaps. 205-207 of the present *Varāha* (Vaṅga. ed.) which, therefore, was known to Ballālasena in some form or other.

(17) *Vāyuparāṇa* or *Vāyavīya*—This is a very ancient work, and most of the verses quoted by Ballālasena in his Nibandhas from a '*Vāyupurāṇa*' or '*Vāyavīya*' are found in chaps. 19 and 80 of the present *Vāyu* (Ānandāśrama edition).[30]

(18) *Viṣṇupurāṇa* or *Vaiṣṇava*—The *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* have 6 and 33 lines respectively from a '*Viṣṇupurāṇa*'. Of these, only two, quoted in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 21a, are found in our present *Viṣṇu* (Vaṅga. ed., III, 12, 20). As the quoted verses in the *Adbhutasāgara* are concerned with different *adbhutas* (*viz*., earth-quake, dream, and delivery), it is sure that Ballālasena used a manuscript copy of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* which contained chapters on these topics.

The absence of chapters on *adbhutas* in our present Viṣṇu does not, however, prove that Ballālasena's *Viṣṇupurāṇa* was a totally different work. On the other hand, it is highly probable that Ballāla knew the extent *Viṣṇu* with a few chapters on *adbhutas* borrowed from the *Matsyapurāṇa* or the *Viṣṇudharmottara* or both.

Ballāla mentions a spurious *Viṣṇu* of 23,000 ślokas. It was most probably the great fame and popularity of the genuine *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* that encouraged the composition of such a spurious work at a time earlier than the beginning of the 12th century A. D. As no Ms. of this spurious work has yet been found, it seems to have been lost.

The Upapurāṇas, which require very close and careful study, will be examined on other occasions.

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30. The *Vāyupurāṇa* will be analysed on other occasion.

## APPENDIX

I. Verses quoted from the *'Bhāgavata'* in *Adbhutasāgara,*

p. 354....*Bhāgavata* I, 14, 16a.
p. 355.... „ III, 17, 5
p. 378.... „ I. 14, 16b
p. 410.... „ III, 17, 7; & I, 14, 18a
p. 426.... „ I, 14, 20a
p. 481.... „ I, 14, 20b-c
p. 625.... „ I, 14, 13b
p. 642.... „ I, 14, 19b.
p. 643.... „ III, 17, 13a.
p. 645.... „ I, 14, 19b.
p. 653.... „ III, 17, 11b. III, 17, 10.
p. 654.... „ I, 14, 12b-13a.
p. 658.... „ III, 17, 9; I, 14, 12a.
p. 709.... „ III, 17, 13.
p. 710.... „ I, 14, 15, and 17b.
p. 712.... „ III, 17, 4.

II. For the verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* from the *'Bhaviṣyapurāṇa'* and traced in the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the *Bhaviṣya*; see *Indian Culture*, III, p. 228.

III. Verses quoted from the *'Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa'* in *Adbhutasāgara,*

p. 524.... *Vāyu* 19, 22.
p. 527.... „ 19, 31.
p. 531.... „ 19, 21b.
p. 537.... „ 19, 23b and 23.
p. 538.... „ 19, 24b.
p. 539.... „ 19, 24.
p. 542.... „ 19, 30.
p. 544.... „ 19, 5.
p. 545 - „ 19, 12.

IV. Verses quoted from the *'Kūrmapurāṇa'* or *'Kaurma'* in *Dānasāgara,*

fol. 9b—*Kūrma* II, 26, 57.
fol. 21a . . „ II, 18, 53.
fol. 25a . . „ II, 18, 81-82
fol. 137a . . „ II, 26, 13.
fol. 149b . . „ II, 26, 18.
fol. 154a . . „ II, 26, 17.
fol. 195a . . „ II, 44, 123 and 125-127.
fol. 242b-243a . . II, 26. 30-31.
fol. 246a . . „ II, 26, 25-26.
fol. 252b-253a—„ II. 26, 23. and 19-21.
fol. 285a . . II, 26, 35.

V. Verses quoted from the *'Liṅgapurāṇa'* or *'Laiṅga'* in

(a) *Dānasāgara,*

fol. 15a-b . . *Linga* I, 77, 33b-35, and 52b-54a.
fol. 28a . . „ II, 28, 34b.

(b) *Adbhutasāgara,*

p. 507 . . *Linga* I, 91, 19 and 27
p. 508 . . „ I, 91, 15, 29 and 16.
p. 509 . . „ I, 91, 17b, 35, 31 and 34.

p. 524 . . „ I, 91, 24.
p. 525—cf. „ I, 91, 5.
p. 527 . . „ I, 91, 33.
p. 536 . . „ I, 9, 23b.
p. 533 . . „ I, 91, 13b.
p. 537 . . „ I, 91, 25b and 25.
p. 538 . . „ I, 91, 26b.
p. 539 . . „ I, 91, 26
p. 541 . . „ I, 91, 13a. The line 'pivataśca' and the verse 'sadyaḥ snānānuliptasya' are not found.
p. 542 . . „ I, 91, 32.
p. 544 . . „ I, 91, 7.
p. 545 . . „ I, 91, 14.
p. 546 cf. „ I, 91, 6.
p. 548 cf. „ I, 91, 12.
p. 554 cf. „ I, 91, 11.
p. 556 . . „ I, 91, 21.
p. 712 . . „ I, 100, 9-10.

VI. Verses quoted from the '*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* in

(a) *Dānasāgara*,
fol. 29b—*Mārkaṇḍeya* p. 16, 36b–37a.
fol. 163b . . „ 10, 57a.
fol. 189b . . „ 10, 57a.

(b) *Adbhutasāgara*,
pp. 253-4—*Mārkaṇḍeya* p. 58. 55
pp. 254-5 . . „ 58, 6-9.
p. 256 . . „ 58, 11-13a.
p. 257 . . „ 58, 16-19a.
p. 259 . . „ 58, 20b-28.
p. 261 . . „ 58, 30-33a
p. 262 . . „ 58, 34-36a and 37.
p. 263 . . „ 58, 38b-40a, 36b, 37a and 40b.
pp. 264-5 . . „ 58, 40b-47
pp. 266-7 . . „ 58, 48b-53a
pp. 267-8 . . „ 58, 79b-80,56. 75b-79a, 65-67, and 69-73a.
p. 506 . . „ 43, 4 and 20.
p. 507 . . „ 43, 19 and 15.
p. 508 . . „ 43, 27 and 16.
p. 509 . . „ 43, 17, 18a (the line dṛṣtvā tu' is not found), 29 and 31.
p. 518 . . „ 43, 35-37.
p. 523 . . „ 43, 10.
p. 524 . . „ 43, 24.
p. 525 . . „ 43, 5.
p. 527 . . „ 43, 32.
p. 528 . . „ 43, 33.
p. 530 . . „ 43, 28.
p. 531 . . „ 43, 23a.
p. 535 . . „ 43, 28.
p. 539 . . „ 43, 26.
p. 541 . . „ 43, 22 (cf. also 43, 13a.)
p. 542 . . „ 43, 30.
p. 544 . . „ 43, 7.
p. 545 . . „ 43, 14.
p. 546 . . „ 43, 6.
p. 548 . . „ 43, 12.
p. 553 . . „ 43, 9b and 11.
p. 556 . . „ 43, 9.
p. 557 . . „ 21.

VII. Verses quoted from the '*Matsyapurāṇa*' or '*Matsya*' in.

(a) *Adbhutasāgara*,

p. 5 . . „ *Matsya* 229, 5.
p. 6 . . „ 229, 6-9a and 9b-10a. The line 'divyam tivraphalam' is not found.
p. 9 . . „ 228, 2-3a; 229, 12b-13a.
p. 20—cf.„ 163, 37a.
p. 23. . „ 163, 38a.
p. 43. . „ 163, 35.
p 50. . „ 163, 38b-39a.
pp. 87-88..„ 67, 2-6.
p. 141. . „ 163, 39b.
p. 275. . „ 231, 5.
p. 290. . „ 163, 37b.
p. 296—cf. „ chap. 229.
p. 302. . „ 233. 7 and 8b.
p. 318. . „ 233, 6; 168, 50.
p. 319. . „ 172, 19; 231, 4 (second pāda differs): 172, 18b.
p. 320. . „ 238,2; 162,48b.
p, 336. . *Matsya* 163, 42b.
p. 337. . „ 163, 42a.
p. 353. . „ 243, 23a and 22.
p. 356. . „ 228, 11; 236, 5
p. 358. . „ 172, 13-14a.
p. 375. . „ 233, 1a.
p. 376. . „ 233, 1b and 2a.
p. 378. . „ 233, 3a; 163, 43a.
p. 379. . „ 233, 3b-4a.
p. 380--cf. „ 233, 4b.
p. 381. . „ 233, 9
p. 386. . „ 228, 21a.
p. 388. . „ 228, 21-22a
p. 391. . „ 228, 22b-23.
p. 398. . „ 228, 24-25.
p 401. . „ 228, 26-27.
pp. 408-409. 240, 8b-9a.
p. 410. . „ 234, 1-3a. The line 'aśoṣyāvā' is not found.
p. 412 . . „ 234, 3b-5a,
p. 413 . . „ 228, 12b; 234, 5b-7.
p 416. . „ 231, 1.
p. 417. . „ 231, 2b-3.
p. 418. . „ 231, 6b and 8a.
p. 419. . „ 231, 9b-11.
p. 425. . „ 230, 1-5a
p. 426. . „ 163, 45b-46.
p. 427-cf. „ 230, 6a.
p. 428. . „ 230, 8a and 7a.
p. 429. . „ 230, 6b and 7b.
p. 430. . „ 230, 5b.
pp. 431-2. „ 230, 9b-12, The line 'tallingena' is not found.
p. 441. . *Matsya* 232, 5b-6a and 11a.
p. 442. . „ 232, 10a, 9b and 9a.
p. 443. . „ 163, 44; 232, 6b.
p. 444. . „ 232, 7b-8.
p. 445. . „ 232, 11b-12a,
p. 446. . „ 163, 49.
p. 447. . „ 232, 12b-14.
p. 458. . „ 238, 1.

p. 459. . ,, 238, 15a–b and 16. The verse 'svayam udghāṭite' is not found.
p. 460. . ,, 257. 12 and 7–8. Four lines from 'dvāraprākāragehesu' are not found.
p. 461. . ,, 163, 51.
p. 468. . ,, 228, 11b,
p. 469. . ,, 236, 2a, 3a and 4b.
p. 470. . ,, 236, 2b and 4b.
p. 471. . ,, 236, 1 and 3b–4.
p. 472. . ,, 228, 14a.
p. 478. . ,, 231, 7 and 8b–9a; 153, 175a.
p. 483. . ,, 143, 12b.
p. 484. . ,, 238, 10a, 9a, 10b–11a, 6b, 8, 5b and 11b.
p. 486. . ,, 238, 15a–b and 16.
p. 490. . ,, 241, 13.
p. 492. . ,, 241, 12.
p. 493. . ,, 241, 14.
pp. 501-502. . ,, 242, 19b-20.
pp. 502-503. . ,, 242, 2b–15a.
p. 514. . ,, 242, 17b–18 and 15b–16.
p. 560. . ,, 235, 1-3.
p. 564. . ,, 235, 4
p. 583. . ,, 237, 1–3a,
p. 584. . ,, 237, 3b.
p. 585. . , 237, 4,
p. 587 . ,, 237, 9a and 13-14
p. 654 cf. ,, 237, 9b.
p. 663. . ,, 237, 5b.
p. 689. . ,, 237, 10.
p. 698. . ,, 237, 11.
p. 701. . ,, 172, 15.
pp. 701-702. ,, 233, 7-8.
p 713. . ,, 233, 2b.
p. 714. . ,, 233, 9a,
pp. 733-6. . ,, Chap. . 28 (except verses 1, 25b–26a and 29). Two of the quoted lines *viz.*, 'ārogyadhanakāmaś ca' (*Adbhutasāgara*, p. 733) and 'Kāryā mārudgaṇī (*Ādbhutasāgara*, p. 734) are not found.
p. 736. . ,, 228, 29.
pp. 743-4. .,, 229, 13b-20a, 22b-24a, 20b-22a and 24b-25.
p. 751. . ,, 229, 10b-11a.

(b) For the verses quoted from the '*Matsyapurāṇa*' or '*Mātsya*' in the *Dānasāgara* and found in the printed *Matsya*, see *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Insitute* XVII, p. 31.

VIII. For the verses quoted from the '*Padmapurāṇa*' or '*Pādma*' and traced in the printed *Padma*, see *Indian Culture*, IV, p. 93.

IX. Verses quoted from the '*Śivapurāṇa*' in *Dānasāgara*.

fol. 13b . . Śivapurāṇa IV (Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā), 26, 58-59.

fol. 123b–124a . . ,, IV, 22 126b–128a.

fol. 126a . . ,, IV, 10, 44b-45a and 46b-48a.

fol. 137a. . ,, IV, 10, 44b-45a and 46b-48a.

fol. 154a. . ,, IV, 25, 45.

fol. 173a. . ,, IV, 10, 44b–45a and 46b–48a.

fol. 188a. . ,, IV, 22, 130b–131.

fol. 190b. . ,, IV, 22, 119 (also cf. IV, 13. 42b–43a)

fol. 286a. . ,, IV, 22, 119 also cf. IV, 13, 42b–43a.

fol. 291b–292a. . ,, IV, 20, 31; IV, 20, 9b-10a: IV, 20, 10b-c.

X. Verses quoted from the '*Vāmanapurāṇa*' in *Dānasāgara*.

fol. 5a. . *Vāmanapurāṇa*, 95, 7-9

fol. 152a. . ,, 95, 44.

fol. 181a. . ,, 95, 44.

fol. 204b. . ,, 95, 44. The verse, 'gṛhakarma-karim is not found.

fol. 235a-b. . ,, 95, 23b-24a.

fol. 236a. . ,, 95, 24b-c and 25–26a.

fol. 236b. . ,, 95, 26b–27a and 27b-c.

fol. 237a . . ,, 95, 38. The verse 'ghṛtaṁ ca' has undoubtedly been dropped.

fol. 237 . . *Vāmanap*, 95,39-40.

fol. 238a. . ,, 95, 41 and 43

XI. For the verses quoted from the '*Varāhapurāṇa*' in the *Dānasāgara* and traced in the printed *Varāha*, see *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII, p. 334.

XII. Verses quoted from the '*Vāyupurāṇa*' or '*Vāyavīya*' in

(a) *Dānasāgara*,

fol. 187a . . *Vāyu* 80, 59.

(b) *Adbhutasāgara*,

p. 506. . *Vāyu* 19, 18.

p. 507. . ,, 19, 17 and 25

p. 508. . ,, 19, 13, 27 and 14.

p. 509. . ,, 19, 16, 33 and 15. The verse 'nagnaṁ Śravaṇakam' is not found.

XIII. For the verses quoted from 'the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*' in the *Dānsāgara* and traced in the printed *Viṣṇu*, see *Annals* XVIII, p. 272.

# DISCOVERY OF THE GENUINE ĀGNEYA-PURĀṆA*

It is well known that the present *Agni-purāṇa*, which has been printed repeatedly in different parts of India, is a spurious work written about the ninth century A.D. Vallālasena said that this Purāṇa (as well as a few others named by him) was compiled by the Tantriks with a sectarian motive and was consequently rejected by him as apocryphal.[1] With the spread of Tantricism this spurious work attained great popularity, and the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* had to save itself from extinction by assuming a different title, *viz.*, '*Vahni-purāṇa*'. As modern scholars did not know the real nature of this '*Vahni-purāṇa*' occurring in Manuscripts, they took it to be an Upapurāṇa of minor importance and believed that the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* had been lost for ever. Fortunately in 1951 I came across a wrongly described Ms. in the collecion of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) and found out that the earlier *Āgneya-purāṇa* was still suriving under the title '*Vahni-purāṇa*'. Being sure of the identification I collected a few more MSS. of this work and began to prepare a critical edition of the same. I also contributed to "*Our Heritage*" (a half-yearly Bulletin of the Research Department, Sanskrit College Calcutta) an extensive article covering more than one hundred typed pages in which I made a critical and intensive study of the various problems connected with this work. As this article is still awaiting publication, I deal in the followintg pages very briefly with the questions of the identification, present form, and

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* *J. O. I.*, vol. V pp. 411—416

1. See *Dānasāgare* (India office ms. No. 719), fol. 3b-4a—

तार्क्ष्यं पुराणमपरं ब्राह्ममाग्नेयमेव च ।
त्रयोविंशतिसाहस्रं पुराणमपि वैष्णवम् ॥
षट्साहस्रमितं लिङ्गं पुराणमपरं तथा ।
दीक्षाप्रतिष्ठापाषण्डमुक्तिरत्नपरीक्षणैः ॥
मृषावंशानुचरितैः कोशव्याकरणादिभिः ।
असंगतकथाबन्धपरस्परविरोधितः ॥
तन्मीनकेतनादीनां भाण्डपाषण्डलिङ्गिनाम् ।
लोकवञ्चनमालोक्य सर्वमेवावरी (? धी) रितम् ॥

date of the so-called *Vahni-purāṇa* mainly on the basis of the Asiatic Society Ms.

That the present *Vahni-purāṇa* is the same as the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* known to and used by the comparatively early authorities, can be established by a number of evidences, of which a few may be mentioned here. In the Mss. of the so called *Vahni-purāṇa* the work has been called 'Agni-saṁjñita Purāṇa' (and not 'Vahni-saṁjñita Purāṇa' or '*Vahni-purāṇa*') in the body of the text,[2] and the title '*Āgneya Purāṇa*' occurs in the final colophons as well as in the colophons of Chapters 1-3 and 64 of all the Mss. we have got in our possession. It is remarkable that, in spite of the occurrence of the title '*Vahni-purāṇa*' in many of the chapter-colophons, even the scribes of these Mss. knew the work under the title '*Agni-purāṇa*'. This is shown by the occurrence of the syllables 'अग्नि°', 'अग्निपु°' or 'अ°पु°' (all being abbreviations for the name 'अग्निपुराण') in the upper corner of the left margin of the second page of all the leaves of all the Mss.). Such traditional identity of the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* and the *Vahni-purāṇa* explains why in some of the lists of eighteen principal Purāṇas the title '*Vahni-purāṇa*', '*Vahnija*' or '*Vāhna*' is found to occur in place of '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' or '*Āgneya*'. In commenting on *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* xii. 13. 4-8 Śrīdhara-svāmin, Vīra-rāghavācārya, Vijaya-dhvaja-tīrtha and Śukadeva take the name '*Vāhna*' to mean the '*Āgneya*' or '*Agni-purāṇa*'.

More definite evidence in favour of the so-called *Vahni-purāṇa* and the *Āgneya-purāṇa* is adduced by those comparatively early Smṛti-writers who have named and drawn upon the *Āgneya-purāṇa* in their commentaries and Nibandhas. It is remarkable that most of the numerous verses and extracts quoted from the '*Āgneya-purāṇa*', '*Āgneya*', or '*Agni-purāṇa*' in the works of Vallālasena, Halāyudha, Hemādri, Caṇḍeśvara, Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya, Vācaspatimiśra, Gaṇapati, Govindānanda, Raghunandana, and many others, occur in the present *Vahni-purāṇa* but not in the printed *Agni-purāṇa*.[3] It is true that a few of the

2. See *Vahni-purāṇa*, Chap. I, verse 18 (*śrotūm icchāmahe tvattaḥ purāṇam agni-saṁjñitam*).

3. A complete list of these traced verses has been given in my article contributed to "*Our Heritage*".

verses quoted in some of the works of these writers are also found in the printed *A gni-purāṇa,* but this is due to the fact that this work retained some verses or groups of verses here and there from the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* which it tried to replace by imitating its title, form and contents.

The *Matsya* and the *Skanda-purāṇa* describe the *'Āgneya'* Purāṇa as follows :

"That [ Purāṇa people ] call '*Āgneya*' which was spoken out by Agni to Vasiṣṭha in connection with the affairs of the Iśāna-kalpa. This [Purāṇa] of 16,000 [Granthas or Ślokas] yields the fruits of all sacrifices to one who prepares a copy of it and gives it away in the prescribed manner in the month of Mārgaśirṣa after furnishing it with a lotus made of gold and a cow made of sesamum."[4]

The *Saura-purāṇa* also says :

"The fruit of the Rājasūya sacrifice accrues eternally [to him who] chances to give the *Āgneya* [*Purāṇa*] on the first lunar day to [a Brahmin] who maintains the sacred fire (āhitāgni)."[5]

The Śiva-rahasya-khaṇḍa (2. 34) of the Śaṁkara-saṁhitā of the *Skanda-purāṇa* declares the '*Āgneya*' Purāṇa to be the only Purāṇic work in praise of Agni (agner āgneyam ekakam).[6] The *Padma-purāṇa*, Uttar-khaṇḍa, includes the '*Āgneya*' among the Tāmasa

4. यत्तदीशानकं कल्पं वृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य च ।
वसिष्ठायाग्निनाप्रोक्तमाग्नेयं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥
लिखित्वा तच्च यो दद्याद् धेमपद्मसमन्वितम् ।
मार्गशीर्ष्यां विधानेन तिलधेनुसमन्वितम् ॥
तच्च षोडशसाहस्रं सर्वक्रतुफलप्रदम् ॥
*Matsya-purāṇa* (Anandāśrama Press ed.) 53. 28-30a; and *Skanda-purāṇa* VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa). i. 2. 47-48 (v. l. '*Īśāna-kalpasya*' in line I, and '*mārgaśīrṣe*' and "*tila-dhenu-yutaṃ tathā*' in line 4).

5. आग्नेयं प्रतिपद्येव प्रदद्यादाहिताग्नये ।
राजसूयस्य यज्ञस्य फलं भवति शाश्वतम् ॥
(*Saura-purāṇa*, Anandāśrama Press ed., 9.25

6. Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.*, VI, Nos. 3671-72, p. 1363.

Purāṇas,[7] and the *Matsya* and the *Skanda-purāṇa* inform us that the Tāmasa Purāṇas are those which glorify Agni or Śiva.[8] From these statements of the different Purāṇic works we learn that the *Āgneyapurāṇa* known to them praised Agni (the Fire-god) as the highest deity, dealt with the sacrificial rites and conduct of the Āhitāgni Brahmins, was concerned with the events of the Īśāna-kalpa, had Agni and Vasiṣṭha as the principal interlocutors, and consisted of 16000 Granthas or Ślokas. As the present *Vahni-purāṇa* contains some of these characteristics, and not all, and as the printed *Agni-purāṇa* also frequently calls itself '*Āgneya Purāṇa*' in the body of its text and has Agni and Vasiṣṭha as the principal interlocutors, there arises doubt as to whether it is the *Vahni-purāṇa* or the present *Agni-purāṇa* which is the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa*. This doubt is set aside by Vallālasena who quotes a large number of verses and extracts from the genuine '*Āgneya purāṇa*' without the least shade of doubt as regards its authenticity, but rejects the present *Agni-purāṇa* ('dealing with initiation, consecration, salvation of Pāṣaṇḍas, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar, etc.') for its spurious character and Tantric elements. As most of these quoted verses and extracts, together with the interlocutors mentioned therein, are found in the present *Vahni purāṇa*, and as, unlike the printed *Agni-purāṇa*, the present *Vahni-purāṇa* shows no trace of Tantric influence, it is sure that the *Āgneya-purāṇa*, drawn upon by Vallālasena, has come down to us under the title '*Vahni-purāṇa*.' We have already said that the great majority of the verses quoted from the '*Āgneya-purāṇa*,' '*Āgneya*' or '*Agni-purāṇa*' in the works of comparatively early Smṛti-writers are found not in the printed *Agni-purāṇa* but in the present *Vahni purāṇa*, which, therefore, must be identical with the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* known to them.

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7. See *Padma-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press ed.) Uttara-khaṇḍa, 263. 81-85.

8. *Matsya-purāṇa* 53. 68-69; and *Skanda-purāṇa* VII. i 2. 87-88.

The *Skanda-purāṇa* adds, in verse 89, that among the eighteen principal Purāṇas four are given to the praise of Viṣṇu, two each to that of Brahmā and Ravi (the Sun), and the rest to that of Śiva (*caturbhir bhagavān viṣṇur dvābhyām brahmā tathā raviḥ | aṣṭādaśapurāṇeṣu śeṣeṣu bhagavān śivaḥ ||*).

A careful analysis of the contents of the present *Vahni-purāṇa* shows that originally this work praised Agni, the Fire-god (who was indentified with Śiva, as the few chapters retained by it from its earlier form indicate), dealt extensively with the details of sacrificial rites and procedures, and had a good number of chapters on other matters characteristic of the ancient Purāṇas, and that in course of time most of these chapters were replaced by those derived from various ancient works such as the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṁśa*, *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, etc., and especially the *Viṣṇu-dharma*, from which the *Vahni* (or rather *Āgneya-purāṇa*) derived not only a large number of chapters on religious matters but also the sage Vasiṣṭha as one of the principal interlocutors. It is due to these mixed contents of the present *Vahni-purāṇa* that the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* has been described in the *Matsya* and other Purāṇas as a Tāmasa Purāṇa praising Agni or Śiva and as containing the interlocution between Agni and Vasiṣṭha. The absence of any mention of the Īśāna-kalpa in the present *Vahni-purāṇa* must be due to the replacement of a large number of original chapters of the genuine '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' with those derived from other sources.

As to the present extent of the *Vahni-purāṇa*, which is found to consist about 12000 Granthas or Ślokas, it may be said that the Purāṇas themselves are not unanimous on this point. For instance, the *Matsya-purāṇa*, *Skanda-purāṇa* (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa and Revā Khaṇḍa). *Devī bhāgavata* (i. 3.9), etc. give the extent of the '*Āgneya purāṇa*' as 16000 (Granthas or Ślokas); the *Bhāgavata* (xii. 13.5) and the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa* (iv. 133. 14-15) give it as 15400 (Granthas or Ślokas); and the apocryphal *Agni-purāṇa* gives 12000 (Granthas or Ślokas) as the extent of the '*Āgneya*'. So, it can hardly be denied that extent of the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* was not the same at all times and in all places and that it varied with the difference in time and locality. However, the mention of an extent of 12000 (Granthas or Ślokas) in the printed *Agni purāṇa* is important in that this became the extent of the genuine *Āgneyapurāṇa* when the former was composed with an idea of replacing it by imitating its title, form and extent.

That a good number of chapters on sacrificial rituals and other matters characteristic of the early Purāṇas came to be lost

from the so-called *Vahni-purāṇa* is shown by a Purāṇic work, published under the title '*Nāndi-purāṇa*', which claims to belong to the '*Vahni-purāṇa*' and pretends to continue the conversation between Agni (or Vahni, the Fire-god) and Vasiṣṭha, who, as we have already seen, appear as interlocutors in the present *Vahni-purāṇa* (*i. e. Āgneyapurāṇa*) in its Vaiṣṇavite form. At the very outset of this work Vasiṣṭha is found to request Vahni (the Fire-god) saying :

भगवन् देव देवाग्र विभो धर्मादिकारण।
त्वत्प्रसादाच् छ्रुताः सर्वे धर्मा वर्णाश्रमोचिताः॥
कुण्डमण्डपवेदीनां प्रमाणं च यथाश्रुतम्।
दीक्षां यज्ञादिकानां च वास्तुशास्त्रनिरूपणम्॥
अवतारान् भगवतश्चतुर्विंशतिसंमितान्।
मन्त्रदीक्षाविधिश्चापि संस्कारानष्टसंयुतान्॥
चत्वारिंशन्मितान् सूर्यसोमवंशादिवर्णनम्।
एतदन्यच्च भगवन् छ्रुतं विस्तरतो मया॥
अधुना श्रोतुमिच्छामि ब्रह्माण्डस्य निरूपणम्।
संक्षेपात् कथितं यच्च पुरा ह्येतत्तु विस्तरात्॥
श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं वह्ने ब्रूहि प्रलयकारणम्।

(*Nāndī purāṇa*, Chap. 1, verses 1–6a)

From these words of Vasiṣṭha we learn that, besides giving a brief account of the universe, the *Vahni-purāṇa* (*i.e.* the *Āgneya-purāṇa*) dealt elaborately (*vistarataḥ*) with the entire duties of the different castes and orders of life, and also with the construction of sacrificial pits, pandals and altars, consecration for and preliminaries to Vedic sacrifices, various matters relating to the building of houses, the twenty-four incarnations of the Bhagavat (*i.e.* Agni, who is considered to be identical with Rudra-Śiva), the forty-eight sacraments, the method of imparting initiatory Mantras, the accounts of the Solar, Lunar, and other dynasties, and so on (*etad anyac ca*). It should be mentioned here that in the *Vahni-purāṇa* (*i.e. Āgneya-purāṇa*) in its present form there are no chapters or verses on most of these topics; and this elimination was undoubtedly made by the Vaiṣṇavas not during their first recast of this work but in a subsequent one to which they must have subjected it in course of time.

As to the date of the present *Vahni-purāṇa* it may be said that this work, in its changed term, existed ealier than Vallālasena, the printed *Agni-purāṇa* (*circa* 8th century A. D.), and *Matsya-purāṇa* Chap. 53 (which is to be dated between 550 and 650 A. D.).[9] So, the *Āgneya-purāṇa* (*i.e.* the present *Vahni-purāṇa*) must have been recast by the Vaiṣṇavas not later than 500 A. D. As the *Viṣṇu-dharma*, from which the *Vahni-purāṇa* has borrowed a large number of chapters, cannot be dated earlier than 200 A. D. and seems to have been written some time during the third century A. D., the date of the Vaiṣṇava recast of the present *Vahni-purāṇa* is to be placed between 300 and 500 A. D. From its mention of Rāśis, 'Horā', etc. and from the absence of Kālidāsa's influence even in its Rāma legend it appears that the present *Vahni-purāṇa* was recast by the Vaiṣṇavas towards the beginning of the fifth century A. D. Thus, the *Vahni-purāṇa* in its original form must have been composed much earlier than the fourth century A. D.

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9. See R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hiudu Rites and Customs*, pp. 39-41 and 176.

# STUDIES IN THE GENUINE ĀGNEYA-PURĀṆA ALIAS VAHNI-PURĀṆA

## Part I*

### I. Introduction

The Purāṇic *literature*, which must have originated in the later Vedic period, has, in all ages, been connected with the life of the common people much more intimately than the Vedic. Like a living organism it has undergone changes from time to time with the changes in the social and religious life of the people and has thus been able to preserve to an appreciable degree materials for the study of popular life in ancient and mediaeval India. Although it is highly gratifying to see that this literature has grown in extent by the addition of numerous new works[1] which the different sectaries composed at different times from different places, it is equally discouraging to find that a good number of the Purāṇas, including some of the principal ones, came to be substituted by comparatively late works bearing the same titles. As examples of such replaced works we may name the *Brahma*, *Brahma-vaivarta*, *Garuḍa* and *Āgneya purāṇa*[2] in particular.[3] Of these four principal Purāṇas, the first was an ancient and widely popular work quoted profusely by the Smṛti-writers and

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* *Our Heritage*, vol. I, pp. 209-245.

1. Besides the eighteen principal Purāṇas, we have been able to collect names and information of about one hundred Upa-purāṇas, many of which are still available in manuscripts or printed forms.

2. We shall see hereinafter that the earlier Purāṇa proclaimed by the Fire-god (Agni) was more widely known as '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' or '*Āgneya*' than as '*Agni-purāṇa*'.

3. Among the Upa-purānas the earlier *Kālikā-purāṇa*, *Ādi-purāṇa* and *Saura-purāṇa* have been lost. The extant Upa-purāṇas of the same titles are quite distinct and comparatively late works. For information about these Upa-purāṇas *see* R. C. Hazra in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Resarch Institute*, XXII, 1941, pp. 1-23, *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, VI, 1945, pp. 60-73, and *New Indian Antiquary*, VI, pp. 103-11 and 121-29.

belonging most probably to the Brahmā-sect,[4] but it has been

4. In *Matsya-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press edition) 53. 68-9, the Purāṇas have been classed as (i) Sāttvika, (ii) Rājasa, (iii) Tāmasa, and (iv) Saṁkīrṇa (mixed) according as they chiefly glorify (i) Hari (i. e., Viṣṇu), (ii) Brahmā, (iii) Agni and Śiva, and (iv) Sarasvatī and the Pitṛs (patriarchs), respectively. The *Devī-bhāgavata* also speaks of the classification of the eighteem Purāṇas according to the three Guṇas (Sattva, Rajas and Tamas). See *Devī-bhāgavata* (Benares, edition) i. 1. 13–5.

The fourfold classification of the *Matsya-purāṇa* has been followed in almost the same words by the *Skanda-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press edition, VII—Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, i. 2.87-8), which adds that among the eighteen principal Purāṇas four are given to the praise of Viṣṇu, two each to that of Brahmā and Ravi (the Sun), and the rest to that of Śiva. (See *Skanda-purāṇa* VII i. 2. 89—

चतुर्भिर्भगवान् विष्णुर्द्वाभ्यां ब्रह्मा तथा रविः ।
अष्टादश-पुराणेषु शेषेषु भगवान् शिवः ॥

More definite information regarding the nature of the individual Purāṇas is supplied by the *Padma-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press edition), Uttara-khaṇḍa (263, 81-5) which states that the *Mātsya*, *Kaurma*, *Laiṅga*, *Śaiva*, *Skānda*, and *Āgneya* are Tāmasa Purāṇas leading to hell, the *Vaiṣṇava*, *Nāradīya*, *Bhāgavata*, *Gāruḍa*, *Pādma* and *Vārāha* are Sāttvika, Purāṇas yielding salvation, and the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Vamana* and *Brahma* are Rājasa Purāṇas serving to attain heaven.

According to verses 30-5 of Chap. 2 of the Śiva-rahasya-khaṇḍa (of the Śaṁkara saṁhitā of the *Skanda-purāṇa*), ten of the eighteen principal Purāṇas praise Śiva, viz., *Śaiva*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Laiṅga*, *Vārāha*, *Skānda*, *Mātsya*, *Kaurma*, *Vāmana*, and *Brahmāṇḍa*, four praise Viṣṇu, viz., *Vaiṣṇava*, *Bhāgavata*, *Nāradīya* and *Gāruḍa*, two praise Brahmā, viz., *Brāhma* and *Pādma*, one praises Agni, viz. *Āgneya*, and one praises Savitṛ (the Sun), viz., *Brahmavaivarta*. See J. Eggeling, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*. VI, Nos. 3671-2, p. 1363.

The above classification of the principal Purāṇas, as given in the Śivarahasya khaṇḍa of the *Skanda-purāṇa*, with reference to their predominating deities, is also found in the Tamil lexicons, as is pointed out by V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 1932, p. 766.

The special connection of Brahmā with the *Brahma purāṇa* is also indicated by the statement, contained in *Matsya-purāṇa* 53. 12-3, *Skanda-purāṇa* VII. i. 2. 28-9,

replaced by the present *Brahma-purāṇa*,[5] a spurious Vaiṣṇava work compiled in Orissa not earlier than the beginning of the tenth century A. D.[6] The *Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa* also was, like the *Brahma*, an early work glorifying Brahmā and belonging to the Brahmā-sect[7], and the *Garuḍa-purāṇa* was probably a Śaiva work.[8] But the present *Brahma-vaivarta*[9] and *Garuḍa-purāṇa*,[10] which have successfully eclipsed the earlier works of the same titles, are both

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*Saura-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press edition) 9. 17-8, etc., that by giving away a copy of the *Brahma purāṇa* to a worthy Brahmin recipient one can attain the region of Brahmā (*Brahma-loka*).

According to *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsi Press edition) iii. 6.21 the '*Brāhma*' Purāṇa was the first and foremost of all (ādyaṃ sarva purāṇānām purāṇaṃ brāhmam ucyate).

5. Published by the Ānandāśrama Press (Poona), Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay), and Vaṅgavāsī Press (Calcutta).

6. See R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 145-57. Also Hazra in *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 235–45.

7. In *Padmapurāṇa*, Uttara-khaṇḍa (263. 84) the *Brahmavaivarta* has been classed as a Rājasa Purāṇa praising Brahmā as the highest deity; and according to *Matsyapurāṇa* 53. 34–36, *Skandapurāṇa* VII. i. 2. 52–3, *Saurapurāṇa* 9. 27, etc., a person, giving away a copy of the *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* to a worthy Brahmin, is said to attain *Brahma-loka*. But the Śivarahasya-khaṇḍa (of the *Skandapurāṇa*) and the Tamil lexicons, mentioned above, take the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa* to be a work glorifying the Sun.

8. The *Matsya* (53. 53–4) and the *Skanda purāṇa* (VII. i. 2. 72–3) state that by giving away a copy of the *Gāruḍa* Purāṇa to a Brahmin recipient one becomes entitled to reside in Śivaloka; and in *Saurapurāṇa* 9.35 it is said that a similar gift of the same work, made in honour of Śiva on a day sacred to this deity, entitles one to the results of a thousand Vājapeya sacrifices.

   By including the '*Gāruḍa*' among the Sāttvika Purāṇas praising Viṣṇu, the *Padmapurāṇa* (Uttara khaṇḍa 263. 82–3), the Śivarahasya-khaṇḍa (of the *Skandapurāṇa*) and the Tamil lexicons seem to betray their knowledge of the present *Garuḍapurāṇa* which is a Vaiṣṇava work.

9-10. Published by the Ānandāśrama Press (Poona), Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay), and Vaṅgavāsi Press (Calcutta). Also edited by Pandit Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

Vaiṣṇava works of comparatively late dates.[11] Unfortunately no manuscript of the earlier *Brahma*, *Brahma-vaivarta* and *Garuḍa-purāṇa* has been discovered as yet, and it is almost certain that these three works have been lost for ever.

As to the *Āgenya-purāṇa* we were so long under the impression that this work also had the same fate as the other three, being driven to extinction by the present *Agni-purāṇa*,[12] which has been found to be an apocryphal work of the ninth century A. D.[13] But fortunately our impression has been falsified by our recent find[14] that this genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* is still surviving under a

11. R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 166–7 and 141–5. Also Hazra in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XIX, 1938, pp. 69–79.
12. The principal editions of this work are those published by the Ānandāśrama Press (Poona), Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay), Vaṅgavāsi Press (Calcutta), and the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta).
13. R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 134 40, and S. K. De *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, I, pp. 102-4. Also De in *JRAS*, 1923, pp. 537-49.
14. In course of my Purāṇic studies I collected information about the characteristic features of the genuine *Āgneya purāṇa* from various sources, and from a perusal of Eggeling's description of the two manuscripts of the *Vahnipurāṇa* preserved in the India Office, London. I had an impression that this *Vahnipurāṇa* might be the same as the genuine *Āgneyapurāṇa* I was looking for But as the manuscripts of the *Vahnipurāṇa* lay far beyond my reach, I could not ascertain whether my impression was right or wrong. Last year, when I was going through Mm. Haraprasad Shastri's *Descriptive Catalouge of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V (Purāṇa Manuscripts), I came across Mm. Shastri's remarks on an incomplete Ms. (No. 8090) of a work which he named in his Catalogue as '*Agnipurāṇa*' and mentioned as 'printed in the Bibliotheca Indica Series'. But as in the two chapter-colophons, given in the Catalogue, the work was named '*Vahnipurāṇa*' and as one of these two chapters dealt with 'saṁgrāma-praśaṁsā' (praise of war), a topic not occurring in detail in the spurious *Agnipurāṇa* but forming a complete chapter in the *Vahnipurāṇa* as described by Eggeling, I became doubtful about the correctness of Mm. Shastri's remarks, and on examination of the Ms. found it to be one of the *Vahnipurāṇa*, in which I traced almost all the references to the genuine *Āgneya purāṇ* I collected from various sources.

different title, viz., '*Vahni-purāṇa*'; and it is our object in the present paper to prove the identity of the two works by all the evidences in our possession. But before we enter into a detailed discussion of the various problems connected with this *Āgneya-purāṇa,* which we call genuine, we should state why we have named it as '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' and not as '*Agni-purāṇa*', a title which is so familiar to us at present and with which all the printed editions of the apocryphal Purāṇa proclaimed by Agni have been named.

## 2. The title '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' Explained

A glance over the different lists of eighteen Purāṇas contained in various works[15] will show that 'the Purāṇa proclaimed by Agni' was, in the great majority of cases, called '*Āgneya*' Purāṇa and not '*Agni-purāṇa*'. The comparatively early writers, such as Madhvācārya, Vallālasena, Halāyudha, Devaṇabhaṭṭa and others, who had occasion to refer to or draw upon this Purāṇa, named it almost invariably as '*Āgneya-purāṇa*'; and among the later Smṛti-writers also the name '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' is more popular than the '*Agni-purāṇa*'. In the manuscripts of the so-called *Vahni-purāṇa* the title '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' occurs in the final colophons as well as in some of the chapter-colophons, whereas the title '*Agni-purāṇa*' is not found even once. The spurious *Āgni-purāṇa,* which, from its very origin, aimed at occupying the place of the earlier 'Purāṇa declared by Agni' by imitating the title, form and extent of the latter, invariably calls itself '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' or '*Āgneya Mahāpurāṇa*' in the body of the text[16] as well as in the colophons. So, it is evident that the earlier Purāṇa declared by Agni and known to the works and authors mentioned above, was originally named and reputed as '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' and that it was much less frequently that this work was called '*Agni-purāṇa*' by certain writers. Under these circumstances we have preferred the title '*Āgneyapurāṇa* which is not only genuine but also distinguishes our present work from the apocryphal *Agni-purāṇa* now available in more printed editions than one.

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15. For the names of these works see footnote 19 on page 211.
16. See, for instance, *Agnipurāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.), 1.10 and 18, 2.1, 271-13, 16-17 and 22, and so on.

### 3. The Identity of the *Vahnipurāṇa* and the genuine *Āgneyapurāṇa*

It has already been said that the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* is still continuing its existence under the title '*Vahni-purāṇa*'. But M. Winternitz, R. L. Mitra and others[17] failed to understand the real character of the so-called *Vahni-purāṇa* now existing in Mss.[18] and took it to be an Upapurāṇa of minor importance. That the idea of these scholars about this so-called *Vahni-purāṇa* is entirely erroneous, can be established by various evidences, which show definitely that it is this so-called *Vahni-purāṇa* which is the same as

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17. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 566, note. R. L. Mitra, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bikaner*, p. 216.

    In my *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 139-40 I expressed the opinion that the *Vahnipurāṇa* was quite different from the earlier *Āgneyapurāṇa* known to and utilized by the Smṛti-writers. But this view of mine was wrong and was due to the facts that I had no access to any of the Mss. of the *Vahni-purāṇa* at that time and that my knowledge of its contents was based on Eggeling's description of the work in his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office*, VI, pp. 1294-8.

18. Only four Mss. of the *Vahni-purāṇa* have been discovered up to the present time; and for description of these Mss. see—

    (*i*) Eggeling, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office*, VI, pp. 1294-8, Nos. 3582-3 (Mss. Nos. 1425 and 1001), of which the former was copied at Agra in 1589 A. D. and the latter at Benares in Saṁvat 1861 (A. D. 1804).

    (*ii*) R. L. Mitra, *Catalogue of anskrit Mss. in the Library of His Highness the Mahārāja of Bikaner*, p. 216, No. 465.

    (*iii*) Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, p. 422, No. 3735 (Ms. No. 8090), which is mistaken by Mm. Shastri to be a Ms. of the spurious *Agni purāṇa* 'printed in the Bibliotheca Indica Series'.

    It is to be noted that all the four Mss. mentioned above are written in Devanāgarī and that the last-mentioned one is incomplete and ends with a part of the chapter on 'Rohiṇyā aṣṭamī-kalpaḥ', which is third from the chapter on 'Saṁgrāma-praśaṁśā'.

the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* known to the extant Purāṇas and the Smṛti-writers.

The *Āgneya-purāṇa,* also designated on rare occasions as '*Agni-purāṇa*', '*Vahnipurāṇa*' '*Vahnija*', or '*Vāhna*' has invariably been named in all the available lists of eighteen Purāṇas[19] and was thus

19. For these lists see *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* iii. 6. 21-4; *Matsya purāṇa* 53. 12-57; *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) 137. 7-11; *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) xii. 7. 23-4, and 13. 4-8 (the *Āgneya* being named as '*Vāhna*' in the second list); *Padmapurāṇa* i. 62. 2–7, iv. 111. 90-4, and vi. 219. 25–7; *Padmapurāṇa* Pātāla-khaṇḍa (Bengal text), Chap. 98 (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Ms. No. G1416A, fols. 24b–25a), the *Āgneyapurāṇa* being named as '*Vahnipurāṇa*' and said to consist of 15,000 (Granthas or Ślokas); *Kūrma-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) i. 1. 13–5; *Varāha purāṇa*(Veṅkaṭeśvara ed.) 112. 74–7; *Skandapurāṇa* V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa), 1.31–44, and VII. i. 2.5–7 and 28–77; *Skandapurāṇa* Sūta-saṁhitā (Ānandāśrama Press ed. with Mādhavācārya's commentary), i. (Śivamāhātmya-khaṇḍa), 1.7–10; Śiva-rahasya-khaṇḍa ( of the Śaṁkara saṁhitā of the *Skanda-purāṇa*), Chap. 2, verses 27–9 (Eggeling, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office,* VI, p. 1363); *Skandapurāṇa*, Saura-saṁhitā, Chap. 1 (Eggeling, *op. cit.*, VI, 1382); *Liṅgapurāṇa* (ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta) 1. 39. 61–3; *Garuḍapurāṇa* (Vaṅga vāsī ed.) i. 227. 15–7; Revāmahātmya (claiming to be a part of the *Vāyupurāṇa—see* Aufrecht, *Catalogue Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanskriticorum Bibliothecoe Bodleianoe*, p. 65); *Brahmavaivartapurāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) iv. 133. 11–22 (the *Āgneya* being named as *Agnipurāṇa*'); *Saura-purāṇa* 9. 5 36; *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) i. 25. 20–2; *Devī-bhāgavata* i. 3. 2–12 (the *Āgneyapurāṇa* being named as 'Agnisaṁjñita Purāṇa' or '*Agnipurāṇa*'); *Ekāmrapurāṇa*, Chap. 1 (the *Āgneya* being named as *Agni*'); *Śivapurāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.), Umāsaṁhitā 44. 125 35; *Śivapurāṇa*, Uttara khaṇḍa (Ms. No. 4370 of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta), Chap. 23; '*Kālikāpurāṇa*' (as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* I, p. 531, the *Āgneya* being named as '*Vahnija*'); and so on.

The only list of eighteen Purāṇas which omits the name of the *Āgneya* is that contained in *Vāyupurāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press ed.) 104.2–11(=Veṅkaṭ. ed. ii.42.2–11 = Vaṅga ed. 104. 2-11). But this list of the *Vāyupurāṇa* consists of sixteen names only, although in verses 2 and 11 it is expressly said that in this list the 'eighteen Purāṇas' have been named. So, a line containing two names has evidently been lost, and this line might have contained the name of the *Āgneya* Purāṇa.

an ancient work of unquestionable authority. By way of characterising the different Purāṇas and praising gifts of Mss. of these to worthy Brahmins, the Matsya and the Skanda-purāṇa say about this Āgneya-purāṇa :

> "That [Purāṇa people] call '*Āgneya*' which was spoken out by Agni to Vasiṣṭha in connection with the affairs of the Īśāna-kalpa. This [Purāṇa] of 16,000 [Granthas or Ślokas] yields the fruits of all sacrifices to one who prepares a copy of it and gives it away in the prescribed manner in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa after furnishing it with a lotus made of gold and a cow made of sesamum"[20].

The *Saura-purāṇa* (9. 25) also says :

> "The fruit of the Rājasūya sacrifice accrues eternally [to him who] chances to give the *Āgneya* [Purāṇa] on the first lunar day to [ a Brahmin ] who maintains the sacred fire ( āhitāgni),"[21].

The *Padma-purāṇa*, Uttara-khaṇḍa includes the *Āgneya* among the Tāmasa Purāṇas[22] which, according to the *Matsya* and the *Skanda purāṇa* (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa), glorify Agni or Śiva[23]; and the Śiva-rahasya-khaṇḍa (2. 34) of the Śaṁkara-saṁhitā of the *Skanda-purāṇa* declares the *Āgneya-purāṇa* to be a work in praise of Agni (agner āgneyam ekakam)[24]. From these statements of the different Purāṇic works we deduce the following deta about the peculiar features of the '*Āgneya Purāṇa*' :--

( i ) This work praised Agni as the highest deity;

( ii ) it dealt with the sacrificial rites and conduct of Āhitāgni Brahmins and was specially meant for them:

( iii ) it was concerned with the events of the Īśāna-kalpa;

( iv ) it was spoken out by Agni to Vasiṣṭha; and

( v ) it consisted of 16,000 Granthas or Ślokas.

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20. *Matsyapurāṇa* 53. 28–30a (=*Skandapurāṇa* VII. i. 2. 47–8--v. 1. '*Īśāna–kalpasya*' in line I and '*mārga-śīrṣe*' and '*tila–dhenu–yutaṁ tathā*' in line 4).

21. आग्नेयं प्रतिपद्येव प्रदद्यादाहिताग्नये ।
राजसूयस्य यज्ञस्य फलं भवति शाश्वतम् ॥

22-24. See footnote 4 above.

An examination of the present *Vahnipurāṇa*[25], however, shows that this work contains only some of the features mentioned above, and not all. It praises Agni as the highest and most benevolent deity in some of its chapters including the opening ones and takes Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and others to be his different forms[26]; it speaks highly of the Agnihotrins and their Vedic studies and sacrificial rites, which are said not only to yield the merits of visiting all the holy places, making gifts, observing fasts, and doing all other pious acts but also to lead to the state of Brahma[27] and in Chapters 3ff. it introduces Vahni as speaking on the religious duties (dharma) of the Brahmin sacrificers (*agnihotrin*) as well as on the methods and results of performing different kinds of sacrifices.[28] On the other hand, there is no mention of the

25. We have already said that the Ms. of the *Vani-purāṇa*, preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, is incomplete. On the other hand, the India Office Ms. No. 1425 of the same work is hopelessly corrupt, and Ms. No. 1001 has lost Chaps. 54 (partly), 55-7, and 58 (partly). So, for our references to the '*Vahni-purāṇa*' and '*Āgneyapurāṇa*' (which, as we shall see hereinafter, is the same as the '*Vahnipurāṇa*'), we have used the Asiatic Society Ms.(No. 8090) for Chaps. 1-64 and the India Office Ms. No. 1001 for the rest.

26. *See*, for instance, *Vahni-purāṇa* 1, 22 (on fol. 2*a—tasthuṣo jagataś cātmā*, etc.); 1. 24 (on fol. 2b—*vahner nas trividhā śaktiḥ sarga-saṁhṛti-pālane*, etc.); 3. 27-8 (on fols 5b-6a—
sa hoṁkāraḥ sa ṛg-vedaḥ sa yajuḥ sāma eva saḥ/
sa brahmā sa hṛṣikeśaḥ kālāgni.rudra-rūpa-dhṛk // etc);
and so on.

27. See *Vahnipurāṇa* 1.11 and 13.6 (fols. 1b–2a); 3.20 (fol. 5b—

तस्माद् यज्ञफलैस्तुल्यं न किञ्चिदिह विद्यते ।
इति नो विद्यते बुद्धिस्तथा चेदमसंशयम् ॥

and so on.

28. Cf. *Vahnipurāṇa* 3.29 (fol. 6a—

सोऽब्रवीन्मां हि यज्ञेऽस्मिन् गुरुवत् सर्वतोमुख ।
धर्मं ब्रूहि त्वमेतेषां हिताय द्वादशाब्दिके ॥);3.23-4

(fol. 5b—तस्माद् यज्ञविधं त्वग्रं फलं चैव यथायथम् ।
श्रोतुमिच्छामहे सम्यक् होतव्यं यच्च यादृशम् ॥
हविषा तर्पितः केन वह्निः कामान् प्रयच्छति ।
स्वर्गं मोक्षं च विप्रर्षे सोऽस्मान् वै वक्तुमर्हति ॥

and so on.

Īśāna-kalpa anywhere in the whole work; in a few chapters from the beginning we find Vahni (also called Agni and Pāvaka--Fire) speaking to Marīci about the sacrificial rites and duties of the Agnihotrins, whereas Agni is said to have spoken to Vasiṣṭha on Vaiṣṇava 'Kriyā-yoga' as late as in Chapter 28[29]; and the extent of this work, as we have it now, is found to be about 12,000 Granthas or Ślokas.

This partial compliance of the '*Vahni-purāṇa* with the above-mentioned features of the '*Āgneya Purāṇa*' naturally raises doubt about the identity of the two works, and this doubt is strengthened all the more by the apocryphal *Agni-purāṇa* in which Agni is found to speak to Vasiṣṭha from the very beginning and which always calls itself '*Āgneya Purāṇa*' or '*Āgneya Mahāpurāṇa*' and says (272. 10-1) :

अग्निना यद् वसिष्ठाय प्रोक्तं चाग्नेयमेव तत् ॥
लिखित्वा पुस्तकं दद्यान् मार्गशीर्ष्यां स सर्वदः ।
द्वादशैव सहस्राणि सर्वविद्यावबोधनम् ॥

"The *Āgneya* [Purāṇa] is that which was spoken out by Agni to Vasiṣṭha. One, who makes a copy [of this work] and gives it away in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, becomes the giver of all [things]. [This work] has 12,000 [Granthas or Ślokas] and enlightens [people] in all the lores."

Although the word '*sarvavidyāvabodhanam*' in the above lines shows definitely that this description aims at characterising the apocryphal *Agni-purāṇa* itself which claims to be a '*vidyāsāraṁ purāṇam*'(1.13) and deals with the different branches of learning, the title '*Āgneya Purāṇa*' and the occurrence of the interlocution between Agni and Vasiṣṭha throughout the whole Purāṇa tend to create an impression that it is this *Agni–purāṇa*, and not the *Vahni–purāṇa*, which is the

29. See also *Vahnipurāṇa*, Chap. 28 (fol. 101a—

देवस्तमाह भूयोऽपि वसिष्ठेन श्रुतं पुरा ।
मखेऽग्निना प्रणीतं यद् ऋषीणां भावितात्मनाम् ॥

Also Chap. 29 (fol. 101a—

स राज्यस्थो महीपालः प्रणम्य गरुडध्वजाम् ।
वसिष्ठं परिप्रपच्छ विष्णोराराधनक्रियाम् ॥
....तच्छ्रुत्वा प्राह राजेन्द्र ममापि स्मृतिरागता ।
कथितं वह्निना पूर्वं क्रियायोगं हि चक्रिणः ॥).

same as the '*Āgneya*' Purāṇa described by the *Matsya, Skanda, Saura* and other Purāṇic works mentioned above. But this impression is totally set aside by Vallālasena who clearly distinguishes between two '*Āgneya*' Purāṇas--one genuine and the other spurious. He profusely draws upon the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* in his *Dāna-sāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara* but rejects with contempt the other *Āgneya-purāṇa* as well as the spurious *Tārkṣya* (i. e. *Gāruḍa*). *Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava* and *Liṅga*, saying :

"तार्क्ष्यं पुराणमपरं ब्राह्ममाग्नेयमेव च ।
त्रयोविंशतिसाहस्रं पुराणमपि वैष्णवम् ॥
षट्साहस्रमितं लिङ्गं पुराणमपरं तथा ।
दीक्षाप्रतिष्ठापाषण्डमुक्तिरत्नपरीक्षणैः ॥
मृषावंशानुचरितैः कोशव्याकरणादिभिः ।
अस्‍ङ्गतकथाबन्धपरस्परविरोधितः ॥
तन्मीनकेतनादीनाम्भण्डपाषण्डलिङ्गिनाम् ।
लोकवञ्चनमालोक्य सर्वमेवावरी(?धी)रितम् ॥"[30]

"The other *Tārkṣya Purāṇa, Brāhma* [*Purāṇa*] and *Āgneya* [*Purāṇa*], and also the *Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa* of 23,000 [Granthas or Ślokas] and the other *Liṅga Purāṇa* of 6,000 [Granthas or Ślokas],— [all these works are marked] by [topics on] initiation, consecration, salvation of Pāṣaṇḍas (Tantriks) and testing of gems, by fictitious genealogies, by lexicography, grammar, etc., and by irrelevant and mutually contradictory statements : Finding people to be deceived by [followers of] Mīnaketana[31] and others who are hypocretes, heretics and pseudo-ascetics, I have rejected with contempt all [these works]."

The contents of the spurious Purāṇas, as given by Vallālasena in the lines quoted above, show definitely that by the spurious '*Āgneya*' and '*Tārkṣya*' he means the present *Agni* and *Garuḍa-purāṇa*

30 *Dāna-sāgara* (India Office Ms. No. 719), fols. 3b-4a.
In the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad (Calcutta) Ms. No. 1374 of the *Dāna-sāgara*, which we have generally used here the above verses occur on fol. 3a with v. l. 'sāhasraṁ' in line 2, 'bhaṇḍa-bhāṇḍa-liṅgināṁ' in line 7, and 'sarvam evāvavīritam' in line 8.

31. The word '*mīnaketana*' may meen Mīnanātha himself or his followers who probably had the figure of a fish as a distinctive sign of their sect.

which deal with all the subjects mentioned by him, have Tantric (Pāṣaṇḍa) elements to a very great extent, and are comparatively late works.

As to Vallālasena's numerous references to and quotations from the genuine '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' or '*Agni-purāṇa*' in his *Dāna-sāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara*, only a very few scattered lines are found in the present *Agni-purāṇa*,[32] whereas the great majority of them, including the extracts of various lengths, are traceable in the present *Vahni-purāṇa* with the same order of verses as in Vallālasena's works.[33] In a good number of these quotations, often consisting of large extracts or even entire chapters, the interlocutors have been given as Vasiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa[34], some words such as 'kuru-śārdūla', 'vīra', 'rājan', 'nṛpa', 'rājendra', ect., have been used in the Vocative case[35], and mention has been made of the following stories and topics : killing of Hiraṇyakaśipu (hiraṇyakaśipu-vadha), defeat of Śakra (Indra) in his fight with Rāvaṇa (rāvaṇa-yuddhe śakra-parājaya), Trijaṭā's dream (about the fate of Rāvaṇa and his capital—trijaṭā-svapna), and birth of Vāmana (vāmanotpatti)[36]. It is interesting to note that the present *Vahni-purāṇa* has all these interlocutions, words, stories and topics together with the relevant verses quoted by Vallālasena, whereas the present apocryphal *Agni-purāṇa* contains none. This is highly remarkable and shows definitely that the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa*, used by Vallālasena, is the same as the work now going by the name '*Vahni-purāṇa*'. The identity of these two works is also supported by another fact which is stated below. Going to explain why he did not draw upon all the Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas dealing with gifts, Vallālasena expresses his deep hatred of Tantricism and says clearly that he avoided

32. For instance, *Agni-purāṇa* 210, verses 13b-17a, 19-21, 22b, 23 and 25-29a agree with some of the verses of a long passage, or rather an entire chapter (on Dhenu-dāna), quoted from the '*Āgneya-purāṇa*' in *Dāna-sāgara*, fols. 71a-72a.

33. *See* Appendix I (A).

34. *See Dāna-sāgara*, fols. 172a and 71a.

35. *See*, for instance, *Dāna-sāgara*, fols. 96a-97b, 99a-b, 100a-b, and so on.

36. *See Adbhuta-sāgara* (ed. Muralīdhara Jhā, Benares), pp. 19, 50-51, 320, 378, 412, 426, etc.; pp. 23, 657; pp. 500, 501, 512, 513; and p. 708.

quoting verses from those Purāṇas, or parts thereof, which were influenced by Tantricism. Thus, Vallālasena says, the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* was utilised by him up to the chapters on Saptamī (-kalpa), while he rejected those on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī (-kalpa) owing to their imbibing Tantric influence[37]; the spurious *Tārkṣya, Brahma, Āgneya, Vaiṣṇava* and *Liṅga* were scornfully rejected by him *in toto*, because the Tantriks compiled these works for misleading the masses and were trying to propagate their own ideas, rites and customs through these[38]; and the *Devī-purāṇa*, 'which was excluded from the lists of Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas due to its treatment of sinful acts', was rejected by him because of its Tantric character[39]. But it is remarkable that he expresses no such feeling about the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* which he extensively utilises in his *Dāna-sāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara*. So, it is sure that the *Āgneya-purāṇa* drawn upon by him did not contain any trace of Tantricism; and in this respect the present *Vahni-purāṇa* does not differ in the slightest degree from the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* of Vallālasena.

The above identification of the genuine *Āgneya-purāṇa* with the extant *Vahnipurāṇa* also supported by the references to and quotations from the '*Āgneya*' or '*Āgni-purāṇa*' contained in many other works, viz., Ānandatīrtha Madhva's *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka*, *Tithi-viveka* and *Durgotsava-viveka*, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's *Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī*, Rudradhara Upādhyāya's *Varṣa-kṛtya* and *Śrāddha-viveka*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, Gaṇapati's *Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī*, Narasiṁha Vājapeyin's *Nityā-cārapradīpa*, Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, Raghu-

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37. सप्तम्यवधि पुराणं भविष्यमपि संगृहीतमतियत्नात् । त्यक्त्वाष्टमीनवम्योः (म्यौ ?) कन्यौ (कलौ ?) पाषाण्डिभि ग्रंस्तौ (ग्रस्ते ?)
*Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b.

38. For the relevant verses, *see* above.

39. तत्तत्पुराणोपपुराणसंख्या-
बहिष्कृत' कल्मषकर्मयोगात् ।
पाषण्डशास्त्रानुमत' निरूप्य
देवीपुराणं न निबन्ध (? बद्ध) मत्र ॥
*Dānasāgara*, fol. 4a.

nandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Hari-bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta*, Nīlakaṇṭha's *Ācāra-mayūkha*, Viṣṇubhaṭṭa's *Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi* (Kālakhaṇḍa), and so on. In some of the extracts quoted in these works there is mention of the topics (such as the Brahmin's lament after his son's death caused by Daśaratha)[40] and the speakers, viz., (*i*) sūta (speaking to the sages),[41] (*ii*) Vasiṣṭha (speaking to Ambarīṣa),[42] (*iii*) Viṣṇu (speaking to Gaṅgā),[43] and (*iv*) Sūrya,[44] and the words 'kuruśārdūla', 'rājan', 'rājendra' and 'nṛpa' (all pointing to king Ambarīṣa as the addressee) have been used in the Vocative Case.[45] It is reassuring to say that most of these references and quotations can be traced in the present *Vahni-purāṇa*,[46] whereas the apocryphal *Agni-purāṇa* has only a very few of the quoted lines and contains none of the speakers and words mentioned above. The changed contexts, position, arrangement, and texts of these few lines, found common between the present *Agni-purāṇa* and the quotations made from the genuine *Āgneya*, leave no scope for doubt about the fact that these lines, as also many others, have been retained here and there by the present *Agni-purāṇa* from its earlier prototype.

We have seen above that, so far as the evidence of the Smṛti writers and others goes, the present *Vahni-purāṇa* is the same as the earlier *Āgneya-purāṇa* known to and utilised by these writers. It is for this unity of the two texts that the same verses are sometimes ascribed to the '*Āgneya*' or '*Āgni purāṇa*' in some places and

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40. *See Haribhaktivilāsa* (ed. Purīdāsa, Dacca), p. 476.

41. *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* (ed. Tejash Chandra Vidyānanda, Calcutta), pp. 29–30.

42. *Kṛtyaratnākara* (ed. Bibliotheca Indica), pp. 521–22.

43. *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* (ed. Bibliotheca Indica), p. 263.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

45. *See* for instance, *Kālasāra* (ed. Bibl. Ind.) p. 70; *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (ed. Bibl. Ind.) II. i. p. 996, III. ii. pp. 160 and 665, and *Kālasāra*, p. 126; *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* II. i. p. 1136; *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi*, Kālakhaṇḍa, p. III.

46. *See* Appendix I (A) for the list of the traced references and quotations.

to the '*Vahni-purāṇa*' in others,[47] and that the reading '*Agni-purāṇa*' is found to occur in place of '*Vahnipurāṇa*' in some Mss. of a particular Smṛti work.[48]

The title of the *Vahni-purāṇa* need not be taken to go against the above identification. This title occurs only in the chapter-colophons, and that also, not in all. In the body of the text of this so called *Vahni-purāṇa* the work has been called "Agni-saṁjñita Purāṇa'[49] (and not "Vahni-saṁjñita-purāṇa" or "*Vahni-purāṇa*"); and the name "*Āgneya*" occurs in the final colophons of its two complete Mss. as well as in the colophons of Chaps. 1–3 and 64 of all the three Mss. we have been able to consult. That this so called *Vahni-purāṇa* was traditionally known as *Agni-purāṇa* even to the scribes of the Mss. of this work, is also shown by the occurrence of the syllables 'अग्नि.', 'अग्निपु.' or 'अ. पु.' (all being abbreviations for the name 'अग्निपुराण') in the upper corner of the left margin of the second page of all the leaves of all the three Mss.[50] We have already seen that in some of the lists of eighteen Purāṇas the name "*Vahni-purāṇa*", "*Vahnija*" or "*Vāhna*" occurs in place of "*Āgneya.*" or "*Agni.*" That this "*Vahni-purāṇa*", "*Vahnija*"

47. For instance, three lines (from '*yānam aśvam anaḍvāham*') have been ascribed to the '*Āgenyapurāṇa*' in Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtyaratnākara*, p. 145 and to the '*Vahnipurāṇa*' in Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* I, p. 157; the verse '*kanyāṁ ye tu prayacchanti*', which has been ascribed to the '*Āgneya*' in *Vidhānapārijāta* II, p. 49, is quoted as from '*Vahnipurāṇa*' in *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* I, p. 679; a long extract on Jayantī-vrata has been ascribed to the *Vahni-purāṇa* in *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* II. i. pp. 811–12 and to the '*Agnipurāṇa*' in Viṣṇubhaṭṭa's *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi*, Kāla khaṇḍa, pp. 111–12; and so on.

48. *See*, for instance, Mādhavācārya's commentary (on the *Parāśarasmṛti*) I. i. p. 178 and Śrīnātha-Ācārya-cūḍā maṇi's *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*, Dacca University Mss. Nos. 49 and 4630 (fol. 51b) v. l. vahnipurāṇe, Dacca University Ms. No. M2. 38/102, Calcutta Asiatic Society Ms. No. 3690 and Sanskrit Sahitya Pariṣad Ms. No. 518 (Smṛti)—v.l. vahnipurāṇaṁ, and Dacca University Ms. No. 4320 and Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Ms. No.1535—v.l. agnipurāṇe.

49. *See Vahnipurāṇa* I. 18 (*śrotum icchāmahe tvattaḥ purāṇam agnisaṁjñitam*).

50. It is only on fol. 309 b of the India Office Ms. No. 1001 that the name '*Vahni*' occurs instead of '*Agni*'.

or "*Vāhna*" is the same as the *Āgneya-purāṇa* is shown by Śrīdharasvāmin, Vīrarāghavācārya, Vijayadhvajatīrtha and Śukadeva who, in their commentaries on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, take the name "*Vāhna*", occurring in the list of eighteen Purāṇas given in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* xii. 13. 4–8, to mean the "*Āgneya*" or "*Agni-purāṇa*".[51]

As to the present extent of the *Vahni-purāṇa*, which does not agree with that of the "*Āgneya*" given in the *Matsya* and the *Skanda-purāṇa* (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa), it may be said that the Purāṇas themselves are not unanimous about the extent of the "*Āgneya*" or "*Agni*" known to them. We have already seen that according to the *Matsya* and the *Skanda-purāṇa* (Prabhāsakhaṇḍa) the *Āgneya* consisted of 16,000 (Granthas or Ślokas). The *Devībhāgavata* (i. 3. 9), the Revā khaṇḍa (1. 36) of the *Skandapurāṇa* (V. iii), and the *Revāmāhātmya*[52] also give the same extent of the "Agni-saṁjñita Purāṇa" or "*Āgneya*." But according to *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* xii. 13. 5 and *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa* iv. 133. 14–5, the "*Vāhna*" or "*Agni-purāṇa*" (as the *Āgneya* was called respectively in the two works) contained 15,400 (Granthas or Ślokas); in Chapter 98 of the Bengal Mss. of the Padmapurāṇa, Patalakhaṇḍa the "*Vahni Purāṇa* is said to have consited of 15,000 (Granthas or Ślokas);[53] and the apocryphal *Agnipurāṇa*, which aimed at replacing the *Āgneya Purāṇa* by assuming its title, form and extent, gives 12,000 (Granthas or Ślokas) as the extent of the "*Āgneya*." So, it can hardly be denied that the extent of the *Āgneyapurāṇa* varied at different times and also perhaps in different localities, and that this variation was due to revisions and modifications to which the work was subjected from time to time. An attempt to trace in the present *Vahni Purāṇa* the numerous verses and extracts ascribed to

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51. In Viśvanātha Cakravartin's commentary (Sārārtha darśinī) on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* the name '*Vahni*' is taken to mean '*Vahni Purāṇa*'. For Śrīdharasvāmin and others' commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* see Nityasvarūpa-brahmacārin's edition of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

52. *See* Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecoe Bodleianoe*, p. 65.
The Revāmāhātmya claims to belong to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.

53. *See* Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms. No. G1416a, fol. 25a–*tathā vahni-purāṇaṁ ca tat pañca-daśakaṁ tathā.*

the "*Āgneya,*" "*Agni Purāṇa*" or "*Vahni Purāṇa*" in different works, reveals that a good number of extracts and isolated verses, once found by Hemādri and others in the "*Agneya*" or "*Vahni Purāṇa*", do not occur in the present text of the *Vahni*. So, either these untraceable verses and extracts have been eliminated from the text of the *Vahni Purāṇa*, or Hemādri and others, quoting these verses and extracts, used a more extensive text of the work.

From what has been said above it is clear that it was the *Āgneya-purāṇa* which came to be known as *Vahni-purāṇa* also. As the Fire-god, who is said to have spoken out this Purāṇa to Marīci, is called both "Agni"and"Vahni" and is addressed by Marīci with the mention of both these names[54], the *Āgneya-purāṇa* could find no difficulty in getting popular under the title "*Vahni-purāṇa*." From the evidence of Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri, Mādhavācārya, Śrīnātha Ācarya-cūḍāmaṇi, Gadādhara, Kamalākarabhaṭṭa and many others we learn that this new title came to be given to the *Āgneya-purāṇa* from a date not later than 1100 A. D. All these Smṛti-writers quote pofusely from a "*Vahni Purāṇa,*" and almost all these quotations, together with the names of the interlocutors mentioned therein,[55] are found to occur in the present *Vahni*.[56]

Here we should like to explain why the *Āgneya-purāṇa* was looked upon as Tāmasa, what led to the origin of the tradition that this work was declared by Agni to Vasiṣṭha, and where and under what circumstances it first came to be known by its new title "*Vahni Purāṇa*."

A careful examination of the present text of the *Āgneya Purāṇa*, as we have it under the title "*Vahni Purāṇa,*" shows that it is not a

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54. *See*, for instance, *Vahni Purāṇa* 4. 1 (fol. 9a—*tasmād agne phalaṁ brūhi.... .... .... ....*), 10. 13 (fol. 30a—*dhyānaṁ yathāgninā proktaṁ saṁdhyāyāś ca marīcaye*), etc., and 1. 24 (fol. 2b—*vahner nas trividhā śaktiḥ.... .... ....*), 4. 7 (fol. 9b—*āhnikasya vidhiṁ vahne dvijānāṁ kathayasva me*), 7. 19 (fol. 23a—*yad-uktaṁ vahninā pūrvaṁ sṛṇudhvaṁ tan marīcaye*), 14. 4 (fol. 41b—*yad uktaṁ vahninā pūrvaṁ marīci-ṛṣi-saṁnidhau*), 14. 20-21 (fol. 42a—*yad vahne te prakīrtitam; agamyaṁ kīrtitaṁ vahne*), and so on.

55. *See*. for instance, *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 487-8 (Ambarīṣa and Vasiṣṭha), 556-7 (same), 579-83 (Indra and Brahmā), 564-5 (Rāma), 583-8 (Garuḍa), and so on.

56. *See* Appendix II (A).

unified work written at any particular period of time but has come down to us through three main stages. It opens with a benedictory verse in which Agni (called Tejas) has been said to have a triple existence and to form unity in diversity. Without a word of introduction it then presents Vyāsa, who narrates the topics of the *Āgneya Purāṇa* as follows :

Sūta, who was born fo a mixture of ghee and coagulated milk (*pṛṣadājya*) on the day of extraction of Soma juice during the sacrifice offered to Brahmā at Puṣkara, once came to the Naimiṣa forest in course of his visit to holy places. At his sight the sages, living there and maintaining the sacred Fire, requested him to tell them about the method and results of visiting holy places. Consequently, Sūta said that holy places are to be resorted to by Brahmins who are no longer to perform sacrifices, by Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas who have lost all their belongings, by Śūdras whose physical fitness has been badly affected by continued service, by sages who desire for final emancipation, and by celibate students who have been asked to do so by their teachers. Next, after mentioning that a householder is not entitled to visit holy places so long as he has to offer oblations daily to the sacred Fire and to render devout service to his parents, Sūta praised the Agnihotrins and their devoted and regular service to the sacred Fire, saying :

> "All the different holy places [existing] in heaven, in the air, and on earth, Oh sages, are, it is true, perfectly equal [in merit] to the Agnihotra rite of one who is in the stage of a householder.
>
> "Pilgrimage has, Oh great sages, been prohibited by people of old to a bounteous, Fire-worshipping and sinless person who is entitled to perform sacrifices daily in his house.
>
> "There is no doubt that by offering oblations to the Fire in proper time an Agnihotrin earns all the merits which have been said by sages to arise on earth from constant observance of fasts and practice of liberality to Brahmins.
>
> "Of that excellent Brahmin who duly offers oblations [to the Fire], no sin and ill-repute exist. Remaining

[engaged] in the duties of a Brahmin he attains the state of Brahma after enjoying heaven which is desired by gods.

"By studying the Vedas, by having the body completely relieved of sins by performing sacrifices for [facilitating] the work of gods, by remaining [engaged] in his own Dharma, and by being indifferent to the objects of senses, one attains the state of Brahma which consists of the best light.

"By being faithful to his own Dharma and by offering ghee with food during Fire-worship, a Brahmin attains that state from which arises the universe, the stay of all, and into which it merges."[57]

The sages then desired to hear "the Purāṇa named after Agni," referred to the five characteristic Purāṇic topies (viz., Sarga—primary creation, Pratisarga—secondary creation, etc.), declared Agni to be the same as Sūrya and to be their deity, who, being visible, was most acceptable "like direct perception among the modes of proof," praised him as being the soul of the universe and having "threefold power of creation, preservation and destruction,"[58] and requested Sūta to tell them about the ancient Dharma in its entirety (*purāṇaṁ dharmam akhilam*) (Chapter I). Accordingly, Sūta agreed to "speak on the topics of the Purāṇa [after collecting them] from all Śāstras" and narrated the following story of Agni :

Once Bhṛgu became angry with Agni for some reason and rashly cursed him to be omnivorous. Consequently, the energy of Maheśvara was discharged in Fire, but, as it was indestructible, it could not be consumed by the latter. Being in distress on account of Maheśvara's energy Agni went to the Himalayas and transferred that energy to the river Gaṅgā flowing there. Gaṅgā conceived, but, being unable to carry the child in her womb, delivered it on that very mountain. "That son of Fire remained there by covering the worlds with his lustre, [and] the latter got very much enraged at the sight of his son and immediately became invisible by restraining his own

57. *Āgneya Purāṇa* I. 11-6 (fols. 1b-2a).

58. *Vahner nas trividhā śaktiḥ sarga-saṁhṛti-pālane—Āgneyapurāṇa* I. 24a (fol. 2b).

body." With the disappearance of the Fire-god there was great distress in the three worlds. The gods, being put to difficulty by the cessation of Agnihotra rites, went to Brahmā with the sages and Gandharvas and requested him to remove the curse from Fire who was the mouth of themselves as well of Patriarchs, Yakṣas and Rakṣases. They further informed Brahmā that it was not possible for them to eat the impure oblations come out of the mouth of the Fire-god and that due to want of performance of Homa and practice of liberality they were waning with the loss of beings. Consequently, Brahmā, with the gods and others in his train, made a thorough search for the Fire-god in the mountains, oceans, rivers, trees, creepers, etc., and at last found him lurking in a Śamī tree. He eulogised the Fire-god in more than thrity verses,[59] and the latter was pleased to appear in person and ventilate his grievances. Brahmā listened to all these and said :

> "Hear my [words, which] I shall say for the good of all the worlds and not otherwise.
>
> "Whatever things, pure or impure, offered or not, will be touched by your flames, Oh Fire, will all be sanctified.
>
> "Being duly invoked by twice-born men with [the utterance of] this Mantra during eulogy, be pleased to immediately grant all the worlds (to the eulogisers]."[60]

As the mission of the gods was successful, they returned with full satisfaction, and Agni also entered the universe.

Now, in course of time, Marīci, son of Brahmā, instituted a pompous sacrifice which abounded in food and drink and which was to be continued for twelve years. (Chapter 2.) This sacrifice was performed in the Kṛta age by a large number of qualified Brahmin priests, and in it Indra himself came with other gods to drink Soma juice. While the rite was in session, the sages, who were officiating as priests, complained that Marīci gave them enough of food and drink but no cows, horses, gold or women. Marīci heard this and assured them of the fulfilment of their desires. He invoked the Fire-god and prayed to him for elephants, horses, chariots, woollen blankets, gold and other valuables from

59. *Āgneya-purāṇa* 2. 15-45 (fols. 3a-4a).
60. *Ibid.*, 2. 50-2 (fol. 4b).

the Northern Kuru country. His prayer was immediately granted by the Fire-god, and the sages also attained complete satisfaction. Being struck with wonder at Marīci's exploits, these sages praised the Vedic sacrifices, appreciated their unparallelled power of yielding the best fruits, and wanted to hear from him *"the best procedures and results of sacrifices"*, so that, being gratified with the offer of ghee, the Fire-god might grant to them all the desired objects as well as heavenly enjoyment and final emancipation.[61] At this prayer of the sages Marīci meditated upon the Fire-god, who, consequently, came out of the sacrifice and enquired what he would do for him. Marīci requested him to *"speak on (the sacrificial) Dharma* like a teacher for the good of the sages present in that twelve-year sacrifice";[62] and the latter asked him to put questions, to which he might give suitable answers. Thus, in reply to Marīci's enquiries about the benefits of the Vedas, wealth, wives and learning as well as about the proper method of performing Vedic sacrifices, the Fire-god said briefly :

> "The fruits of the Vedas are the Agnihotra rites, those of wealth are liberality and enjoyment, those of wives are pleasure and sons, and those of learning are good character and conduct."[63]

He then spoke elaborately on the following topics : praise of use of honestly earned wealth in sacrifices and donationes; misfortunes brought on by ill-got money; mention of selflessness, liberality, celibacy, truthfulness, kindness, fortitude and forgiveness as roots of the eternal Dharma; benefits derived by the members of the different castes by regularly performing sacrifices; conduct of a Brahmin sacrificer; restrictions about sacrifices to be performed in a Vedic fire; and eloquent glorification of Brahmins, who are said to be the supreme power (*paramaṁ tejaḥ*) of Brahma and to be capable of creating and destroying all the worlds, the Lokapālas, and even the gods includiug Vāsava. (Chapter 3.)

Next, being questioned further by Marīci the Fire-god spoke, in Chapters 4-27, on the following subjects : gradation and praise of religious austerity (*tapas*) practised by a Brahmin; method and

61. *Āgneya-purāṇa* 3. 23-4 (fol. 5b).
62. *Ibid.*, 3. 29 (foi. 6a).
63. *Ibid.*, 3. 32 (fol. 6a).

praise of performance of various daily duties, viz., different kinds of bath (Chapter 4); sipping of water after bath, performance of Prāṇāyāma, practice of Japa, offer of libations of water to gods, Pitṛs and others (Chapter 5); performance of the five daily great sacrifices (*pañca mahāyajñāḥ*), and so on (Chapter 6); rules to be observed in sleeping; praise of the Fire-god and the Agnihotra rites (Chapter 7); benefits derived by repeating the Gāyatrī in the morning and evening by one who is without a sacred fire(*anagnika*); narration of the story of Veṇa (often called Veṇu); description of the Horse-sacrifice performed by Veṇa (Chapter 8); narration of the story of the birth and exploits of king Pṛthu, during whose reign, it is said, the Sūta and the Māgadha were born (Chapter 9); attainment of supernatural powers even by an Anagnika Brahmin through the practice of Tapas (which consists of kindness, tolerance, truth, etc., as well as of Gāyatrī-japa, Gāyatrī-dhyāna, and Prāṇāyāma) and the performance of various Homas including Lakṣa-homa, Koṭi-homa and Abhicāra-homa (Chapter10); glorification of Gāyatrī-japa and of Brahmins by narrating the story of a Brahmin who got relieved of his Mlecchahood by muttering the Gāyatrī(Chapter 11);dissertations on the nature of Brahma which is the source of creation and is identical with Viṣṇu (also called Hari and Janārdana)in his supreme state;description of the origin of the universe from Brahma, said to be the same as Hari (Chapter 12); measurement of time divided into parts from *nimeṣa* to *manvantara*, *kalpa*, etc.; creation by Brahmā who is called "*nārāyaṇātmaka*"; mention of the names of Prajāpatis, Manus, Śakras, Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Aśvins, Maruts, Sādhyas, Viśvedevas, Pitṛgaṇas, Bhṛgus, Aṅgirases, and so on; description of the nature of Hari who is repeatedly said to be the same as Brahma and Paramātman; praise of Dharma; uplifting of the earth by the Great Boar; description of the different kinds of creation proceeding from Brahmā who is said to be a form of Hari; descendants of Dakṣa, Bhṛgu, Agni, Dhruva, Kaśyapa and others; narration of the stories of Satī (who gave up her life by throwing herself into water), Dhruva, Maruts, and Viṣṇu's manifestations as the Boar and the Man-lion; praise of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. (Chapters 13–27.)

At the beginning of Chapter 28 we are told that the sages of the Naimiṣa forest briefly referred to the praise of Viṣṇu already heard by them and requested Sūta to speak on the various acts

(such as the muttering of Mantras, performance of Homas, making donations, observance of fasts and vows, and so on) which please "Kṛṣṇa" and yield final liberation. In compliance with this request Sūta agreed to tell them elaborately about (Kriyā-) Yoga, which, he said, had been spoken out to him by his father, who, in his turn, had received it from the sage Marīci, to whom it had been described by Vahni, the Fire-god.[64] Going to speak on Kriyā-yoga Sūta narrated the story of king Ambarīṣa as follows :

In order to attain final release from rebirths through Hari's favour king Ambarīṣa practised severe austerities for many years. At last Hari was moved to pity. With a view to testing the king's firmness of devotion he appeared in the latter's mind by assuming the form of Indra and tried to dissuade him from his devotion to Hari, first by promises of granting boons and then by threats of hurling his thunderbolt at him. As the king could by no means be moved from his firm resolve, Hari was pleased to appear before him in his four-handed form and to express his wish to fulfil his desires. The king, who was determined to attain final liberation, asked for "jñāna," and the god instructed to him such Yoga as would lead him to final emancipation (yogaṁ nirvāṇadam). As this superior type of Yoga was too difficult to be conceived of or practised by the common run of people who are practically slaves of their organs of senses, the king requested Hari to give him instructions on Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga which was easier to practise. But the god referred him to his priest Vasiṣṭha, saying that *Vasiṣṭha had heard his Kriyāyoga from Agni* when, during the sacrifice (instituted by Marīci), that god spoke on this subject to the sages present.[65] Hari then vanished, and the king returned to his capi-

64. *Āgneyapurāṇa* 28.10-2 (fol. 97a)—

तेषां तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा भक्तिमुद्वहतां हरेः ।
प्रोवाच ऋषयो योगं यत् पित्रा कथितं मम ॥
तेन मरीचिमाराध्य प्राप्तं वह्नेस्तु तेन वै ।
संसारस्य समुत्तारं पृष्टस्तानाह पावकः ॥
पुरा मरीचिमुख्यैश्च परो मोक्षो महर्षिभिः ।
तत्सकाशादनुप्राप्तः कैवल्यप्रतिपादकः ॥

65. *Āgneyapurāṇa* 28.118-9 (fol. 101a)—

देवस्तमाह भूयोऽपि वसिष्ठेन श्रुतं पुरा ।
मखेऽग्निना प्रणीतं यद् ऋषीणां भावितात्मनाम् ।
कथयिष्यति सोऽप्येनं क्रियायोगं हि मामकम् ।
वसिष्ठो मदनुज्ञातस्तवराजन्नतन्द्रितः ॥

tal with joy. (Chapter 28). He met Vasiṣṭha there and requested him to describe the method of Viṣṇu-worship (*viṣṇor ārādhana-kriyām*), saying : "I have been told by Viṣṇu : 'Your priest Vasiṣṭha will speak to you on Kriyā-yoga.' So, Oh sage, I ask you."[66] Vasiṣṭha readily agreed to comply with the king's request and said: "I also remember, Oh great king, that formerly the Kriyā-yoga in respect of the disk-bearing (god) was spoken out by Vahni. After saluting Hari, who is the sacrifice (itself) and the lord of sacrifices, I shall tell you, Oh blessed one, about Kriyā-yoga. Listen to me".[67] He then spoke elaborately on the various duties of Viṣṇu-worshippers and narrated, in this connection, a number of stories including that of the Rāmāyaṇa. (Chapters 29 to the end).

From the above analysis of contents of the present *Āgneya-purāṇa* it is evident that in its earliest form, the remnants of which have been retained chiefly in Chapters 1-3, this work was concerned with the Fire cult of the Agnihotrī Brehmins of the *Yajurveda*[68] and said to have been spoken out by the Fire-god (called Vahni, Agni and Pāvaka) to Marīci during the latter's twelve-year sacrifice.[69] It dealt with the five Purāṇic topics (viz., creation, re-creation, etc.)[70] as well as with the various duties and sacrificial rites of the Agnihotrī Brahmins[71] and praised Agni (often called Vahni) as the supreme Brahma[72] and the highest deity effecting

66. *Ibid.*, 29. 1–2 (fol. 101a).
67. *Ibid.*, 29. 3–4 (fol. 101a).
68. According to *Āgneyapurāṇa* 2.35 (fols. 3b–4a) and 3.27 (fol. 5b) Agni is the Śatarudrīya of the *Yajurveda* and has the form of Kālāgnirudra; and in *Āgneyapurāṇa* ‹.78 (fol. 7b) it is said that the *Yajurveda* was divided by a Brahmin into four parts.
69. *See Āgneya Purāṇa* 3.29ff. (fols. 6a ff.). *See* also *Āgneya Purāṇa* 7.19 (*yad uktaṁ vahninā pūrvaṁ śṛṇudhvaṁ tan marīcaye*), 10.13 (*dhyānaṁ yathāgninā proktaṁ saṁdhyāyāś ca marīcaye*), 128–9.

    (कथयामि यथापूर्वं मरीचिप्रमुखैर्द्विजैः।
    पृष्टः प्रोवाच भगवान् वह्निस्तद्यज्ञसंस्तरे ॥)

    14.4 (*yad uktaṁ vahninā pūrvaṁ marīci–ṛṣi–saṁnidhau*) and so on.
70. *Āgneya Purāṇa* 1.19 (fol. 2a).
71. *Ibid.*, 3.23 (fol. 5b) and 29–30 (fol. 6a).
72. *Ibid.*, 2.27 (fol. 3b).

creation, preservation and destruction of the universe'[73] and comprising Sūrya, Soma, Varuṇa, Indra, Nārāyaṇa and all other gods, who are said 'to reside in him like cows in a grazing ground'.[74] It conceived Agni as identical with Rudra and characterised him with many of the prominent names and features of the latter.[75] Thus, he was called Īśāna, Rudra, Kālāgnirudra, Virūpākṣa, Sahasrākṣa, Tryakṣa, Kaṭaṁkaṭa,[76] Tryambaka, Viṣogra-pā, Hiraṇya-retas, Sarva-hara, etc.;[77] he was said to be multiform, with hands, feet, eyes and heads on all sides and a hundred bellies and a hundred mouths,[78] to be cruel, fierce and dreadful,[79] to have a hideous form,[80] tawny eyes with red corners, and tawny hair,[81] to live in clouds and oceans,[82] and to be the creator, giver and consumer of food;[83] and he was identical with the clouds, the roar of the thunder,[84] the four kinds of creatures, and the gods Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Dhanada, Anila and others, of whom he was

73. *Ibid.*, 1.24 (fol. 2b), 2.24–27(fol. 3b), and 2.39–40(fol. 4a)

74. *Ibid.*, 2.19 *devatāḥ sarvato hy antar goṣṭhe gāva iva sthitāḥ.* (This line is much the same as *Mahābhārata* xii. 284. 8b and *Vāyu Purāṇa* 30. 186b).

75. For the various names of Rudra-Śiva see *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgavāsi Press ed.) xii. 284 and xiii. 17-*Vāyupurāṇa* (Poona ed.) 30. 181ff., and *Rāmāyaṇa* (Vaṅgavāsi Press ed.) vii. 27. 31-50.
*See* also A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, pp. 142-53.

76. For 'Kaṭaṁkaṭa' as a name of Rudra-Śiva see *Mahābhārata* xii. 284. 27 and *Vāyu-purāṇa* 34.204. In *Mahābhārata* xiii. 17. 58 the name 'Kāla-kaṭaṁkaṭa' occurs.

77. See *Āgneyapurāṇa*, Chap. 2 (which has many lines in common with *Mahābhārata* xii. 284 and xiii. 17, and *Vāyu-purāṇa*, Chap. 30).

78. *Ibid.*, 2. 17. (Of this verse the first half is the same as *Mahābhārata* xii. 284. 4b and *Vāyu-purāṇa* 30. 182b, and the second half agrees much with *Mahābhārata* xii. 284. 6b and *Vayupurāṇa* 30. 184a).

79-81. *Ibid.*, 2. 39 and 21-23 (cf. *Mahābhārata* xii. 284. 91, 30-2, etc., and *Vāyu Purāna* 30. 201ff.).

82. *Ibid.*, 2. 24 (cf. *Mahābhārata* xii. 284. 49 and *Vāyu-purāṇa* 30. 225).

83. *Ibid.*, 2. 25 (cf. *Mahābhārata* xii. 284. 50 and *Vāyupurāṇa* 30. 214).

84. *Ibid.*, 2. 32-4 (cf. *Mahābhārata* xii. 284. 56-7 and 73, and *Vāyupurāṇa* 30. 232-3 and 250).

said to be the creator also.[85] Thus, the present *Āgneya purāṇa* in its earliest form was practically a work in praise of Rudra and his worship in the form of Agni. But unfortunately this work has not come down to us in its original form in which, as we have already noted, it dealt with all the five characteristic topi cs of Purāṇas. In Chapters 11 to the end, this work is found, in its present form, to be purely Vaiṣṇava, having nothing to do with the praise of Agni or Rudra, although Vahni and Marīci have been retained as interlocutors up to Chapter 27. Even in the first ten chapters, which undoubtedly consist mainly of verses retained from the earlier form of the work, the stamps of the interfering hands of the Vaiṣṇavas are clearly discernible. That in appropriating the *Āgneyapurāṇa* for their sectarian interest the Vaiṣṇava redactors eliminated a large number of chapters from it, is shown not only by this new Vaiṣṇava character which is genuine to most of its chapters, but also by the fact that although in Chapter 3, verses 23-9 the sages, attending Marīci's sacrifice, want to hear 'the best procedures and the results of sacrifices' and Marīci requests the Fire-god 'to speak on (the sacrificial) Dharma', the Fire-god is found to speak much on the praise of sacrifices but nothing on their procedures. It is peculiar that in several places of the present *Āgneya-Purāṇa*[86] Sūta is found to address one single sage and to speak to him on various matters, although in Chapter 1 (verses 2ff.) as well as in many other places of the *Āgneya-purāṇa* it is the sages of the Naimiṣa forest (and not any particular one among them) who request him to speak to them on the Purāṇa-topics. This disagreement between the numbers of presons questioning and listening to Sūta tends to indicate how the text of the *Āgneya-purāṇa* has been interfered with by the Vaiṣṇavas, and verses or extracts have been retained by them here and there from the earlier form of the work in which the Fire-god spoke to the sage Marīci.

In re-editing the *Āgneya-purāṇa* to their own interest the Vaiṣṇava redactors did not take to their own power of

85. *Ibid.*, 2. 26-7 and 34 (cf. *Mahābhārata* xii. 284. 51-2 and 66, and *Vāyupurāṇa* 30. 227-8 and 242).

86. *See*, for instance, *Āgenyapurāṇa* 12. 8-9 (fol. 36a), and 14. 4 (fol. 41b).

original composition in all cases but utilised various Vaiṣṇava works, especially the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*,[87] *Harivaṁśa*,[88] *Viṣṇu-*

87. The chapters and verses common to the *Āgneyapurāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* are the following :—

| *Āgneyapurāṇa*. | | *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (Vaṅga. ed.) |
|---|---|---|
| 9. 1-8 .... .... .... | =i. 13. | 8-14. |
| 9. 55-61 .... .... .... | =i. 13. | 81-7. |
| 12. 10 to the end (except verse 6, 18,25 and 30b). | =i. 2. | 15-9, 20b-21, 25-6, 28-9, 31, 33a, 34b, 35b-36a, 37b, 38b, 39b-40a, 43-44b, 51b-55, 56b-57, 62, 63a, 66. |
| 13. 1-2 and 4-5 .... .... | =i. 3. | 1-2b, 4-5a, 6c. |
| 15. 1-24 .... .... .... | =i. 4. | 1-3, 5-9a, 10, 25b-26, 29-30, 32-35a, 36b-37, 39, 41, 45-50. |
| 15. 25-45 .... .... .... | =i. 5. | 4-13, 14b-24a. |
| 15. 46-55 .... .... .... | =i. 5. | 25, 27a, 26b, 27b-35a. |
| 15. 56b-84 .... .... .... | =i. 5. | 36b-37a and 38-65. |
| 15. 85-94 and 96-120 .... .... | =i. 6. | 3-10, 11b 12, 13b-18a, 19b, 20a (second half), 20b-21a, 21b-24a, 24b–27a, 27b-38, 40-1. |
| 16. 1-5 and 7-16a .... .... | =i. 7. | 3b-4, 6b-7, 5-6a, 10-19a. |
| 16. 48-58a, 60-1 .... .... | =i. 8. | 1a (first half), 1b (second half), 2-9b, 10-3. |
| 17. 1-9 .... .... .... | =i. 10. | 1-5, 14b-17 and 20. |
| 17. 10-24 .... .... .... | =i. 11. | 1-3a (first half), 3b (second half)–6a, 7–9, 11–8. |
| 17. 26-27a, 28-38, 42-52 .... .... | =i. 12. | 1-2a, 7-8, 11a, 13a-15a, 16b-17, 24, 26b, 27-9, 31, 81-2, 85a, 90, 94-5, 97-102. |
| 17. 53-60 .... .... .... | =i. 13. | 1-9a. |
| 17. 61 to the end (except a few lines) .... | =i. 14. | 1-5, 7b-8a, 10b-11a, 12b, 16, 18-19a (first half), 20a (second half), 46-7. |
| 18. 1-11a, 16a, 18-19, 20a, 20c-25, 28-38, 40-41a. | =i. 15. | 1, 4-9, 11-15, 28a, 35a, 39-40, 44a, 46, 48-9, 51a, 50b, 51b-52a, 53a, 62, 72-79a, 80-3, 85-86a, etc., etc. |

88. The verses common to the *Āgneyapurāṇa* and the *Harivaṁśa* are the following :—

*dharma*[89] and *Rāmāyaṇa*,[90] from which they took a large number of verses and even complete chapters and added them to the *Āgneya-purāṇa* in place of those eliminated from the latter. As a matter of

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| | *Āgneyapurāṇa.* | | *Hari-vaṁśa* (*Vaṅga.* ed.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | 9-31, 33-46 .... .... | =i. 5. | 8b–12a,13b–22,23b-27, 29b-35a,42-51a. 52-56. |
| 9. | 47 to the end (except the last verse) .... | =i. 6. | 1–2, 4-8a, 9b–11, 14–15a, 16b–27, 29–32, 33b, 35a–39a, 40–5, 46b–48, 50b–52. |
| 21. | 2-5a, 8-19, 20a, .... 22-24, etc., etc. .... | =iii. 33. | 1–4a, 10–16a, 17, 19b, 21b, 25b, 27b–29, 30b, 32a (first half), 32b (second half)–33a,34b–35, etc., etc. (*See* also *Matsya Purāṇa* 247. 1–43). |
| 21. | 32-3, 34b-c, 35b,37a, .... .... 46a, 47-9, etc. | =iii. 34. | 2, 10, 13, 16, 19b, 20, 22–4, etc., etc.(*See* also *Matsya Purāṇa* 248. 2–11 and 50–71a). |

89. The chapters and verses common to the *Āgneyapurāṇa* and the *Viṣṇudharma* are too numerous to be noted here. As the *Viṣṇu dharma* has not yet been printed and its verses are not numbered, we mention below only some of those chapters of the two works which have a large number of verses common to them. For the text of the *Viṣṇudharma* we have used Ms. No. G1670 preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

| *Āgneyapurāṇa* | | *Viṣṇudharma* |
|---|---|---|
| 28. | 1–36 .. | .. Chap. 1. |
| 28. | 37 to the end | .. Chap. 2. |
| 29. | 1ff .. | .. Chap. 3. |
| | | etc. |

90. Compare, for instance,

*Rāmāyaṇa* iii. 64 with *Āgneyapurāṇa*, Chap. 120 (Rāma-krodhaḥ),

*Rāmāyaṇa* iii. 67 with *Āgneyapurāṇa*, Chap. 121 (Jaṭāyuṣo darśanam),

*Rāmāyaṇa* v. 24 with *Āgneyapurāṇa*, Chap. 164 (Sītā-vilāpaḥ),

*Rāmāyaṇa* v. 27 with *Āgneyapurāṇa*, Chap. 165 (Śvapna-darśanam), etc.

fact, the part of the present *Āgneya purāṇa* from chapter 28 consists considerably of chapters and verses taken from the *Viṣṇudharma* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. That the *Āgneyapurāṇa* utilised these two works in Chaps. 28ff. admits of no doubt. In Chapters 1–3 of the *Viṣṇudharma* the story of king Ambarīṣa has been introduced as follows :

Once Śaunaka and other sages came to see king Śatānīka (grandson of king Parīkṣit), after the latter's coronation had been over. Śatānīka received these sages with due honour and requested them to favour him with discourses on Nārāyaṇa (i. e., Kṛṣṇa), through whose favour his ancestors could recover their lost kingdom and who saved the life of his grandfather from the deadly weapon hurled by Droṇa's son. He then expressed his desire for hearing the ways, secret Mantras, service, gifts, vows, fasts or Homas, by which Hari might be worshipped for getting over the miseries of life. The sages were pleased with Śatānīka's devotion for the god and requested Śaunaka to speak to Śatānīka about Nārāyaṇa (i.e., Kṛṣṇa). Consequently, Śaunaka briefly explained the origin of the universe, referred to the tradition of inheritance of all these topics from Brahmā.[91] and said that once, after hearing from Brahmā about the highest type of Yoga which leads to Kaivalya by effecting the complete cessation of the functions of the mind, Marīci and others requested the god to speak to them on some easier method of Yoga which could be practised with success even by a common man, that Brahmā spoke to these sages on Kriyā-yoga which consists in the constant propitition of Nārāyaṇa (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) by sacrifice, worship, service, observance of vows and fasts, gratification of Brahmins, and other acts, and that on the basis of Brahmā's instructions these sages compiled treatises on Kriyā-yoga for the good of the people (Chapter 1). Next, going to speak on this Kriyā yoga, which liberates people from bondage, Śaunaka narrated the story of king Ambarīṣa thus : Being desirous of bringing the duals to an end through Viṣṇu's favour, king

91. It is said in Chap. 1 of the *Viṣṇudharma* (fols. 3b–4a) that these topics came down from Brahmā successively through Bhṛgu, Uśanas, Śaunaka's grandfather, and Śaunaka's father and finally reached Śaunaka. Marīci and other great sages (*maharṣayaḥ*, including Vasiṣṭha ?) received these from Brahmā himself.

Ambarīṣa practised austerities with great devotion. Viṣṇu was pleased but he would not favour the king without putting him to test. He appeared before the latter in the form of Indra, gave himself out to be the god of gods ruling over the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Nāsatyas, Maruts, Prajāpatis, Sādhyas, Viśvedevas and others, and asked the king to choose a boon. But the latter made it clear to him that he was not eager for having anything from Indra, but was trying to please Viṣṇu who ensured prosperity to Indra by killing Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyakaśipu and other demons, by recovering his kingdom from Bali, and by various other acts, and who was the creator, protector and destroyer of the universe and the source of origin of the gods forming the triad. At these words of the king Viṣṇu, in the form of Indra, pretended to be enraged and threatened the king with his thunder-weapon. But the latter pleaded innocence and remained unmoved. His unswerving devotion pleased Viṣṇu so much that the god revealed himself in his real form in which he has four hands and wears yellow clothes and spoke briefly to the king on the best system of Yoga which is 'nirbija' and ends all miseries of life for ever (*atyantaduḥkha-saṁyoga–bheṣajam*). But as this type of Yoga was too difficult for the king, he requested Viṣṇu to tell him about such Yoga as could be practised by people like himself. Consequently, Viṣṇu spoke of Kriyāyoga which puts a stop to all sufferings of life and advised the king to be devoted to him heart and soul, to worship him contantly with flowers and other things as well as with the offer of highly valuable articles of gold, silver, etc., to think of him incessantly, and to see him everywhere and in all beings. Next, being requested by the king to speak elaborately on this Kriyāyoga, Viṣṇu (called Keśava) referred him to his priest (*purohita*) Vasiṣṭha, who, he said, would tell him about it throgh his favour. The god then disappeared; and the king returned to his capital in a joyful mood (Chapter 2). There he met Vasiṣṭha, intimated to him what Viṣṇu had said, and requested him to speak on Kriyāyoga concerning Viṣṇuworship (.... .... .... *kriyāyogaṁ viṣṇor ārādhanaṁ prati*) (Chapter 3).

From the above summary of contents of Chapters 1–3 of the *Viṣṇudharma* it will be evident that the story of Vasiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa, as given in Chapter 2 of the *Viṣṇudharma*, is the same as that contained in *Āgneyapurāṇa*, Chapter 28, the main difference

between the two sources being that in the *Viṣṇudharma* this story is narrated by Śaunaka to king Śatānika and Kriyāyoga is said to have been spoken out first by Brahmā to Marīci, Bhṛgu and other sages and then by Vasiṣṭha to king Ambarīṣa through Viṣṇu's favour, whereas in *Āgneyapurāṇa*, Chapter 28 the story is narrated by Sūta to the sages of the Naimiṣa forest as an interlocution between Vahni (the Fire-god) and Marīci, and the discourse on Kriyāyoga is traced back to the Fire-god (Vahni, Agni), who is said to have narrated it first of all to Marīci and others and from whom Vasiṣṭha is said to have heard it during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci).[92] That the *Āgneyapurāṇa* derived this story from the *Viṣṇudharma* is shown definitely by the facts that in all the three Mss. of the *Āgneyapurāṇa* we have been able to consult, the colophon of Chapter 28 (which contains the story) has been given as 'devāmbarīṣa-saṁvādo nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ' clearly in imitation of the colophon of Chapter 2 of the *Viṣṇudharma* which was as 'iti viṣṇudharmeṣv acyutāmbarīṣa saṁvādo nāma dvitīyo 'dhyāyaḥ', that it is in Chapter 28 of the *Āgneyapurāṇa* (and not in Chapter 3, wherein the story is given as to how the Fire god came to speak to Marīci and other sages on the various Purāṇic topics) that Vasiṣṭha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard the Kriyāyoga from Vahni during a sacrifice (instituted most probably by Marīci), and that in several places of the *Āgneyapurāṇā* the words 'viṣṇudharma', 'vaiṣṇava dharma' and 'vaiṣṇavadharma' have been used, though in their literal sense.[93] After appropriating the story of Vaiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa from the *Viṣṇudharma-purāṇa* the *Āgneya purāṇa* makes Vasiṣṭha the general speaker in all chapters following Chapter 28, not excepting even those which have been derived from some other source than the *Viṣṇudharma* or which contain the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* We do not know for certain what other sources were utilised in those chapters of the *Āgneyapuārṇa* which were not derived from or based on the *Viṣṇudharma* and the *Rāmāyaṇā*. The mention of the '*Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*' in *Āgneyapurāṇa* 14.1 tends to show that our

92. For the relevant verses of the *Āgneyapurāṇa* see foot-notes 64 and 65 above.

93. For these words see *Āgneyapurāna* 30.56 (fol. 107a.......... *viṣṇudharma-parāyaṇaḥ*) and 33.1 (fol. 114a........................ *vaiṣnavaṁ dharmaṁ*..........), and the colophons of Chapters 29 (fol. 105a). (fol. 107a), and 32 (fol. 114a).

*Āgneyapurāṇa* utilised the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* also. The verses, found common to the *Āgneyapurāṇa* and the *Bhaviṣyottara*[94] must have been taken by the latter either from the former or from some common source utilised by both of them.

As to the utilisation of the language and contents of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* in the present *Āgenyapurāṇa* it may be pointed out that in chapters previous to those on the *Rāmāyaṇa* story there are mentions of the '*Rāmāyaṇa*' (or *Rāghavāyana*') and its author 'Vālmīki' and references to its contents and to the merits of studying it and giving it away as a gift to a worthy Brahmin recipient[95]. So, the Vaiṣṇava redactor, who added the story of Vasiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa to the *Āgneyapurāṇa*, was not only familiar with Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* but also looked upon it as a highly sacred book and recommended its study. There is, however, no evidence to show that the Rāma story was added to the *Āgenyapurāṇa* later than that of Vasiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa.

It should be mentioned here that in Chapter 3 of the *Āgneyapurāṇa* the Fire god is said to have spoken to Marīci and other sages on the different Purāṇic topics during the sacrifice instituted by Marīci,there being no mention of Vaiṣṇava Kriyāyoga or of Vasiṣṭha as a hearer, that it is as late as in Chapter 28 (which as we have already seen, is constituted of verses mostly taken from *Viṣṇudharma* Chapter 2) that Vasiṣṭha is mentioned for the first time and said to have heard discourses on Vaiṣṇava Kriyāyoga from the Fire god

94. *See*, for instance, *Bhaviṣyottara* (i.e. *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, Uttara parvan as printed in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition) 84. 25–28a, 36b, 37b-40a. 41–4, and 46–9, which are much the same as *Āgneyapurāna*, Chap. 34, verses 14b–17, 28b–31, 33–6, and 37–40 respectively.

95. *See Āgneyapurāṇa* 36. 69–70 (on fol. 125a, wherein the '*Rāmāyaṇa*' has been named and its study praised), 43. 12 (on fol. 141b, in which the merits of making gifts of the 'Purāṇa', '*Bhārata*' and '*Rāmāyaṇa*' have been given), 58 87(on fol. 178a, which names the *Rāmāyaṇa* as '*Rāghavāyana*' and praises its study), 32. 69 (on fol. 112b, wherein Vālmiki, a robber, is said to have attained liberation by following the instructions of a great sage), 46. 21–3 (on fols. 145b–146a. in which Rāma speaks to Lakṣmaṇa on '*annadāna*'), 18. 92 (on fol. 62b, which mentions Rāma's killing of Tāḍakā) 20. 24–34 (on fol. 72b, which records the birth of Kuvera, Rāvaṇa and others), and so on.

during a sacrifice (most probably the one instituted by Marīci)[96], and that in several places of *Āgneyapurāṇa* Vasiṣṭha has been made to refer either to Vahni as the original speaker or to the interlocution between Vahni and Marīci[97]. So, there is no doubt that the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa marks a later stage in the constitution of the present *Āgneyapurāṇa* than that in which this Purāṇa was a work of the Agnihortins of the *Yajurveda* and had Vahni and Marīci as interlocutors.

Although in Chapters 4-26 of the *Āgneyapurāṇa* numerous extracts and isolated verses have been derived from Pāñcarātra works such as the *Harivaṁśa* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and in Chapter 27ff. (and not in any of the preceding ones) the name 'Kṛṣṇa' (for 'Viṣṇu') occurs repeatedly and the Bhāgavatas are mentioned and praised on more occasions than one, we are not sure that even in the Vaiṣṇava recast of the present *Āgneyapurāṇa* there were two stages due to the activities first of the Pāñcarātras and then of the Bhāgavatas. A careful examination of the present text of the *Āgneyapurāṇa*, however, shows that even after the story of Vasiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa had been introduced into this work, verses continued to be added here and there, although their number is not very great.

From the above analysis of contents of the present *Āgneyapurāṇa* it is evident that this work has passed through three main stages before attaining its present form, extent and character. It was originally a work on the Fire cult of the Agnihotrī Brahmins of the *Yajurveda*, and in it the Fire god was taken to be identical with Rudra. So, it was practically a work in praise of Rudra Śiva. During the second stage, this work was appropriated by the Vaiṣṇavas (most probably Bhāgavatas) and furnished with the interlocution of Vasiṣṭha nd Ambarīṣa, who appear in all chapters except

96. For the relevant verses of the *Āgneyapurāna* see foot-notes 64 and 65. above

*See* also *Āgneyapurāna* 29.3 (on fol. 101a)—

tac chrutvā prāha rājendra mamāpi smṛtir āgatā/
kathitaṁ vahninā pūrvaṁ kriyāyogaṁ hi cakriṇaḥ//

97. *See* for instance, *Āgneyapurāna* 29. 3 (quoted in the immediately preceding footnote), 53.4 (fol. 161a—*yad vahninā purākhyātaṁ pṛcchate ca marīcaye*), and 54. 35a (fol. 165b—*evam etan mayākhyātaṁ yad uktaṁ vahninā purā*).

the first twenty-eight and of whom the former is said to have heard about Vaiṣṇava Kriyāyoga from the Fire god himself; and the third stage was marked by minor additions and alterations made here and there. So, when the *Saurapurāṇa* (9.25) praises the gift of the *Āgneyapurāṇa* to an Āhitāgni Brahmin, the Śivarahasya-khaṇḍa (2.34) of the Śaṁkara-saṁhitā of the *Skandapurāṇa* takes this work to be one in praise of Agni, and the *Padmapurāna* (Uttara-khaṇḍa, 263. 81–5) includes it among the Tāmasa Purāṇas, these works point undoubtedly to the present *Āgneyapurāna* in its original form, in which Agni was praised and taken to be identical with Rudra Śiva. By their mention that the *Āgneyapurāṇa* was spoken out by Agni to Vasiṣṭha the *Matsyapurṇāa* (53.28–30) and the *Skandapurāṇa* (VII. i. 2. 47-8) definitely mean the present *Āgneyapurāṇa* in its Vaiṣṇava character which became very prominent since the appropriation of the work by the Vaiṣṇavas and in which Vasiṣṭha figures more prominently as a speaker than any body else and is said to have been told about Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga by the Fire-god himself.

We have seen above how the genuine *Āgneyapurāṇa* was known to the different Purāṇas in its different forms and characters. We shall now explain where and under what circumstances this work first came to assume a new title, viz., '*Vahnipurāṇa*'.

It has already been pointed out that of all the Purāṇic works it is only the *Bhāgavata*[98], the '*Kālikāpurāṇa*' (as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, p. 531), and the *Padmapurāṇa*, Pātāla-khaṇḍa (Bengal text as occurring in the Calcutta Asiatic Society Ms. No. G1416A) which name the *Āgneyapurāṇa* as '*Vāhna*', '*Vahnija*' and '*Vahnipurāṇa*' respectively, and that the earliest writers to refer to or draw upon the *Āgneyapurāṇa* under its new title '*Vahnipurāṇa*' were Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and Mādhavācārya. It is now well-known to scholars that the present form and extent of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* are due considerably to the activities of the Tamil Vaiṣṇavas, the marks of whose interfering hands are clearly discer-

98 As has been said above, the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* contains two lists of principal-Purāṇas, of which one names the *Āgneyapurāṇa* as '*Vāhna*', the title '*Agneyapurāṇa*' occurring in the other.

nible thorughout this work,[99] and that Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādri and Mādhavācārya were all South Indian writers. So, it seems that it was in South India that the *Āgneyapurāṇa* first came to be known as '*Vahnipurāṇa*'. As a matter of fact, not a single reference to the '*Vahnipurāṇa*' is traceable in the Smṛti works of Bengal down to the end of the third quarter of the fifteenth century A.D., and in those of Mithilā and Orissa, till the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. As Devaṇabhaṭṭa quotes 17 metrical lines from the '*Vahnipurāṇa*' but only 2 from the '*Agnipurāṇa*' (i.e., the genuine *Āgneya purāṇa*) and as the verses ascribed by Hemādri to the '*Vahnipurāṇa*' far outnumber those ascribed by him to the '*Āgneyapurāṇa*', it seems that these two writers had direct knowledge of the '*Vahnipurāṇa*', looked upon this work as different from the *Āgneyapurāṇa*, and derived verses of the '*Āgneyapurāṇa*' not direct from any copy of this work but from the Smṛti works known to them. This supposition gains ground when we see that although some of the verses ascribed by Hemādri to the '*Āgneyapurāṇa*' are found to occur in the '*Vahnipurāṇa*', they are not quoted in the *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* under the title '*Vahnipurāṇa*'. However, from the position of authority attained by the '*Vahnipurāṇa*' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. it is evident that the *Agneyapurāṇa* came to be known as '*Vahnipurāṇa*' in Southern India considerably earlier than 1100 A.D.

Now, the question arises as to why the *Āgneyapurāṇa* was given this new title '*Vahnipurāṇa*' in Southern India in spite of the fact that it was widely known from early times as '*Āgneyapurāna*'. For an adequate answer we have to refer to the valuable statements made by Vallālasena about the various works of the Purāṇic literature known to him. We have already said that in his *Dānasāgara* Vallālasena mentions a few Purāṇas, viz., *Tārkṣya*, *Brāhma*, *Āgneya*, *Vaiṣṇava* and *Liṅga*, and says that the Tāntriks compiled these works with sectarian motives, imbued them with Tantric elements, and deceived and misled the people with these. From Vallālasena's statement it is evident that the spurious '*Āgneya*' Purāṇa,

99 *See IHQ*, VIII, 1932, pp. 49–53 (in which Amar Nath Ray tries to show that the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* was written by a native of the Tamil country). *See* also J. N. Banerjee in *IHQ*, XXVII, 1951, pp. 138–43, and J. N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 232–3.

written by the Tantriks, had already attained considerable popularity in Northern India as a genuine Mahāpurāṇa, and that the genuine *Āgneyapurāna*, which was completely free from Tantric elements, was growing more and more unpopular with the spread of Tantricism. Being written some time during the ninth century A.D. the spurious *Āgneya*, which has survived to us and is now available in more printed editions than one under the title '*Agnipurāṇa*', began its fight against the genuine *Āgneyapurāna* for occupying the latter's position and was soon able to attain much popularity especially among those who had been influenced by Tantricism. But the apathy, or rather hatred, which the comparatively early Smṛti-writers bore towards the Tantras, prevented this Purāṇa from attaining a position of universal recognition as the genuine Mahāpurāṇa spoken out by the Fire-god.

Thus in the twelfth century, as the evidence of Vallālasena indicates, this work was still trying in Bengal to hold the ground against the genuine *Āgneyapurāna* and took a few centuries more to attain a position of authority among the Smṛti-writers. In the meantime it was gaining ground in Orissa, where Viśvanātha Kaviraja (1300–1384 A.D.) was the first scholar to recognise its authority and to draw upon it in his *Sāhityadarpana*.[100] The next writer to utilise this spurious *Āgneyapurāna* also hailed from Orissa. He was Narasiṁha Vājapeyin, a Smṛti-writer, who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century A.D. Even in the sixteenth century this work was able to attain only partial recognition in Bengal, where Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya (1520–1560 A.D.)[101] was the first writer to look upon it as an authority and to utilise its contents profusely in his works.[102] It is interesting to note that outside Bengal and Orissa this work attained recognition of scholars much later and took a few decades more to be looked upon as an authority in Western and Southern India, and in Mithilā it was not even referred to by any writer down to the end of the

100 Ed. P. V. Kane (Bombay, 1923), Pariccheda I, p. 2 (=*Agnipurāṇa* 337.3, and 338.7).

101 For this date of Govindānanda *see* my article in *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 97–8.

102 For the lists of Govindānanda's references to and quotations from the spurious *Āgneyapurāna* see Appendix III (A) and (B).

sixteenth century A.D., if not later. So, there is little scope for doubt that the spurious *Āgneyapurāṇa*, now going by the title *Āgneya-purāṇa*', originated either in Eastern Orissa or in Western Bengal (most probably in the latter)[103] and began its struggle for authority from there. However, the rise of this spurious *Āgneyapurāṇa* proved very dangerous to the genuine *Āgneyapurāṇa* in Northern India, and the result was that even before 1100 A.D. the latter was forced to traverse to Southern India where Tantricism had not yet spread as much as in the north and to save itself from extinction by assuming a new title '*Vahnipurāṇa*' most probably to avoid being stamped as a spurious work.

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103. The complete silence of Maithila writers about the *Agnipurāṇa* down to the beginning of the seventeenth century A. D., and the fact that in spite of the mention of Kāmarūpa as a sacred place on two occasions (in *Agnipurāṇa* 143.7, and 144.19) the Brahmins of Kāmarūpa (and not those of Bengal or Orissa) have been included in *Agni purāṇa* 39 6-7 among those who were considered unfit for consecrating the images of Viṣṇu according to the Pāñcarātra method, tend to show that the *Agnipurāṇa* was written neither in Mithilā nor in Kāmarūpa.

On the other hand, Puruṣottama-kṣetra has been mentioned as a holy place in Oḍra on several occasions (in *Agnipurāṇa* 117. 63, 174. 18, and 305. .3), and in *Agnipurāṇa*, Chap. 219, which is based on *Viṣṇudharmottara* ii. 22, the author betrays special attention for this place by including its name in verse 68; the custom of 'śatru-bali' (i. e., sacrificing the effigy of the enemy made of powdered rice) in Durgā-worship, which is peculiar to Bengal in particular and to Mithilā, has been menti-oned in the verse :

तस्याग्रतो नृपः स्नायात् शत्रुं पिष्टमयं हरेत् ।
दद्यात् स्कन्दविशाखाभ्यां.................... ॥

*Agnipurāṇa* 188. 13-4); and the name 'Bhelakhi' for a particular type of Vidyā and the Mantra '*upāḍi oṁ bhelakhi oṁ svāhā*' occur in *Agnipurāṇa* 133. 40-1, and 143.3. So, it is more probable that the *Agnipurāṇa* was written in Western Bengal.

## APPENDIX I

### (A)

**The verses, ascribed to the 'Āgneyapurāṇa', 'Āgneya' or 'Agnipurāṇa' in—**

| 1. Vallālasena's *Dānasāgara* (Vaṅgīya Sāhitya pariṣad Ms. No. 1374), | Occur in *Āgneyapurāṇa* (*alias Vahni-purāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated), |
|---|---|
| fol. 13a-b (5 lines) | Chap. 47 (fol. 150 b). |
| fol. 15a (6 lines) . . | Chap. 5 (fol. 15b). |
| fols. 71a–72a (about 60 lines.) | Chap. 35 (fols. 120b–122a). |
| fol. 73a-b (22 lines) | Chap. 36 (fols. 122b–123a). |
| fol. 74a-b (24 lines) | Chap. 36 (fols. 125b–126a). |
| fol. 82a-b (14 lines) | Chap. 36 (fol. 122a-b). |
| fol. 91a (5 lines).. | Chap. 50 (fol. 157b). |
| fol. 91b (2 lines).. | Chap. 48 (fol. 152b). |
| fol. 101b (2 lines) | Chap. 46 (fol. 148a). |
| fol. 101b (13 lines) | Chap. 50 (fols. 157b–158a). |
| fol. 104b (2 lines) | Chap. 46 (fol. 148a). |

| *Contd : Dānasāgara* | *Contd : Āgneya-purāṇa* |
|---|---|
| fol. 111b (2 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157b). |
| fol. 114b (2 lines) | Chap. 49 (fol. 153b). |
| fol. 114b (5 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157b). |
| fol. 125b (2 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157a). |
| fol. 135a (10 lines) | Chap. 45 (fols. 144b 145a). |
| fol. 135a (2 lines) | Chap. 45 (fol. 145a). |
| fol. 135b (2 lines) | Chap. 45 (fol. 145a) |
| fols. 143b-144a (26 lines). | Chap. 50 (fols. 155b–156a). |
| fol. 147b (2 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 156a). |
| fol. 151b (5 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157b). |
| fol. 164b (8 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157a). |
| fols. 166b-167a (21 lines). | Chap. 37 (fol. 127a-b), |
| fol. 172a (54 lines) | Chap. 37 (fols. 128b–129b). |
| fol. 178b (2 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157a). |

| 2. Vallālasena's *Adbhutasāgara* (ed. Muralidhara Jha, Benares). | Occur in *Āgneyapurāṇa* (*alias Vahnipurāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090 unless otherwise stated). |
|---|---|
| p. 19 (1 line) | Chap. 27 (fol. 94a). |
| p. 23 (1 line) | Chap. 75 (India Office Ms No. 1001, fol. 179b). |
| pp. 50–51 (2 lines) | Chap. 27 (fol. 94a). |
| p. 320 (1 line). . | Chap. 27 (fol. 94b). |
| p. 378 (1 line). . | Chap. 27 (fol. 94b). |
| p. 412 (1 line). . | Chap. 27 (fol. 94b). |
| p. 426(3lines). . | Chap. 27 (fol. 94b). |
| p. 443( 2lines). . | Chap. 27 (fol. 94b). |
| p. 453 (1 line). . | Chap. 27 (fol. 94b). |
| p. 461(2 lines). . | Chap. 27 (fol. 94b). |
| p.500(12lines). . | Chap.163(India Office Ms No. 1001, fol.277a). |
| p. 501(2 lines). . | Chap.163(India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol.277a). |
| p. 512(8 lines). . | Chap.163(India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol.277a). |
| p. 513(4 lines). . | Chap.163(India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol.277a). |
| p. 657 (1 line). . | Chap. 77(India Office Ms. No. 1001,fol. 182a). |
| p. 708 (3lines). . | Chap. 56 (fol. 172a). |

| 3. Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* (ed. Tejash Chandra Vidyānanda, Calcutta), | Contd : *Āgneya-purāṇa* |
|---|---|
| p. 25 (3 lines). . | Chap. 5 (fol. 13a). |
| pp. 29-30 (14 . . lines) | Chap. 8 (fol. 23a-b). |

| Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* (ed. Tejash Chandra Vidyānanda, Calcutta), | Occur in *Āgneya-Purāṇa* (*alias Vahni-Purāna*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 80-90, unless otherwise stated), |
|---|---|
| p. 30 (the first quotation of 4 lines). | Chap 10 (fol. 30a). Also cf. Chap. 8 (fol. 23b). |
| p. 44 (5 lines) .... | Chap. 11 (fol. 34a). |
| p. 44 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 30b-31a). |
| p. 45 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 31a). |
| p. 46 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 31a). |
| p. 46 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 31a). |
| p. 46 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 30b). |
| p. 50 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 31a). |
| p. 50 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 30b), |

| Contd : *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* | Contd : *Āgneya-p.* |
|---|---|
| p. 53 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 30a). |
| p. 69 (the first quotation of 2 lines). | Chap. 10 (fol. 30b). |
| p. 70 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 33a). |
| p. 70 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 33a). |
| p. 71 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 30b). |
| pp. 71-72 (8 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 30b). (The eighth line 'devatvam atha vipratvam' is not found in the *Āgneya-Purāṇa*). |
| p. 74 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 (fol. 31a). |
| pp. 81-2 (4 lines) .... | Chap. 4 (fol. 10a). |
| p. 95 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 10 fol. 31a). |
| 4. Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, | |
| I. pp. 978-9 (19 lines) | Chap. 46 (fols. 145b-146a. The last three of the quoted lines are not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| II. i. pp. 227-8 (9 lines). | Chap. 32, verses 18b-20a, 21-22a, and 23 (fol. 110b). |

| Contd : *Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi* | Contd : *Āgneya-p.* |
|---|---|
| III. ii. p. 132 (the first quotation of (2 lines). .... | Chap. 65 (fol. 200a). |
| 5. Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura's *Kṛtyaratnākara*, | Occur in *Āgneyapurāna* (*alias Vahni-Purāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated). |
| p. 45 (6 lines) .... | Chap. 5 (fol. 15b). |
| p. 145 (5 lines) .... | Chap. 50 (fol. 157b). |
| p. 153 (8 lines) .... | Chap. 50(fol. 157a). |
| pp. 211-2 (25 lines) .... | Chap. 37 (fol. 127a-b). |
| pp. 214-7 (55 lines) .... | Chap. 37(fols. 128b-129a). |
| p. 489 (2 lines) .... | Chap. 50(fol. 157a). |
| 6. Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti* (ed. V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay), | |
| I. i. p. 268 (2 lines) . . | Chap. 4 (fol. 9b). |
| p. 351 (2 lines) . . | Chap. 5 (fol. 14b). |
| p. 351 (2 lines) . . | Chap. 5 (fol. 13b). |
| p. 365 (3 lines) . . | Chap. 6 (fol. 17a. V. 1. 'śāmbhavaiḥ') (for 'śāktikaiḥ') in Ms. |

| Contd : *Comm. on Parāśarasmṛti* | Contd : *Āgneya-purāṇa* |
|---|---|
| pp. 366-9 (37 lines) . . | Chap. 6 fol. 17a-b). The eighth line 'ṛgvede pauruṣaṁ sūktam' and four lines from 'hutvā ṣoḍaśabhir mantraiḥ' on p. 369 are not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| II. ii. pp. 221-2 (16 lines). . . | Chap. 47(fol. 150a-b). |
| 7. Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsava-viveka* (ed. Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad), | |
| p. 12 (3 lines) . . | Chap. 6 (fol. 17a). |
| 8. Śūlapāṇi's *Tithiviveka* (Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. No. स्मृति 155), | |
| fol. 3a (4 lines) . . | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, (fol. 160a), The verse 'daśamy ekādaśī yā tu' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| 9. Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's *Gaṅgāvākyāvali*(Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. No. स्मृति 117). | Occur in *Āgneya-purāṇa*(*alias Vahni - purāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated), |
| fol. 24b (4 lines) | Chap. 68 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 169a). |
| 10. Vācaspati Miśra's *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* (ed. Bibl. Ind.), | |
| p. 206 (2 lines) . . | Chap. 68 (India Office Ms. No. 1001. fol. 169a). |
| p. 206 (2 lines) . . | Chap. 68 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 169b). |
| p. 263 (4 lines) . . | Chap. 68 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 169a). The other verse (ardhodake tu jāhnavyāḥ, etc.) is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 11. Gaṇapati's *Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgini* (Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. No. स्मृति 118), | Contd : *Āgneya-p.* |
| fols. 5b-6a (6 lines) .. | Chap. 68 (India Office Ms. No· 1001, fol. 169b). Four lines from 'gaṅgāṁ bhāgirathīṃ puṇyām' are not found in in the *Āgneya-purāṇa.* |
| fol. 41a (2 lines) .. | Chap. 70 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 170b). |
| fol. 43b (2 lines) .. | Chap. 68 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 169b). |
| 12. Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Varṣa-kaumudī* (ed. Bibl. Ind.), | |
| pp. 8-9 (4 lines) .. | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 160a). The verse 'daśamyaikādaśī yatra' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa* |
| Contd : Govindānda Kavikaṅkaṇācarya's *Varsa-kaumudī* (ed. Bibl. Ind.)— | Occur in *Āgneya Purāṇa* (*alias Vahni–purāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated), |
| p. 51 (4 lines) .. | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 160a.) The verse 'daśamy–aikādaśī yatra' is not found in the *Agneya-purāṇa.* |
| pp. 199-200 (14 lines). .. | Chap. 6 (fol. 17b). |
| 13. Govindānda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Dāna-kaumudī* (ed. Bibl. Ind.), p. 44 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 46 (fol. 148a). |
| 14. Raghunandana's *Smṛtitattva* (ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara), | |
| I, p. 93 (3 lines) .. | Chap. 6 (fol. 17a). |
| p. 130 (3 lines) .. | Chap. 6 (fol. 17a). |
| p. 371 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 5 (fol. 14b). |
| p. 410 (4 lines) .. | Chap. 59 (fol. 180b). |

| Contd : *Smṛtitattva* | Contd : *Āgneya-p.* |
|---|---|
| p. 411 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 59 (fol. 181a). |
| p. 483 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 46 (fol. 148a) The second line 'annadaḥ, pā. pakartāpi' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| p. 498 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 70 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 170b). |
| II, p. 64 (3 lines) .. | Chap. 6 (fol. 17a). |
| p. 65 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 59 (fol. 180b). |
| p. 65 (4 lines) | Chap. 59.(fol. 180b). |
| pp. 66-7 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 59 (fol. 181a). |
| p. 147 (4 lines) .. | Chap. 51 (fol. 159a). |
| p. 349 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 48 (fol. 152b). |
| p. 365 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 50 (fol. 157a). |
| 15. Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (ed. Purīdāsa, Dacca). | Occur in *Āgneya-purāṇa* (*alias Vahni-purāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated). |
| pp. 146–7 (10 lines) | Chap. 59 (fols. 179b–180a). |
| p. 149 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 59 (fol. 179b). |

| Contd : *Haribhaktivilāsa* | Contd : *Āgneya-p.* |
|---|---|
| p. 158 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 59 (fol. 181a). |
| pp. 158–9 (4 lines) | Chap. 59 (fol. 180b). |
| p. 175 (4 lines) .. | Chap. 59 (fol. 181a). |
| p. 187 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 59 (fol. 180b). |
| p. 553 (4 lines) .. | Chap. 5 (fol. 13a). |
| p. 561 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 5 (fols. 13a–b). |
| 16. Nīlakaṇṭha's *Ācāra-mayūkha* (ed. Gujrati Printing Press, Bombay). | |
| p. 74 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 5. (fol. 14b). |
| p. 87 (2 lines) .. | Chap. 6 (fol. 17a). |
| pp. 89-90 (24 lines) | Chap. 6 (fols. 17a-b.) The last four lines from 'hutvā ṣoḍaśabhir mantraiḥ' are not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| 17. Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares). Āhnika-prakāśa. | |
| p. 271 (3 lines) .. | Chap. 5 (fol. 13a). The first line 'āpo hi ṣṭheti' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |

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|---|---|
| Contd : | |
| Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares). | Occur in *Āgneyapurāṇa* (*alias Vahni-purāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated). |
| pp. 345-6 (2 lines) | Chap. 5 (fol. 14b). |
| Pūjā-prakāśa, p. 37 (the first quotation of 2 lines). | Chap. 59 (fol. 181a). |
| Pūjā-prakāśa, p. 49 (4 lines) . . | Chap. 59 (fol. 181a). The second verse 'śamī-patrāṇi dūr-vāś ca' is not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa*. |
| p. 52 (6 lines) . . | Chap. 59 (fols. 180b 181a). |
| p. 53 (the second quotation of 4 lines) | Chap. 59 (fol 181a) The first two lines from 'arcayi-tvā hṛṣīke-śaṁ' are not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa*. |
| p. 192 (6 lines) . . | Chap. 59 (fol. 181a). |
| Tīrtha-prakāśa, p. 392 (2 lines) . . | Chap. 64 (fol. 199a). |

| | |
|---|---|
| 18. Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta* (ed. Bibl. Ind.). | Contd : *Āgneya-p.* |
| II. p. 49 (9 lines) . . | Chap. 51 (fols. 158a, 158b and 159b). The last verse 'yāvanti santi romāṇi' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| III. p. 24 (the first quotation of 5 lines). | Chap. 47 (fol. 150b). |
| 19. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa's *Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi* (ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay). Kāla-khaṇḍa, | |
| pp. 111-3 (76 lines) | Chap. 65 (fols. 199aff.). Eight lines from the beginning, five lines from dāsyanti ye niśīthe 'rgh-yaṁ' on p. 112, and twenty-nine lines from 'na karoti yadā viṣṇoḥ' on pp. 112-3 are not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |

(B)

The verses, quoted from the genuine *Āgneyapurāṇa* under the title '*Āgneyapurāṇa*', '*Āgneya*' or '*Agnipurāṇa*' in the following works, are not found in the present text of the same work now available to us under the title '*Vahnipurāṇa*' :—

(1) Vallālasena's *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 488 (9 lines).

(2) Vallālasena's *Dānasāgara*, fols. 82b–83a (6 lines), 88a (2+1=3 lines), 88b (2 lines), 112a (1+1+1+1=4 lines), 114b–115a (10 lines), 115a–b (many lines), 152a–153a (40 lines).

(3) Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā*, IV (Śrāddha-kāṇḍa), p. 59 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'.

(4) Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, pp. 30 (the second quotation of 4 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 69 (the second quotation of 2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 70 (the third quotation of 3 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 79 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 81 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 175 (4 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*').

(5) Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, p. 527 (2 lines); II, i. pp. 332 (7 lines), 993 (1 line), 996 (1 line), 1136–8 (45 lines); III. i. pp. 443–4 (2 lines), 686 (2 lines), 701–02 (20 lines), 930 (3 lines) 970 (2 lines), 1013 (2 lines); III. ii. pp 132 (second quotatation of two lines), 152 (2 lines), 155 (2 lines), 159 (1 line), 160 (1 line), 172 (1 line), 665 (10 lines).

(6) Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, pp. 118 (5 lines), 151 (4+3=7 lines), 186 (3 lines), 218 (2 lines), 218–9 (10 lines), 219 (3+4=7 lines), 219–20 (4 lines), 402 (3 lines), 409 (3 lines), 521–2 (12 lines with the mention of Vasiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa as interlocutors).

(7) Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's *Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī*, fol. 44b (4 lines).

(8) Rudradhara Upādhyāya's *Śrāddha-viveka*, p. 9 (1 line ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*').

(9) Rudradhara Upādhyāya's *Varṣakṛtya*, pp. 238 (reference only). 242 (reference only).

(10) Gaṇapati's *Gaṅgābhakti-taraṅgiṇī*, fols. 19a (2 lines), 45a (2 lines).

(11) Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi's *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*, fol. 29a (2 lines).

(12) Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Dānakaumudī*, pp. 57–8 (14 lines), 92 (5 lines).

(13) Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Śrāddhakaumudī*, pp. 210 (1 line), 360 (2 lines).

(14) Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇcārya's *Śuddhikaumudī*, p. 160 (the second quotation of 2 lines).

(15) Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Varṣakaumudī*, p. 320 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*').

(16) Raghunandana's *Smṛtitattva* I, pp. 31 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 100 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 198 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 432 (2 lines derived from 'Navya-vardhamāna-dhṛta-*Agnipurāṇa*') 495 (2+6=8 lines), 519 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 810 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 839-40 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*');

II, pp. 36 (2 lines derived from 'Hemādri-dhṛta *Agnipurāṇa*'), 37 (2 lines derived from 'Halāyudha-Hemādri-dhṛta *Agnipurāṇa*')' 142 (1 line ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 238 (2 lines said to be ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*' by Śūlapāṇi), 286 (2+1=3 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 339 (5 lines said to have been ascribed to the '*Agnipurāna*' in the *Kālaviveka*'), 529 (5 lines said to have been ascribed to the '*Agnipurāna*' in the *Kālaviveka*), 559 (1 line ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 627 (2 lines said to have been ascribed to the '*Agnipurāna*' in the *Pūjāratnākara*).

(17) Narasiṁha Vājapeyin's *Nityācārapradīpa*, pp. 149–50 (4 lines), 183 (1 line), 626 (3 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*').

(18) Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Hari-bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*, p. 62 (2 lines).

(19) Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, pp. 128 (11 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 241 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 311 (6 lines), 384 (2 lines), 391 (2 lines), 476 (4 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāna*') 493 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāna*'), 497 (2 lines), 655 (6 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 675 (2 lines ascribed to the *Agnipurāṇa*').

(20) Gadādhara's *Ācāra-sāra*, p. 181 (1 line).

(21) Gadādhara's *Kāla-sāra*, pp. 70 (4 lines), 126 (1 line), 602 (10 lines).

(22) Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya*, Āhnikaprakāśa, pp. 411 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 416 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'), 417 (referen-e to the '*Agnipurāṇa*'); Pūjāprakāṣa, pp. 37 (the second quotation of 4 lines), 53 (the first quotation of 2 lines); Tīrthaprakāśa, p. 91 (2 lines).

(23) Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta*, II, pp. 539 (5 lines) 541 (5 lines), 560 (3 lines), 577 (3 lines); III, pp. 5 (4 lines), 24 (the second quotation of 2 lines).

(24) Viṣṇubhaṭṭa's *Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi*, Kālakhaṇḍa, pp. 186 (2 lines said to have been ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*' in Hemādri's work), 191 (1 line), 299 (2 lines ascribed to the '*Agnipurāṇa*').

## APPENDIX II

(A)

**The verses, ascribed to the 'Vahnipurāṇa' in—**

| I. Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*. | Occur in *Āgneya-purāna* (*alias Vahnipurāṇa* Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090 unless other-wise stated). |
|---|---|
| pp. 6-7 (6 lines) | Chap. 38 (fol. 133a). Four of the quoted lines from 'yasya vittaṁ na dānāya' are not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| pp. 22-3 (14 lines) | Chap. 46 (fol. 145a–b). |

| Contd: Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*. | Occur in *Āgneya-purāṇa* (*alias Vahni-purāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless other wise stated). |
|---|---|
| p. 40 (2 lines) | Chap. 38 (fol. 132b). |
| p. 49 (2 lines) | Chap. 6 (fol. 18a). |
| pp. 49-50 (10 lines) | Chap. 3 (fol. 6a-b) |
| p. 58 (5 lines) | Chap. 47 (fol. 150b). |
| p. 85 (10 lines) | Chap. 32 (fol. 110a). |

Contd :

| Hemādri's *Caturvarga cintāmaṇi,* | Occur in *Āgneya purāṇa, (alias Vahnipurāṇa,* Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated). |
|---|---|
| pp. 89–90 (8 lines) | Chap. 62 (fol. 192a). Two lines from 'deśe kāle ca pātre ca' are not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa.* |
| p. 157 (3 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157b). |
| p. 174 (4 lines) | Chap. 49 (fol. 154a). |
| pp. 184–5 (18 lines) | Chap. 49 (fol. 154a–b). |
| p. 188 (6 lines) | Chap. 49 (fol. 154b). |
| pp. 268–72 (69 lines) | Chap. 60 (fols. 183a–b and 184b–185b). The line 'kārttike kṛṣṇapakṣe' on p.269 is not found in the *Āgneya purāna.* |
| pp. 401–2 (16 lines) | Chap. 35 (fols. 121b–122a). |
| p. 438 (4 lines) | Chap. 35 (fol. 121b). |
| p. 465 (2 lines) | Chap. 36 (fol. 122a–b). |
| I, pp. 487–8 (28 lines) | Chap. 39 (fols. 134b–135a). The verse 'aṭ hiṣṭa devatā pūjāṃ' on p. 488 is not found in the *Āgneya purāna.* |

Contd :

| Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi, I* | Occur in *Āgneya-purāṇa (alias Vahni-purāṇa* Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unles otherwise stated), |
|---|---|
| p. 525 (4 lines) | Chap. 43 (fol. 142a). |
| p. 540 (2 lines) | Chap. 43 (fol. 141b). |
| pp. 556–7 (21 lines) | Chap. 43 (fol. 141a–b). |
| pp. 562–3 (20 lines) | Chap. 43 (fol. 142a–b). |
| pp. 564–5 (27 lines) | Chap. 49 (fols. 153b–154a). |
| pp. 579–83 (64 lines) | Chap. 40 (fols. 136a–b and 137a–138a). |
| pp. 583–8 (48 lines). | Chap. 41 (fols. 139a–140b). |
| pp. 639–41 (37 lines) | Chap. 45 (fols. 144a and 144b–145a). The verse 'pañcavarṣādhikā sā tu' on pp. 640–1 is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa.* |
| pp. 644–9 (30 lines) | Chap. 42 (fols. 140b–141a). The lines 'śaṅkha-śārṅga-gadā o' on p. 644 and 'devadeva jagannātha' on p. 645 are not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa.* |

| Contd : *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi I* | Contd : *Āgneya-puraṇa* |
|---|---|
| pp. 648–6 (16 lines) | Chap. 44 (fol. 132b). Two consecutive lines 'prasārya pādau' and 'dināni tāni' on p. 649 are not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| p. 658 (12 lines) | Chap. 44 (fol. 143b). The line 'śubhe hni, vipra-kathite' on p. 658 is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| pp. 662-3 (8 lines) | Chap. 44 (fol. 134b). |
| p. 679 (2lines) | Chap. 51 (fol. 158a). |
| pp. 681-2 (6 lines) | Chap. 51 (fol. 158a). |
| pp. 685-6 (8 lines) | Chap. 51 (fols. 158b-159a). |
| pp. 688–90 (5 lines) | Chap. 51 (fol. 158b). |
| PP. 688–90 (33 lines). | Chap. 51 (fol. 159a–b). |
| pp. 701–3 (24 lines) | Chap. 50 (fols. 155b–156a). |
| p, 852 (5lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157a). |
| p. 910(2lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157b). |
| p. 926 (8lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 156a). |
| pp. 938–9 (2 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157a). |
| pp. 948–9 (24 lines) | Chap. 61 (fol. 189a-b). |
| pp. 1014–5 (8 ilnes) | Chap. 54 (fol. 164b). |
| pp. 1025–8 (59 lines) | Chap. 54 (fol. 164b-165b). The verse 'vātovādyativātāya' on p. 1027 is not found in the *Āgneya purāṇa*. |
| II. i. pp. 30-1 (10 lines). | Chap. 32 (fol. 110a). |
| pp. 811–2 (13 lines) | Chap. 65 (fol. 199a–b). The first eight lines are not found in the *Āgneya–purāṇa*. |
| pp. 1063-1072 (181 lines). | Chap. 33 (fols. 114a–116b and 118a–b). The two pādas 'gandha puṣpādinā harim/tila dhenuṁ tato dadyāt' on p. 1067 are not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa*. |
| II. i. pp. 1156-8 (44 lines) | Chap. 32 (fols. 111b-112b). |
| II. ii. pp. 344–8 (73 lines) | Chap. 60 (fols. 184a–185a, 183a and 185b). |
| pp. 455–7 (42 lines) | Chap. 38 (fols. 133b–134b). |
| pp.7 362– (7 lines) | Chap. 60 (fol. 184a). |
| pp. 969–71 (39 lines). | Chap. 63 (fol. 193a–b). |
| III. i. pp. 344–5(14lines) | Chap. 46 (fol. 145a–b). |

| Contd : | |
|---|---|
| Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III | Occur in *Āgneya-purāṇa* (*alias Vahni-purāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated), |
| p. 532 (10 lines) .... | Chap. 3(fol. 6a-b). The last verse 'etair anyaiś ca bahubhiḥ' is not found in the *Āgneya purāṇa.* |
| pp. 664–5 (16 lines) | Chap. 49 (fols. 153b-154a). |
| III. ii. p. 131 (2 lines) | Chap. 65 (fol. 200a). |
| p. 131 (3 lines) . . | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 159b). The third line 'tasmāt taṁ pūjayet tatra' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāna.* |
| p. 137 (1 line) . . | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 160b). |
| p. 137 (4 lines . . | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 159b). The first line 'rohiṇī-saṁyutā ceyaṁ' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa.* |
| p. 298 (2 lines) . . | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 159b). |

| Contd : *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi-* | Contd : *Agneya-purāṇa* |
|---|---|
| III. ii. p. 854 (7 lines) | Chap. 54 (fol. 164b). |
| 2. Śrīnātha Ācāryacūḍāmaṇi's *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (Dacca University Ms. No. 4630), | |
| fol 51b (1 line) | Chap 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 160b). |
| fol 51b (4 lines) | Chap. 65 (India office Ms. No 1001, fol 159b). The first line 'rohiṇīsaṁyutā ceyaṁ' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa.* |
| 3. Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhaktivilāsa,* | |
| p. 494 (3 lines) | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 159b). The third line 'tasmāt taṁ pūjayet tatra' is not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa.* |
| p. 497 (1 line) | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol, 160b). |
| p. 497 (6 lines) . . | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 159b). The first line 'rohiṇī-saṁyuta ceyaṃ' and the last verse 'yad vā tithy-ṛkṣayor eva' are not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa.* |

| | |
|---|---|
| 4. Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's *Tristhalīsetu* (ed. Ānandāśrama Press, Poona). | |
| pp. 342-3 (6 lines) | Chap. 64 (fol. 199a). The verses 'gayā-śrāddha-vidhānārthaṁ' and 'dṛṣṭārthe gamane doṣaḥ' are not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| p. 345 (2 lines) . . | Chap. 64 (fol. 199a). |
| 5. Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's *Nirṇaya-sindhu* (ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press Bombay), | Occur in *Āgneya-purāṇa* (*alias Vahni-purāṇa*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated), |
| p. 97 (4 lines) | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 159b). The first two lines 'tretāyāṁ dvāpare caiva and 'rohiṇī–saṁyutā ceyaṁ' are not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa*. |
| p. 97 (2 lines) | Chap. 65 (fol. 200a). |
| p. 99 ( 1 line) | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 160b). |
| p. 100 · · (2 lines) | Chap. 65 (fol. 200a). |
| Contd : *Nirṇaya-sindhu* | Contd : *Āgneya-purāṇa* |
| p. 100 · · (3 lines) | Chap. 65 (fol. 200a). |
| p. 105 (the first quotation of 1 line). | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 160b). |
| 6. Mitra Miśra's *Viramitrodaya*, Saṃskāra–prakāśa, | |
| p. 832 (5 lines) . . | Chap. 51 (fol. 158a and 159b). |
| 7. Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna pārijāta* | |
| II. p. 560 (3 lines) . . | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001, fol. 159b). The third line 'tasmāt taṁ pūjayet tatra' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |
| p. 560 (2 lines) . . | Chap. 65 (fol. 200a). The second line 'tatropavāsaṁ kurvīta' is not found in the *Āgneya-purāṇa*. |

| Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhānapārijāta* | Occur in *Āgneyapurāṇa*, (*alias Vahnipurāna*. Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated). |
|---|---|
| II, p.565 (2 lines) | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms.No. 1001 fol. 160*b*). The second line 'tithyante votsavānte vā' is not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa* |
| III, pp. 152-4 (42 lines) | Chap. 49 (fol. 153 b). All lines from the seventh are not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa*. |
| pp. 154-5 (22 lines) | Chap. 41 (fol. 140 a–b). |
| pp. 156-60 (63 lines). | Chap. 40 (fols. 136 a–145a). |
| pp. 190–1 (13 lines) | Chap. 45 (fols. 144 b–138a). The verse 'pañcavarṣādhikā sā tu' is not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa*. |
| p. 191 (2 lines | Chap. 45 (fol. 145 a). |
| pp. 193–4 (31 lines) | Chap. 42 (fols. 140 b 141a). |
| pp. 234–5 (2 lines | Chap. 36 (fol. 122a). |

| Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta* | Occur in *Āgneyapurāna* (*alias Vahnipurāna*, Asiatic Society Ms. No. 8090, unless otherwise stated). |
|---|---|
| III, p. 285 (4 lines) | Chap. 35(fol.121b). |
| pp. 302–3 (13 lines) | Chap. 43(fol.141b). |
| p. 364 (3 lines) | Chap. 50 (fol. 157a. |
| p. 418 (4 lines) | Chap. 50(fol. 157a). |
| p. 423 (10 lines) | Chap. 61 (fol. 189 a–b). |
| 8. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa's *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi*, Kālakhaṇḍa. | |
| pp. 119–20 (8 lines) | Chap. 65 (fol. 200 a). The first verse 'ardharātre tu rohiṇyāṁ' and the last verse 'kāryā viddhāpi saptamyā' are not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa*. |
| p.124(1 line) | Chap. 65 (India Office Ms. No. 1001 fol. 160b). |
| p.124(4 lines) | Chap. 65 (fol. 199 a–b). The first line 'rohiṇī-sahitā ceyam' is not found in the *Āgneyapurāṇa* |
| p. 221 (2 lines) | Chap. 65 (fol.199b) |

(B)

The verses, ascribed to the '*Vahnipurāṇa*' in the following works, are not found in the present text of the genuine *Āgneya purāṇa* (*alias Vahnipurāṇa*) :

(1) Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛticandrikā*, V. pp. 122 (11 lines, 123 (3 lines), 163 (3 lines).

(2) Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 8 (2+2=4 lines), 50(2 lines), 403 (2 lines), 673–8 (7 lines); II; ii. p. 244 (2 lines), III. i. pp. 716 (10 lines), 745–6 (11 lines); III. ii. pp. 130 (8 lines), 131 (first quotation of 1 line).

(3) Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti*, I. i, p. 178 (4 lines).

(4) Mādhavācārya's *Kālanirṇaya*, pp. 201 (4 nines), 209 (2 lines), 210 (2 lines).

(5) Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Haribhaktivilāsa*, p. 331 (2 lines).

(6) Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa's *Tristhalīsetu*, pp. 350–1 (4 lines).

(7) Gadādhara's *Kālasāra*, pp. 148–9 (4 lines), 407 (2 lines).

(8) Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's *Nirṇayasindhu*, pp. 105 (three quotations from the second to the fourth of 2, 2 and 13 lines respectively, the third quotation being derived from Hemādri's work), 106 (2 lines said to have been ascribed to the *Vahnipurāṇa* in the *Madanaratna*).

(9) Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhānapārijāta*, II, pp. 558 (2 lines), 576 (2 lines), 578 (2 lines said to have been ascribed to the *Vahnipurāṇa* in the *Madanaratna*); III, pp. 51 (2 lines), 233-4 (15 lines), 253-4 (25 lines).

(10) Viṣṇubhaṭṭa's *Puruṣārthacintāmaṇi*, Kāla-khaṇḍa, pp. 118 (2 lines), 119 (5 lines), 221 (the first quotation consisting of the first half of a line).

## APPENDIX III

### (A)

**The verses ascribed to the 'Agnipurāṇa' or 'Āgneya' in**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Varṣakaumudī*, pp. 204–5 (12 lines). | Occur in spurious *Agni-purāṇa* (ed. Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta). 209. 8b–9a and 10b–12. The verses 'mṛga-karkaṭa-saṁkrānti' and 'vṛṣa-vṛścika-kumbheṣu' and the last line 'yā yā saṁnihitā nāḍyaḥ' are not found in the suprious *Agni-purāṇa*. |
| pp. 247–8 (4 lines) | 209. 14–15. |
| p. 323 (6 lines) | 192. 6b–7. The last three lines (from 'gandha-puṣpādibhiḥ') are not found in the spurious *Agni-purāṇa*. |
| 2. Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Dānakaumudī*. | |
| p. 3 (2 lines). | 209. 56. |
| p. 5 (2 lines). | 209. 35. |
| p. 11 (2 lines) | 211.30 |
| Contd : *Dānakaumudī* | Contd : *Agnipurāṇa* |
| p. 12 (2 lines) | 209. 49 b–50 |
| p. 13 (7 lines) | 209. 57a, 60a, 58a 59a, 61a, 62b and 63a. |
| p. 14 (5 lines) | 209. 22, 37b and 38. |
| p. 16 (1 line) | 209. 60a. |
| p.19 (1 line) | 209. 57a |
| p. 20 (1 line) | 209. 57a |
| p. 36 (3 lines) | 210. 34. |
| pp. 58–61 (42 lines) | 210. 10b-31a |
| p. 76 (2 lines) | 209. 22. |
| p. 120 (6 lines) | cf. 115. 64ff |
| p. 124 (2 lines) | 209. 56. |
| 3. Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Śrāddhakaumudī*. | |
| p. 116 (5 lines) | 117. 54–56a. |
| p. 187 (3 lines) | 117. 22b–23. |
| p. 210 (1 line) | cf. 117. 27b. |

| Contd : *Śrāddhakaumudī* | Contd : *Agnipurāṇa* |
|---|---|
| p. 270 (1 line) | 115. 10a. |
| p. 301 (2 lines) | 209. 13. |
| p. 303 (4 lines) | 209. 14–15. |
| 4. Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Śuddhikaumudī*. | Occur in spurious *Agni-purāṇa* (ed. Vaṅgavāsī Prees Calcutta). |
| p. 107 (2 lines) | 210. 34a–b. |
| p. 160 (1 line) | 211. 30a. |
| 5. Narasiṃha Vājapeyin's *Nityācāra-pradīpa*. | |
| p. 127(2 lines). | 158. 43. |
| 6. Rupa Gosvāmin's *Hari-bhakti-rasāmṛtasindhu* (ed. Gosvāmi-dāmodara Śāstrin, Acyuta-granthamālā, Benares), | |
| p. 122 (2 lines) | 339. 34b–35a. |
| 7. Gadādhara's *Kālasāra*. | |
| p. 93 (4 lines) | 183. 3 and 7. |
| pp. 285–6 (2 lines) | 209. 2. |

| Contd : *Kālasara* | Contd : *Agnipurāṇa* |
|---|---|
| p. 305 (2 lines) | .. 158. 43. |
| p. 322 (1 line) | .. 158. 43a. |
| pp. 357-8 (6 lines) | 158. 36b–39a |
| p. 406 (3 lines) | 211. 42–43a. |
| p. 407 (2 lines) | 211. 12b-c |
| 8. Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* | |
| Rājanīti-prakāśa | |
| p. 10 (3 lines) | 218. 1-2. |
| p. 280 (3 lines) | 241· 47-48a |
| p. 282 (4 lines) | 241. 48b-50a |
| p. 306 (10 lines) | 241. 1-5 |
| Tīrtha-prakāśa | |
| p. 56(1 line) | 115. 7. |
| p. 351 (2 lines) | 111. 8. |
| p. 391 (the first quotation of 2 lines). | 115. 25b–26a. |
| p. 397 (3 lines) | 114. 39b–40 |
| p. 413 (1 line) | 115. 10b. |
| p. 420 (3 lines) | 114. 39b–40. |

(B)

The verses, quoted from the spurious *Agnipurāṇa* (under the title '*Agnipurāṇa*' or '*Āgneya*') in the following works, are not found in the present text of the suprious *Agni* :

(1) Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya's *Dānakaumudī*, pp. 9 (1 line), 92 (5 lines).

(2) Raghunandana's *Smṛtitattva*, II, p. 571 (four quotations of 2, 4, 3 and 1 line respectively).

(3) Mitra Miśra's *Viramitrodaya*, Rāja-nīti-prakāśa, p. 308 (3 lines); Lakṣaṇa-prakāśa, pp. 627 (2+1=3 lines), 628 (2+2=4 lines), 629 (6 lines); Tīrtha-prakāśa, pp. 389 (2 lines), 391-2 (3 lines), 395-6 (5 lines).

## PART II*

### 1. The period of composition of the different strate of the Āgneya-purāṇa.

We have seen in Part I of the present article that the *Āgneya-purāṇa*, in its present form, has come down to us through three main stages, which are indicated respectively by the following three groups of chapters and verses :

I. Chapters 1-3; Chapters 4-10 (except some verses); some stray verses in Chapters 11-20[1]—Retained from the earliest from the present *Āgneya-p.*

* *Our Heritage*, Vol. II, pp. 77-110.

1. See, for instance, *Āgneya-p.* 13. 32b-33—

ब्रह्मा विष्णुदिने चैकः पतत्येवं वदन्ति ते ॥
मनीषिणस्तथा विष्णु रहन्युग्रस्य शङ्करः ।
ईश्वरस्य तथा चासौ ससांख्यप्रकृतेस्तथा ॥

(in which Śiva has been placed higher than Viṣṇu); and *Āgneya-p.* 14.4—

यदुक्तं वह्निना पूर्वं मरीचि-ऋषि-संनिधौ ।
तच्छृणुष्व ऋषिश्रेष्ठ प्रश्नंमेतं यथातथम् ॥

(in which Sūta is found to address a single sage, although he is said to have been requested by a number of sages to speak on the Purāṇa-topics).

II. Some verses of Chapters 4-10; Chapters 11-26.—Consisting mostly of extracts and verses derived from Pāñcarātra works.—Belonging to the Vaiṣṇavite form of the present *Āgneya-p.*

III. Isolated verses or groups of verses occurring here and there.—Later additions.

In the second of these stages the *Āgneya-p.* was appropriated by the Vaiṣṇavas (most probably the Bhāgavatas), who utilised the *Viṣṇu-dharma* in furnishing this work with chapters and verses on Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga as well as with the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa, of whom the former is said to have heard about Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga from the Fire-god himself. This Vaiṣṇavite form of the *Āgneya-p.*, which is most conspicuous and characteristic in the present state of the work and in which Agni is said to have spoken to Vasiṣṭha about Vaiṣṇava Kriyā-yoga, was quite known to many[2] of the commentators and Nibandha-writers early and late, viz., Ānandatīrtha Madhva, Vallālasena, Halāyudha (the author the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*), Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Hemādi, Caṇḍeśvara. Ṭhakkura, Mādhavācārya, Śūlapāṇi, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya Rudradhara Upādhyāya, Vācaspati Miśra, Gaṇapati, Narasiṁha Vājapeyin, Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi. Raghunandana, and many others, who quote a large number of verses and extracts from many of the chapters of the *Āgneya-p.* under one or more of the names '*Āgneya*', '*Āgneya-p.*', '*Agni-p.*' and '*Vahni-p.*'[3] So, the Vaiṣṇava recast of the *Āgneya-p.* must have been made earlier than 900 A.D.

2. It is remarkable that the *Āgenya-p.* has not been drawn upon in any of its names in the works of Aparārka, Lakṣmīdhara (the author of the *Kātya-kalpataru*), Jīmūtavāhana, Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, and a few other comparatively early commentators and Nibandha-writers. We fail to understand why these writers did not utilise the *Āgneya-p.* inspite of their elaborate treatment of Vrata, Dāna, etc, in their works.

   It should be mentioned here that in his *Smṛti-tattva* II, pp. 339 and 529 Raghunandana quotes five metrical lines with the words 'कालविवेकेऽग्निपुराणम्' but none of these lines is found in the present text of Jīmūtavāhana's *Kāla-viveka*.

3. For lists of these quotations *see* Appendices I-III added to Part I of the present article.

In its attempt to be recognised as the genuine Mahāpurāṇa declared by the Fire-god the present *Agni-p.* imitates generally, with modifications and innovations, the genuine *Āgneya-p.* in its Vaiṣṇavite from. Thus, it describes the *Āgneya-Purāṇa* (*i. e.*, its own self)[4] as a work spoken out by Agni to Vasiṣṭha, making no mention of the Īśāna-kalpa with which the *Matsya* and the *Skanda-p.* connect the *Āgneya-p.*; it invariably calls itself *Āgneya-p.*[5] and, like the *Āgneya-p.* in its present form, deals with the different kinds of vows and gifts, the praise of Gayā[6] and the Gaṅgā[7], and the different incarnations of Viṣṇu[8], and incorporates the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*[9], and it plagiarises extracts and verses from the *Āgneya-p.* after eliminating the names of Vasiṣṭha and Ambarīṣa as inter-locutors.[10]

4. That in describing the '*Āgneya Purāṇa*' in Chapter 272, verse II, the present *Agni-p.* points to its own self, is shown definitely by the word 'sarva-vidyāvabodhanam' which refers to the Parā and Aparā Vidyās treated of in it.
5. *See Agni-p.* 1. 10 and 18; 174. 12 and 20; 271. 13, 16, 17 and 22; 383. 1, 14, 16, 18-22, 24, 26, and so on.

   *See* also the Chapter-colophons, in all of which the Purāṇa is called '*Āgneya Mahāpurāna*'.
6. *Āgni-p.* Chaps. 114-116.
7. *Ibid.* Chap. 110.
8. *Ibid.* Chaps. 2–4 and 16.
9. *Ibid.* Chaps. 5–11.
10. Compare, for instance, *Āgneya-p.*, Chap. 35 with *Agni-p.* (*i. e.*, the spurious *Āgneya*), Chap. 210. In the former, which has been quoted in its entirety in Vallālasena's *Dāna-sāgara*, fols. 71a–72a (= India Office Ms., fols. 96a-79b), Vasiṣṭha speaks to king Ambarīṣa on Guḍadhenu-dāna, but in the latter, though all the marks proving the interlocation between Vasiṣṭha and the king have been eliminated, many verses have been retained from the said chapter of the *Āgneya-p.*; viz., *Agni-p.*, Chap. 210 verses 13b–17a, 19–21, 22b, 23 and 25–29a tally with some of the verses of *Āgneya-p*, Chap. 35.

    Of the three metrical lines (on Kānti-vrata), quoted from the genuine *Āgneya-p*, in Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, p. 151, the first (*vaiśākhe puṣpa-lavaṇaṁ*, etc.) agree much with *Agni-p.* 198. 2a.

    Of the two metrical lines (on prohibition about taking food on the Ekādaśī Tithi), quoted from the genuine *Āgneya-p.* in Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛticandrikā*, IV (Śrāddha-kāṇḍa), p 59, Hemādri's *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*,

On the other hand, being prompted by its Vaiṣṇava zeal it extols Viṣṇu to be the highest deity, identifies him (and none else) with Brahma and the Parā and Aparā Vidyās[11], takes Agni, as also Kālāgni and Kālāgnirudra[12], to be a form of Viṣṇu[13] (and not of Rudra, as in the *Āgneya-p.*), and traces the origin of *Agni-p.* from Viṣṇu, from whom Agni is said to have heard it in times of yore.[14] It thus clearly testifies to the great prominence attained by Agni in the *Āgneya-p.* as being identical with Rudra. It is, therefore, sure that the *Āgneya-p.* in its present form (which identifies Agni with Rudra in its opening chapter but lacks mention of the Īśāna-kalpa) must have become very widely popular even before the origin of the present *Agni*. If, as scholars hold, the latter work was written some time during the ninth century A.D., then the *Āgneya-p.* must have gone through the second stage not later than 700 A.D.

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III. ii, p. 155 and Raghunandana's *Smṛtitattva*, II, pp. 36 and 37, the second (*ekādaśyaṁ na bhuñjīta*, etc.) is the same as *Agni-p.* 187.2a.

Of the five metrical lines (on Śrāddha) of the genuine *Āgneya-p.*, which Raghunandana derived from the '*Kāla-viveka*' (kāla-viveke' gni-purāṇam—"*ekādaśahe pretasya etc.*"—*Smṛittattva*, II, pp. 339 and 529), the first only is the same as *Agni-p.* 211. 12b.

The verse (on offer of Piṇḍa) of the genuiue *Āgneya-p.* which Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya quotes in his *Śraddhakaumudī*, p. 360 and *Śuddhikaumudī*, pp. 181 and 185, agrees much with *Agni-p.* 163. 28 (in which the word '*nṛpa*' used in the Vocative Case in the verse of the *Āgneya-p.*, has been replaced with the word '*dvije*'.

It is needless to multiply examples.

11. *See Agni-p.*, Chapters 1-2, 174, 271 and 383.

12. *See Agni-p.* 1. 11 and 13; 383. 31.

13. *See ibid.*, 1.11 (*kālāgni-rūpiṇaṁ viṣṇuṁ........*) and 13 (*agnir uvāca—viṣṇuḥ kālāgnirudro 'haṁ........*); 174. 13 (*viṣṇur agni-rūpas tu gīyate*) and 14 (*agni-rūpasya viṣṇor hi....*); 271. 15 (*viṣṇur....agni-sūryādi-rūpavān / agni-rūpeṇa devāder mukhaṁ viṣṇuḥ parā gatiḥ //* ); 383. 31 (*agnir uvāca....iti kālāgni-rūpeṇa gītaṁ me hariṇā purā*); and so on.

14. *Agni-p.* 1. 18 (*agnir uvāca-* * * * *purāṇaṁ param āgneyaṁ brahma-vidyākṣaraṁ param / viṣṇunoktaṁ yathā mahyaṁ. . //*; 2.1 (*purāṇaṁ brahma cāgneyaṁ yathā viṣṇoh purā śrutam*); 271. 17 (*āgneyākhya-purāṇasya kartā śrotā janārdanaḥ*); 383. 31 (quoted in the immediately preceding foot-note); and so on.

It has already been said that the *Matsya* (53. 28-30) and the *Skanda-p.* (VII. i. 2. 47-48) describe the *Āgneya-p.* as a work spoken out by Agni to Vasiṣṭha in connection with the affairs of the Īśāna-kalpa.[15] The mention of Agni and Vasiṣṭha as the principal interlocutors in the *Āgneya-p.* shows that the *Matsya* and the *Skanda-p.* speak definitely of the Vaiṣṇavite form of the *Āgneya*, which must have been very popular at the times when the said chapters of the *Matsya* and the *Skanda-p.* were composed. Now, Chapter 53 of the *Matsya-p.*, which has clearly been used in *Skanda-p.* VII. i. 2 and drawn upon by Lakṣmīdhara, Aparārka, Vallālasena and others[16], is to be dated between 550 and 650 A.D.[17] So, the *Āgneya-p.* must have been recast by the Vaiṣṇavas not later than 500 A.D. Thus we get the lower limit of the date of the Vaiṣṇava recast of the present *Āgneya-p.*

The way in which the language and contents of the *Viṣṇu-dharma*, as well as the colophon of Chapter 2 and the speaker Vasiṣṭha in Chapters 2-42 of the same work, have been utilised in the *Āgneya-p*, shows definitely that at the time when the *Āgneya-p.* was recast by the Vaiṣṇavas, the *Viṣṇu-dharma* attained sufficient recognition in society. Now, the *Viṣṇu-dharma* names the Nakṣatras

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15. For the relevant verses of the *Matsya* and the *Skanda-p.* *see* foot-note 20 in Part I of the present article.
16. From *Matsya-p.*, Chap. 53 Lakṣmīdhara quotes 3-4, 11-20, 22-25a, and 26b-56a in his *Kṛtya-kalpataru* (V, pp. 223-8), Aparārka quotes the same verses in his commentary (pp. 392-6) on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Vallālasena quotes verses 3-4 and 11-56 in his *Dāna-sāgara* (India Office Ms., fols. 191b-193b), Caṇḍeśvara quotes verses 12b-20, 22a-b, 23-25a, 26b-29, 31-37, 38-40, 59b-61. and 62c-64 in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (pp. 140, 167, 193, 217, 253-4, 301. 395-6, 440, 473, 486, 514, 531, 140, and 31-32), Hemādri quotes verses 1-25a, 26b-56, 59b-61 and 62c-71 in his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (I, pp. 530 and 533-9, and II. i, pp. 20-22), Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya has a few lines in his *Dāna-kaumudī* (p. 70), and so on.
17. *See* R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 39-41 and 176.

in the old order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī[18]; it has been mentioned in *Bhaviṣya-p.* I. 4. 87b-89[19], I. 216. 36-37 and II. 7. 8b-11 together with 'the eighteen Purāṇas', the *Rāmāyaṇa* (called '*Rāma's biography*) the *Śiva-dharma*, the *Mahābhārata* (said to be the fifth Veda composed by Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana), and the *Saura-dharma* (spoken out by Mānava, i.e., the son of Manu); and some of its chapters and verses

18. *See Viṣṇu-dharma*, Chap. 26 (Ms. No. 1670, fol. 44b).

We know from the evidence of the Śrauta-and the Gṛhya-sūtras, the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, and the latest books of the *Mahābhārata* that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A.D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as about 550 A. D. that we find in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira the order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So it can be held, and not quite unreasonably, that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A.D.

19. The text of those verses of the *Bhaviṣya-p.* is as follows :—

अष्टादशपुराणानि रामस्य चरितं तथा ।
विष्णुधर्मादि-शास्त्राणि शिवधर्माश्च भारत ॥
कार्ष्णं च पञ्चमो वेदो यन्महाभारतं स्मृतम् ।
सौराश्च धर्मा राजेन्द्र मानवोक्ता महीपते ।
जयेति नाम चैतेषां प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥

These verses have been quoted in Aparāka's commentary (p. 15) on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II. i, pp. 19-20 (v. l. '*viṣṇu-dharmāṇi*' for '*viṣṇu-dharmādi*' in line 2), Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, p. 30, Narasiṁha Vājapeyin's *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, p. 22 (omitting the fifth line), Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 71 (v. l. '*eteṣāṁ*' for '*caiteṣām*' in the fifth line), and so on.

The printed edition of the *Bhaviṣya-p.* reads '*viṣṇu-dharmādayo dharmāḥ*' (for the first half of line 2), '*kṛṣṇaṁ vedaṁ pañcamaṁ tu*' (for the first half of line 3), '*śrautā dharmāś ca rājendra nāradoktā mahīpate*' (for the fourth line), and '*eteṣāṁ*' (for '*caiteṣāṁ*' in the fifth line).

have been incorporated in the *Āgneya-p.*[20] and the *Bhaviṣyottara.*[21] The *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* also, which claims to be a part of the *Viṣṇu-dharma*[22] and was written between 400 and 500A.D.[23], has derived

20. For a list containing some of the chapters having large numbers of verses common to the *Viṣṇu-dharma* and the *Āgneya-p.* see foot-note 89 in Part I of the present article.

21. The chapters common to the *Viṣṇu-dharma* and the *Bhaviṣyottara* are the following :—

| *Viṣṇu-dharma* | *Bhaviṣyottara* | *Viṣṇudharma* | *Bhaviṣyottara* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chap. 14 = | Chap. 77 | Chaps. 26-27 = | Chap. 107 |
| ,, 15 = | ,, 78 | Chap. 29 = | ,, 108 |
| ,, 16 = | ,, 79 | ,, 37 = | ,, 82 |
| ,, 19 = | ,, 80 | ,, 88 = | ,, 153 |

The *Bhaviṣyottara* must have been compiled between 700 and 800 A.D., and most probably towards the end of the eighth century. (For the date of this work see my article in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, III, pp. 8-27.) This comparatively late origin of the *Bhaviṣyottara* shows that this work could not be utilised by the *Viṣṇu dharma*.

It should be mentioned here that the *Bhaviṣyottara* has been printed as the fourth Book of the *Bhaviṣya-p.*

22. *See Viṣṇudharmottara* I. 74. 35—

संसारक्षयहेत्वर्थे भावोपकरणेषु च ।
सोत्तरा वैष्णवा धर्माः सारमेतत् प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

Also *Viṣṇudharmottara* I, 143.16—

*adhīte sottaraṁ yaś ca viṣṇudharmam idaṁ śubham* ||

The very title of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* shows that this work is meant to form the latter part of the *Viṣṇu-dharma*.

In his *Nityācārapradīpa*, p. 22 Narasiṁha Vājapeyin regards the *Viṣṇudharmottara* as a 'śāstra' and as a part of the *Viṣṇudharma*, and supports his view by citations from the *Bhaviṣya-p.* and the *Viṣṇudharmottara* thus :—

'भविष्यपुराणे—
"अष्टादश-पुराणानि रामस्य चरितं तथा ।
विष्णुधर्मादिशास्त्राणि शिवधर्माश्च भारत ॥
.... .... .... .... "
तत्र विष्णुधर्मोत्तरं विष्णुधर्मस्य भेद इति न पृथङ्निर्दिष्टम् । विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे—
एते ये वैष्णवा धर्मा दाल्भ्येन प्रकीर्तिताः ।
उत्तरं कथितं तुभ्यं मयैतत् परिपृच्छते ॥"

The former verse is the same as *Bhaviṣya-p.* I. 4.87b-88a, but the latter verse (ete ye vaiṣṇavāḥ, etc.), which is ascribed to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, is not found in the printed edition.

23. *See* my article on the *Viṣṇudharmottara* in the *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, III, 1952, pp. 39-64.

some chapters from the *Viṣṇudharma*.[24] So, the *Viṣṇudharma* cannot

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24. These chapters are especially the following (in which the interlocution between Pulastya and Dālbhya occurs) :

*Viṣṇudharmottara* I. 145. 5-20 (in which Pulastya speaks to a Brahmin named Dālbhya on Aśūnya śayana dvitīyā) = *Viṣṇudharma*, Chap. 41.

*Viṣṇudharmottara* I. 146. 1–41a (in which Pulastya's speech to Dālbhya on the ways of release from rebirths—*Saṁsāramukti-hetu*—is followed by an interlocution between Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira on Dharma) = *Viṣṇudharma*, Chapters 42–44 and *Viṣṇudharmottara* III. 215–220 (in which Mārkaṇḍeya reports to Vajra the interlocution between Pulastya and Dālbhya-sāṁvādaḥ').

Of these,

Chapter 215 (on Sugati-dvādaśī-vrata) = *Viṣṇudharma*, Chap. 5; Chapter 217 (on Santānāṣṭamī-vrata) = *Viṣṇu-dharma*, Chap. 7; and Chapter 219 (on Anantadvādaśī-vrata) = *Viṣṇudharma*, Chap. 8.

Chapter 218 (on Asi-dhārā-vrata) and Chapter 220 (on Brahma-dvādaśī-vrata), which are not found in the present text of the *Viṣṇudharma*, must have either been lost from the *Viṣṇudharma* or been added afresh to the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. Of these two chapters, the former has been quoted in its entirety in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II. ii, p 825.

*Viṣṇudharmottara* I. 145. 5.20 (on Aśūnya-śayana-dvitīyā) and I. 146. 1-41a (on Saṁsāramukti hetu and Dharma) must have been added at a comparatively late date. These verses begin abruptly with the words 'dālbhya uvāca' although nothing is said in any of the preceding verses about Dālbhya and Pulastya; and their subject matter is quite unconnected with those of verses 1-4 of Chap. 145 and verses 41b ff. of Chap. 146. As a matter of fact, they create a serious breach in the topics of the chapters and verses preceding and following them. The spurious chapter of these verses is further shown definitely by the facts that they occur neither in the *Matsya-p.* (although it contains verses 1-2 and 4 of Chapter 145 and verses 41b-49 of Chapter 146 of *Viṣṇudharmottara* I) nor in the Ms. of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* noticed by Haraprasad Shastri in his *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* (Second Series) II, pp. 164-172 (No. 190) and that their subject-matter is not mentioned in *Viṣṇudharmottara* I. 148, 1-3 which refer to the topics dealt with in the preceding chapters (129-147). As the *Viṣṇudharma* contains a few consecutive chapters dealing with the same topics and having the same interlocutors as those of the verses mentioned above, it is undoubted that somebody took

be dated later than 400A.D. Its mention of the Smṛti works of Manu and others,[25] its incorporation of verses of the *Mahābhārata*[26], the *Bhagavadgītā*[27] and the *Manusmṛti*[28], its frequent denouncement of the Pāṣaṇḍas, especially the Buddhists[29], its high praise of the Bhāgavatas[30], and its narration of the interesting story of Mahāmoha[31], which must have preceded that giving out the Buddha to

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these verses from the *Viṣṇudharma*, adapted them to the interlocution between Vajra and Mārkaṇḍeya, and then inserted them into the *Viṣṇudharmottara* after the *Matsy-p.* had plagiarised chapters and verses from it.

25. *See Viṣṇudharma*, chapter 44 (fols. 88b ff.), in which the Dharma-saṁhitās of Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Parāśara, Atri, Gārgya, Śaṅkha, Likhita, Yama, Jāvāli, and many others have been mentioned.

    *See* also Chaps. 52 (fol. 97b—*mānavo dharmaḥ*) and 74 ( fol. 157a—*manvādi-rūpinaś caiva, samastāh smṛtayaḥ smṛtāḥ*).

26. *See*, for instance, *Viṣṇudharma*, Chap. 55 (fol. 101b—*āditya-chandrāv analānilau ca* etc. = *Mahābhārata*, i. 74. 30, etc.), and chap 62 (fols 112b ff—*caturo vārṣikān māsān, etc.* = *Mahābhārata* xiii. 115 64, etc.)

27. *See Viśṇudharma*, Chap. 2 (fol. 9a–*manmanā bhava mad-bhaktaḥ*, etc. = Gītā 9. 34), Chapter 66 (fol. 123a *yadā yadā hi dharmasya glāniḥ*, etc = Gītā 4. 7), *etc.* In Chap. 35 (fols. 65b-66a—*bhagavān uvāca —pūrvam eva yathākhyātaṁ raṇārambhe tavārjuna, etc.*) there is a clear reference to the *Bhagavadgītā*.

28. *See*, for instance, *Viṣṇudharma*, Chap. 101 (fol. 237b—*adhītya vedān vedau vā etc.* = *Manusmṛti*, 3. 2, *etc.*; fol. 237b *gṛhasthas tu yadā paśyet, etc.* = *Manusmṛti* 6.2; and so on).

29. *See*, *Viṣṇudharma*, Chaps. 25, 66, 73, 105, *etc.*

30. See *ibid.*, Chaps. 3, 80, *etc.*

31. This story, as given in *Viṣṇudharma*, Chap. 25 in connection with the description and denouncement of Pāṣāṇḍas, runs as follows:—

    In ancient times two Daityas, Ṣaṇḍa and Marka by name, performed, with the intention of annihilating the gods, a dangerous Kṛtyā (a magic rite meant for destructive purposes), from which came out a dreadful figure called Mahāmoha, who was dark in complexion, extremely fierce, haughty, deceitful and lazy. This Mahāmoha was divided by Ṣaṇḍa and Marka into four parts, one of which decried the gods and Brahmins, another discouraged people from practising Yoga, the third engaged people in unlawful acts (*vikarman*), and the fourth deprived them

be an incarnation of Viṣṇu, show that the *Viṣṇudharma* is to be dated not earlier than 200 A. D. It is highly probable that this work was written some time during the third century A. D.[32] So, the *Āgneya-p.*, which utilises the *Viṣṇudharma* and thus testifies to the reputation enjoyed by the latter, could not have been written earlier than 300 A.D. Thus, the date of the Vaiṣṇava recast of the present *Āgneya-p.* is to be placed between 300 and 500 A.D. The mention of Rāśis (zodiacal signs) and 'Horā[33]' in Chapter 13, the enumeration of Nakṣatras in the new order from Aśvinī in chap. 16, the use of the word '*prādurbhāva*' (manifestion) instead

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of their Jñāna, made them accept Ajñāna as Jñāna under infatuation, and took delight in whatever went against the Vedas. Thus produced by Ṣaṇḍa and Marka, this Mahāmoha, who was Adharma in person, deluded people in various ways and made them discard their respective duties enjoined upon them by their castes.

It is to be noted that although the Pāṣaṇḍas (including the Saugatas, Mahāyanists, etc.) have been decried very frequently throughout the *Viṣṇudharma* and the different incarnations of Viṣṇu have been mentioned in several chapters, the Buddha has been included among the incarnations of Viṣṇu only in Chap. 66 which must be a later addition.

The two consecutive verses of *Āgneya-p.*, Chap. 28, viz., '*śrotavyā bhavatā nityaṁ*' and '*evaṁ mayy arpitamaṇāḥ*', of which the first contains a mention of the 'ten incarnations' (daśāvatāra) of Viṣṇu, do not occur in *Viṣṇudharma* Chap. 2. although a good number of verses preceding and following the said two verses have been derived by the *Āgneya-p.* from Chap. 2 of the *Viṣṇudharma*.

32. The date of composition of the *Viṣṇudharma* will be discussed in greater details in our analysis of that work.

The high age of the *Viṣṇudharma* is also shown by its complete immunity from Tantric influence.

33. The familiarity of ancient people with the Tithis, Nakṣatras and planets but the total absence of the term 'rāśi' in all early works down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the Rāśis earlier than the second century A. D.

The mention of the word 'horā' also is significant. Though the occurrence of the term 'horā' in two verses quoted from Garga in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, pp. 7 and 9 shows that it came to be used by the Indians much earlier than the sixth century A. D., there is nothing to prove that it was used by them earlier than 100 A.D.

of 'avatāra' (incarnation) in a large number of places[34], the mention of the 'ten incarnations' (daśāvatāra) of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa in three places in Chapters 3, 23 and 28[35], and the non-inclusion of

34. *See* especially Chaps. 21-27 and 55-58 and the colophons thereof.

35. It is to be noted that except mentioning a few names in different places the *Āgneya-p.* does not give any complete list of these 'ten incarnations'.

The mention of the 'ten incarnatious' of Viṣṇu in three places in the *Āgneya-p.* does not necessarily mean that the Buddha was one of them. Although the Buddha has been named as the founder of a heretical faith in *Āgneya-p.* 29.41 (fol. 102b), there is not the slightest indication in this Purāṇa that he came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. This shows that the 'ten incarnations' include both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma instead of the Buddha. According to the *Narasiṁha-p.* also, which, as we shall see presently, have a good number of verses in common with the *Āgneya-p.* the ten manifestations or incarnations (*prādurbhāvāḥ*, 'daśāvatāraḥ' *Narasiṁha-p.* 54.6) of Viṣṇu are the following :—Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma (son of Daśaratha), Balabhadra (Rāma), Kṛṣṇa, and Kalki. (*See Narasiṁha-p.*, Chapters 36-54). *Narasiṁha-p.* 36. 9a, mentioning the Buddha as one of the manifestations of Viṣṇu, is undoubtedly spurious. This line, which makes the number of manifestations eleven, does not occure in most of the *Narasiṁha-p.* Moreover, in giving accounts of the ten manifestations or incarnations of Viṣṇu the *Narasiṁha-p.* makes no mention of the Buddha but narrates stories of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, giving them out to be manifestations or incarnations of the black and white energies—*śaktī sita-kṛṣṇe*—of Viṣṇu—*See Narasiṁha-p.* Chapter 53.

Even if we assume that the 'ten incarnations' mentioned in the *Āgneya-p.* include the Buddha, it does not seriously affect the date to which we have assigned this work in the second stage of its development. An examination of the different lists of incarnations of Viṣṇu, as given in the Purāṇas, Pāñcarātra Saṁhitās, and various other works, shows that the Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu not very much earlier than 500 A.D. (*See* R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 41-42.)

the Tantric 'Yantra' among the mediums of worship[36] mentioned in Chapters 6, 7, 28 and 30, tend to indicate that the *Āgneya-p.* was recast by the Vaiṣṇavas in the fifth century A.D.

In has already been said that the present *Āgneya-p.* was recast by the Vaiṣṇava in the second stage of its development. So, the *Āgneya-p.* in its original form, in which it was concerned with the Fire cult of the Agnihotrī Brahmins of the *Yajurveda* and said to have been spoken out by the Fire-god to Marīci during the latter's twelve year sacrifice, must have been composed much earlier than 400 A.D. It is, however, not possible for us with the present state of our knowledge to determine the upper limit of the date of its composition. The fact that in its original form the *Āgneya-p.* praised Agni as identical with Rudra-Śiva and was meant for popularising the Fire cult of the Yajurvedins, tends to indicate that this work was first written not later than the beginning of the Christian era.

The verses and extracts added to the *Āgneya-p.* during the third stage of its development do not appear to be many in number. These include the verses on the method of performing Nyāsa[37] in Chapter 6. Although 12 metrical lines preceding these verses on Nyāsa and 14 others following them are mostly the same as *Narasiṁha-p.* 62.4-17, the lines on Nyāsa of the *Āgneya-p.* are remarkably wanting in the *Narasiṁha-p.*, which also was written between 400 and 500 A.D.[38]

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36. These mediums are the following : water, fire, heart, sun—altar and image.

    अप्स्वग्नौ हृदये सूर्ये स्थण्डिले प्रतिमासु च ।
    षट्स्वेतेषु हरेः सर्वमर्चनं मुनिभिः कृतम् ॥
    अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवो हृदि देवो मनीषिणाम्।
    प्रतिमास्वल्पबुद्धीनां योगिनां सर्वतो हरिः ॥

    *See* also *Āgneya-p.* 7.16 (*agnau kriyāvatāṁ devo, etc.,*);28-83 (*agnau kriyāvatām asmi hṛdi cāhaṁ manīṣiṇām/pratimasv alpa-buddhīnāṃ jñāninām asmi sarvataḥ//*); and 30.6 (*agnau hṛdy ambare cāpsu sthaṇḍile pratimāsu ca*).

37. All these verses on Nyāsa have been quoted by Mādhavācārya in his commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, I. i, pp. 366-369.

38. For the date of the *Narasiṁha-p.* *see* R. C. Hazra in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXVI, 1945, pp. 12 ff.

**II. The Āgneya-purāṇa as known to the Smṛti-writers**

It has already been said that the *Āgneya-p* has been drawn upon under the titles '*Āgneya-p.*' (or '*Agni-p.*') and '*Vahni-p.*' in many of the commentaries and Nibandhas early and late and that most of these quoted verses are traceable in the extant text of the *Āgneya-p.* But the number of the untraceable quotations, as enlisted in Appendices I (B) and II (B), is also not at all negligible. These show how the text of the *Āgneya-p.* has undergone losses in course of time. The varied contents of these verses, as occurring in different sources[39], are generally the following :

(i) Creation.—Classification of created beings into '*daiva*' and '*āsura*' (the 'daiva' creatures being those who are devoted to Viṣṇu).—*Hv.*, p. 497 (2 lines).

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39. The abbreviations, used exclusively here, are as follows :
*Bs.* = *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* (of Halāyudha).
*Cc.* = *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (of Hemādri).
*Dk.* = *Dāna-kaumudī* (of Govindānanda).
*Ds.* = *Dāna-sāgara* (of Vallālasena).
*Gbh.* = *Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī* (of Gaṇapati).
*Gv.* = *Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī* (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya).
*Hv.* = *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa* (of Gopālabhaṭṭa).
*Kn.* = *Kāla-nirṇaya* (of Mādhavācārya).
*Kr.* = *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (of Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura).
*Ks.* = *Kāla-sāra* ( of Gadādhara).
*Np.* = *Nityācāra-pradīpa*(of Narasiṁha Vājapeyin).
*Pbh.* = Mādhavācārya's Bhāṣya on the *Parāśara-smṛti.*
*Pc.* = *Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi* (of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa).
*Sc.* = *Smṛti-candrikā* (of Devaṇabhaṭṭa).
*Śk.* = *Śrāddha-kaumudī* (of Govindānanda).
*St.* = *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana).
*Śuddhi-k.* = *Śuddhi-kaumudī* (of Govindānanda).
*Śv.* = *Śrāddha-vivka* (of Rudradhara).
*Tc.* = *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi* (of Vācaspatimiśra).
*Tv.* = *Tithi-viveka* (of Śūlapāṇi).
*Vk.* = *Varṣa-kaumudī* (of Govindānanda).
*Vkt.* = *Varṣa-kṛtya* (of Rudradhara).
*Vm.* = *Vīramitrodaya* (of Mitra Miśra).
*Vp.* = *Vidhāna-pārijāta* (of Anantabhaṭṭa).

(ii) Religious rites and duties.—(*a*) Bath (which is to precede all religious act).—*Bs.*, p. 81 (2 lines).

(b) Method of sipping water (*ācamana*).—*Bs.*, p. 175 (4 lines).

(c) Performance of Saṁdhyā--Praise of Gāyatrī—*Bs.*, p. 70 (3 lines). Method of 'japa'—*Bs.*, p. 79 (Lines). Bad effects of non-performance of Saṁdhyā—*Bs*, p. 30 (4 lines).

(d) Method and praise of 'pitṛ-tarpaṇa'—*Cc.* III. i, pp. 930 (3 lines) and 701-702 (20 lines).

(e) Glorification of Viṣṇu.—Praise of uttering his name—*Hv.*, p. 331 (2 lines). Method and praise of Viṣṇu-worship—*Cc.* III. ii, p. 665 (10 lines); *Hv.*, p. 311 (6 lines). Preference to be given to Viṣṇu-worship in all auspicious works—*St.*, p. 198 (2 lines). Selection of flowers, leaves, etc. for Viṣṇu-worship—*Np.*, p. 626 (3 lines); *Vm.*, Pūjā-prakāśa, pp. 49 (2 lines) and 53 (4 lines) Offier of gold, gems, clothes, etc. to Viṣṇu—*St.* II. p. 627 (2 lines); *Vm.*, Pūjā-prakāśa, p. 37 (4 lines). Results of construction or repairing Viṣṇu-temples or of contemplating to do so—*Hv.*, p. 655 (8 lines). Characteristics of a Śalagrāma stone—*Hv.*, p. 128 (11 lines).

(f) Performrnce of Śrāddha.—Method and praise of performing Śrāddha and of offering piṇḍa to Pitṛs—*Cc.*, III. i, p 970 (2 lines); *Śv.* (of Rudradhara), p. 9 (1 line) ; *St.*, p. 238 (2 lines). Self-restraint to be practised by the performer of Śrāddha - *Cc.* III. i, p. 1013 (2 lins) Dedication of bulls—*St.*, II, p. 339 (5 lins) = *St.* II, p. 529 ; *Ks.*, p. 407 (2 lines). Results of offering piṇḍa during the first year of death—*Śk.*, p. 360 (2 lines) = *Śuddhi-k.*, pp. 181 and 185. Offer of various articles (such as food, betel-leaves, camphor, village, cultivable land, house, garden, bed; various animals, etc.) to the Pitṛs in a Śrāddha—*Cc.* III i, pp. 716 (10 lines). Gift of sesamum for the good of the deceased—*Śuddhi-k.*, p. 160 (2 lines).

Śrāddha, etc. of Pāṣaṇḍas, outcastes, persons killed by beasts or committing suicide, and so on—*Sc.*, V, pp. 122 (11 lines) and 123 (3 lines).

Śrāddha of, and offer of piṇḍa to, a chaste wife who has burnt herself in the same pyre as that of her deceased husband—*Sc.*, V, 163 (2 lines).

Results of honouring Brahmins in a Śrāddda—*Cc.* III, i. p. 686 (2 lines).

(g) Procedure and praise of various Vratas (of which gift of different articles forms an important part), viz., Pūrṇimā-vrata (on Śrāvaṇa-paurṇamāsī)—*Cc.* II. ii, p. 244 (2 lines); Lakṣmī-vrata (on Caitra-pañcamī)—*Kr.* p. 118 (4 lines); Rudravratas (in Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha)—*Kr.*, pp. 151 (4 lines) and 186 (3 lines); Kāntivrata (in Vaiśākha)—*Kr.*, p. 151 (3 lines); Prīti-vrata, Gaurī-vrata, Saura-vrata and Viṣṇu-vrata—*Kr.*, pp. 218 9 (13 lines); Śiva-vratas of two kinds—*Kr.*, pp. 219-220 (8 lines); Śiva-vrata (to be observed for one year beginning from Phālgunakṛṣṇa-caturdaśī)—*Kr*, pp. 521-523 (12 lines); Candra-vrata (in Kārttika)—*Kr.*, p. 402 (3 lines); Vāruṇa-vrata (on Kārttika-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī)—*Kr.*, p. 409 (3 lines). Ekādaśī-vrata (praise of observing fast, and denouncement of taking food, on the Ekādaśī-Tithi)—*Cc.* II. i, p. 996 (1 line)=*Cc.* III. ii, p. 160; *Sc.* IV, p. 59 (2 lines)=*Cc.* III. ii, pp. 1.55 and 172=*St.* II, pp. 36 and 37=*Hv.*, p. 384=*Pc.*, 1861 *Cc.* III. ii, p. 152 (2 lines)=*Hv.*, p. 391; *Cc.* II. i, p. 993 (1 line)=*Cc.* III. ii, p. 159; *Ks.*, pp. 126 and 148-9. Rohiṇī-pratipad—*Ks.*, p. 602 (10 lines, of which one mentions the Vṛścika Rāśi). Vijaya-dvādaśī-vrata (spoken out by Maitreya to a king, and mentioning the Siṁha Rāśi and the eight incarnations of Viṣṇu form Matsya to Balarāma)—*Cc.* II. i, pp. 1136-38 (45 lines).

Jayantī-vrata (treated of in a much larger number of verses than that used in the extant text of *Āgneya-p.*, Chap. 65)—*Kn.*, p. 209 (2 lines); *Cc.* II. i, pp. 811-2=*Cc.* III. ii, p. 130 (8 lines, of which some have also been quoted in *Kn.*, pp. 210 and 201, *Pc.*, pp. 111-2, 118, 119 and 124, and *Vp.*, ii, p. 558); *Cc.* III. ii, p. 132 (2 lines)=*Hv.*, p. 493=*Vp.* ii, p. 560; *Pc.*, pp. 112-3 (29 lines); *Pc.*, pp. 119-120 (4 lines). (These untraceable verses on the Jayantī-vrata deal with the following topics :—Definition of Jayantī; praise of fasting and of worshipping Vāsudeva on the Tithi called Jayantī; sins arising out of non-observance of the Vrata and of taking food on the Jayantī Tithi; and so on).

Food materials which are beneficial in Vratas.—*Cc.* I, p. 8 (4 lines), and II. i, p. 332 (7 lines). Effects of using ill-got money in religious rites, donations, etc.—*Cc.* I, p. 5 (2 lines).

(h) Gifts and donations.—Wealth, earned, is meant for making gifts—*Cc.* I, pp. 6-7 (4 lines)=*Pbh.* I. i, p. 178.

Proper time and place for making gifts—*Ds.*, fol. 115a-b (12 lines).

Methods and praise of making various kinds of gifts, *viz*..

Brahmāṇḍa-dāna—*Cc.* I, pp. 240-241 (16 lines) ;

Go-dāna—*Ds.*, fols. 88a (3 lines) and 88b (2 lines) ; *Vp.* iii, pp. 233-4 (15 lines) ;

Kanaka-dāna—*Vp.* iii, pp. 152-4 (35 lines) ;

Karaka-dāna (with food and water on the Vaiśākha-tṛtīyā)—*Ks.*, p. 70.

Mahiṣī-dāna—*Ds*,, fols. 152a-153a (40 lines) ; *Vkt.*, p. 242 ;

Pratiśrayadāna—*Cc.* I, p. 673 (7 lines) ;

Prasūyamāna-dhenu-dāna—*Ds.*, fols. 82b-83a (6 lines) ;

Sūvarṇa-dāna—*Ds.*, fols. 114b-115a (10 lines) ;

Tila-dhenu dāna—*Cc.* I, p. 403 (2 lines) ;

Vāsodāna—*Ds.*, fol. 112a (4 lines) ;

Vṛṣabhadāna—*Vp.* iii. pp. 253–4 (25 lines) ;

Vṛṣadāna—*Dk.*, pp. 57–58 (14 lines).

(iii) Rules about taking food.—Use of Śākala Mantras in Homa and Bhūtabali before eating—*Vm.*, Āhnikaprakāśa, pp. 411 416 and 417 (2 lines).

Prohibitions about taking food (placed on Arka-leaves, hands .clothes, vessels of iron or copper, and so on)—*Sc.*, I, p. 432 (2 lines).

(iv) Gaṅgā-māhātmya (consisting of praise of bath and death in the Ganges, of worshipping a Śiva-liṅga on her bank after taking bath in her waters, and of repeating her name)—*Tc.*, p. 263 (2 lines) = *St.* I, p. 495; *Vkt.*, p. 238 (reference only); *Gv.*, fol. 44b (4 lines, of which two have also been quoted in *Gbh.*, fol. 45b); *Gbh.*, fols. 5b–6a (4 lines) and 19a (2 lines); *St.* I, p. 495 (6 lines).

(v) *Miscellaneous.*—(a) Yugma-tithi-vicāra—*Tv.*, fol. 3a (2 lines) = *Vk.*, p. 320 = *Vp.*, ii, p. 578; *St.* I, p. 31 (2 lines).

(b) Definition of 'murder' (हनन, which is said to be an action done personally or through some other person out of passion, hatred or mistake and resulting in none's loss of life)—*St.* I, p. 519 (2 lines).

(c) Attainment of heaven by those who court death for the sake of their masters—*St.* II. p. 286 (3 lines).

(d) Lament of a Brahmin whose son was killed by Daśaratha —*Hv.*, p. 476 (4 lines).

(e) Measurement of the Yoni and other Kuṇḍas—*Np.*, pp. 149-150 (4 lines).

(f) Preparation of the Japya-sūtra with or without *'meru'*—*Np.*, p. 183 (1 line).

(g) Praise of conduct (*vṛtta*) as more important than lineage (*kula*)—*Cc.* III. i, pp. 443-444 (2 lines).

Besides the untraceable verses noted above there are a few others, which have been mentioned in Appendices I (A) and II (A). It will be noticed that among these untraceable verses there are some which have been quoted exclusively in the Smṛti works of particular parts of India. So, it will not be wrong to presume that the text of the *Āgneya-p.*, like those of other Purāṇic works, differed more or less in different localities.

### III: The Rāma legend in the Āgneya-purāṇa

This legend constitutes almost the half of the present extensive text of the *Āgneya-p.*, which, in its India Office Ms. No. 1001[40], consists of 354 folios having 12-13 lines on a page. So, it is fairly elaborate and occupies a very important place among the subject matters dealt with in this work. As the Rāma legend was already given elaborately in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, its repetition in another work may appear to some of us to be wholly unnecessary. Hence the question naturally arises as to why this highly popular legend was introduced into the *Āgneya-p.* in spite of the fact that people had an easy access to the text of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* which was widely read in all parts of the country. As an answer we may refer to some verses of the *Āgneya-p.* in which Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* has not only been named as a highly sacred work[41] and given out

40. This Ms. even, which is the most perfect of the three I have consulted, lacks as many as five complete chapters and also considerable parts of two more.
The other India Office Ms. (No. 1425) has lost a large number of chapters, some completely and the other partly; and the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms. has lost more than half from the end.

41. For the relevant verses of the *Āgneya-p.* *see* foot-note 95 in Part I of the present article.

to be a source of 'dharma'[42] but also prescribed for regular study in temples and other places for the acquisition of religious merits.[43] As a matter of fact, the *Rāmāyaṇa* came to be utilised from early times for popular instruction and the maintenance of social and religious discipline among the Hindus, and this use of the epic continued in and outside India to very late periods, as is evidenced by an inscription of Combodia[44], by the *Bṛhaddharma-p.*, and by Kṛttivāsa's Ātma-vivaraṇa attached to his famous Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*. Of these three sources, the first records that one Somaśarman presented copies of "the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Purāṇa, and the complete *Mahābhārata*" to a temple in Combodia, thus showing that about 600 A. D. the *Rāmāyaṇa* had already attained fame in that far-off country as a sacred book of Hinduism. The *Bṛhad-dharma-p.*, which was written in Bengal, most probably in its south-western part, some time during the latter half of the thirteenth century A. D.[45], takes Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* to be a valuable code of Varṇāśrama-dharma and tries to popularise its study, saying :

"The great epic *Rāmāyaṇa* was written by Vālmiki himself. There, on the pretext of (narrating) Rāma's history, all the (religious and social) duties (of people) have been recorded in their entirety in accordance with the division of castes and orders of life (sarve dharmāḥ samuddiṣṭā varṇāśrama-vibhāgaśaḥ— Verse I).

"The duties of women, the duties of kings, the excellent duties of Brahmins, the duties of Vaiśyas, the duties of Sūdras, and likewise, the duties of house-holders (Verse 2).

42. See *Āgneya-p.* 32.33.
43. See, for instance, *Āgneya-p.* 43.9ff.
44. For this inscription see A. Barth, *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Combodge* (Notices et extraite des Mss. de la bibliotheque nationale, t. xxvii, 1, Paris, 1885), pp. 29ff.
    For the Old Javanic *Rāmāyaṇa* see *JRAS*, 1876, pp. 172ff.
45. According to Jogesh Chandra Roy, this work was composed a little after the thirteenth century. See *Bhārata-varṣa* (a Bengali monthly journal published from Calcutta), XVII, Part II (1336-37 B. S.), p. 677.
    For our analysis of the *Bṛhad-dharma-p.* see *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, VI, 1955, pp. 245-263.

"the conduct of various deities, and also the matters concerning foes and friends—all these duties have been determined by way of (describing Rāma's) history (Verse 3).

"This (work) is to be read, understood and remembered by one who wants to have happiness and peace (Verse 4).

* * * *

"One's house, which lacks (a copy of ) the auspicious epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, is (no better than) a burning ground and is shunned by the gods and patriarchs (Verse 6).

* * * *

"The goddess (Durgā), who is the giver of final emancipation and of all desired results and who is adored by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others, is undoubtedly pleased with one who reads, during the days of the great autumnal worship (of Devī) in Āśvina, the excellent history of Rāma written by Vālmīki (Verses 24-25).

* * * * * * * *"[46]

Kṛttivāsa, who began to write his Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa* in Śaka 1340 (A. D. 1418), also tells us that being ordered by his royal patron he composed the work for popular instruction.[47]

Now, from our analysis of the present *Āgneya p* we have seen that this work came to incorporate the Rāma legend not at the time of its first composition but during its recast by the Vaiṣṇavas and that this recast was made some time during the fifth century A. D. We also know from the evidence of history that after the death of Aśoka Maurya Hinduism began to re-assert itself against Buddhism, Jainism and other heretical and anti-Brahmanical faiths firmly rooted in the country and that the movement gained considerable momentum under the powerful patronage of the Gupta emperors who, though perfectly tolerant of both Buddhism and

46. For these verses see *Bṛhaddharma-p.* (Vaṅgavāsī Press ed.) i. 26.

47. राजाज्ञाय रचे गीत सप्तकाण्डगान ।

* * * *

लोक बुझावार तरे कृत्तिवास पण्डित ।।

For this verse of Kṛttivāsa see Kṛttivāsa-viracita *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi-kāṇḍa, ed. Nalini Kanta Bhattashali, Dacca 1936, p. 175; also Bhūmikā, p. 7.

Jainism, were officially orthodox Hindus and gave themselves out to be Parama Bhāgavata. So, we may assume that from about the fourth century A. D. there was a much greater attempt to popularise the study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the part played by this work in making the movement attain greater successs with the progress of time was considerable. That this assumption is not without a basis is shown by Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*[48] which mentions a public recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, by certain passages of the *Āgneya-p.* to which we have referred above, by Chinese sources which tell us that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was a well-known and popular work among the Indian Buddhists at the time of Vasubandhu, a Buddhist philosopher of the fourth century A. D.[49], and more remarkably by a number of Jain works, in which the Rāma legend has been given with curious modifications obviously meant for the effective propagation of the Jain faith. A few instances of this last mentioned class of works may be given here.

In the second half of the first century A. D.[50] a Jain monk, Vimala Sūri by name, wrote his Prakrit epic *Paumacariya*[51] (*Padma carita*—Life of Padma *alias* Rāma, son of Daśaratha) which he called a 'Purāṇa' on two occasions, viz. in 1.32 and 118. 111, and in which he branded Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* as a bundle of lies and retold the Rāma legend with such corrective modifications as would create a perfectly Jain atmosphere and help the successful propagation of the Jaina religion and philosophy. In this work animal sacrifice has been denounced and said to have been introduced by a Rākṣasa (who was a Brahmin in his previous birth), the sacrificial rites have been explained spiritually and Padma, also called Rāma on many occasions, has been said to have attained perfect knowledge and entered Nirvāṇa.

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48. This work was written very probably towards the end of the second century A. D.
49. *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 99 ff.
50. In the final verses of his *Pauma-cariya* Vimala Sūri tells us that he wrote this work in the year 530 after Mahāvīra (i. e. about 62 A. D.). According to H. Jacobi, it was written in the third century A. D.
51. Ed. H. Jacobi, Bhavnagar 1914.

Taking Vimala Sūri's work as a model Raviṣeṇa wrote in 678 A. D. his *Padma-purāṇa*[52] in Sanskrit, in which he followed the *Pauma-cariya* very often in respect of contents and occasionally in respect of language even. In this work also, slaughter of animals has been denounced under all circumstances, Rāma, son of Daśaratha, has been named as Padma, and the Rāma legend has been narrated with innovations, or rather distortions, to suit the religious interests of the Jains.

Other Jaina works narrating the Rāma legend in the Jaina fashion are the *Uttara-purāṇa* of Guṇabhadra (9th century A. D.), *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-caritra* of Hemacandra (12th century A. D.), *Rāma-caritra* of Devavijayagaṇin (16th century A. D.), *Puṇya-candrodaya-purāṇa*[53] of Kṛṣṇadāsa, and so on. The underlying motive of all these works as well as of those mentioned above is to prove the greater antiquity of the Jain religion and its superiority to Brahmanism and Hinduism and also to induce people to accept Jainism and follow a Jaina mode of life.

The narration of the Rāma legend in the Jaina religious books mentioned above and the nature of the modifications made in it by the authors of these works show how immensely popular the *Rāmāyaṇa* was in those days and what a great part it played in popularising among the common run of people the principles of Hindu social and religious life. As a matter of fact, with the growing unpopularity of the sacrificial religion of the Vedas as reflected in verses 42-46 of *Bhagavad-gītā*, Chapter 2, the Vedic ideas of life and society were kept alive and popularised chiefly by the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas.

From what has been said above it is evident that the Rāma legend was included in the *Āgneya-p*. at least for two definite purposes, viz., for enlightening the people with the Vedic ideas of life and conduct, and for checking the spread of Jainism, Buddhism and other anti-Vedic faiths by keeping the people alert against false propaganda and misrepresentation of facts. It was clearly

52-53. Ed Pandit Darbāri Lāla Nyāyatīrtha Sāhityaratna, Māṇikacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā Nos. 29-31, 1928. For a synopsis of the contents of this work *see* Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Jaina-padma-purāṇa—Kathāsāra* (Calcutta, Vīranirvāṇa Saṁvat 2450). Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, VI, pp. 70 ff.

with these ends in view that the authors of the Purāṇas incorporated summaries of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa or parts of the Rāma story in their respective works and did not hesitate even to use Vālmīki's works if necessary. The common run of people, for whom these summaries and stories were chiefly intended, were concerned more with the subject-matters than with the language in which these were expressed. With their little learning they could seldom find out the parallelism in language between two or more works, and, consequently, they took as much interest in the Rāma legend read out and explained to them from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* as in that from a Purāṇa or some other reputed work.

Though the Rāma legend, as given in the *Āgneya-p.*, cannot claim any striking originality in matters of incidents or language, it begins with a story which is rather new and is not found in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. This story, which occurs in Chapter 73, owes its narration to two previous statements made by Vasiṣṭha in Chapters 71 and 72 in connection with the genealogies of the royal dynasties of Ayodhyā and Videha. According to one of these statements made in verse 43 of Chapter 71, Rāma was born from Daśaratha for the accomplishment of the work of gods and was identical with Hari Nārāyaṇa himself, although he descended on earth in four parts.[54] The other statement of Vasiṣṭha, which occurs in verses 21b-24a of Chapter 72, runs as follows. While Sīradhvaja (Janaka) was sowing for the sake of a son, Sītā was born to him as a daughter from the plough; she, 'who was accustomed to lie on the broad chest of Viṣṇu', was given by her father to Rāmadeva, and when she was living with her husband in a forest, she was forcibly carried away by the villainous Rāvaṇa; after she had suffered great hardships, she was rescued by her husband, but she entered the earth through mental agony and a sense of selfrespect.[55]

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54. रामो दशरथाज् जातो देवकार्यार्थसाधनात् ।
चतुर्धा सोऽवतीर्णोऽपि हरिर्नारायणः स्वयम् ॥

55. ह्रस्वरोमा तु तस्यापि तस्मात् सीरध्वजोऽभवत् ॥
वपतो यस्य पुत्रार्थं सीरात् सीताभवत् सुता ।
सा दत्ता रामदेवस्य विष्णूरःस्थलशायिनी ॥
हृता सा तु वनस्थस्य रावणेन दुरात्मना ।
अनुभूय महद् दुःखं तत्रानीता तदा पुनः ॥
पत्या तदभिमानाच्च दुःखाद् भूमिमथाश्रयत् ।

The above references made by Vasiṣṭha to Nārāyaṇa's future birth in the Ayodhyā family as Rāma and also to that of Lakṣmī, excited great curiosity in Ambarīṣa, who requested Vasiṣṭha, at the beginning of Chapter 73, to tell him why Nārāyaṇa would be born as a human being and why he would be separated from his wife, Consequently, Vasiṣṭha narrated the following story to king Ambarīṣa :

Once a war broke out between the gods and demons, and in it the latter had their dead warriors revived by Bhārgava's wife by means of her life-restoring lore (*saṁjīvanī vidyā*). As the demons were thus becoming invincible, Viṣṇu killed Bhārgava's wife for the good of all the worlds. Bhārgava got enraged at Viṣṇu and cursed him to be born as a human being and suffer, like himself, from the pangs of separation from his beloved wife. After this incident the Earth,being troubled by the activities of Kumbhakarṇa and other powerful Rākṣasas, approached Brahmā for redress. She narrated the story of the origin of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha and their death at the hand of Viṣṇu, referred to Viṣṇu's killing of Hiraṇyakaśpu and Hiraṇyākṣa for her sake, and spoke of her trouble from the Rākṣasas. Brahmā took her to Viṣṇu, who was then lying in his bed with Lakṣmī. As Lakṣmī did not receive the Earth with due honour, she was cursed by the latter to be separated from her husband.

This, Vasiṣṭha said, was the cause of Lakṣmī's separation from her husband (Chaper 73).

Next, being asked by Ambarīṣa to speak on the origin of those terrible Rākṣasas, Vasiṣṭha agreed to "reproduce the *Rāmāyaṇa* completely from the beginning'[56] and also what the Earth had said to Viṣṇu after her meeting with the latter. He then reported the Earth's statements that the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha were reborn as Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa, sons of Kaśyapa, that the latter two demons were killed by Viṣṇu in his Boar and Man-lion incarnations, and that two Rākṣasas, viz., Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa, were troubling her by their existence. Following the Uttara-kāṇḍa (Chapters 2-11) of Vālmīki's *Rāmā-*

56. *tasmād rāmāyaṇaṁ samyak pravakṣyāmy anupūrvaśaḥ*||
*Āgneya-p*. 74. 9a.

*yaṇa* he also narrated the following stories : birth of Viśravas[57] as Pulastya's son from a princess[58] who came to Pulastya's hermitage to play with her friends and conceived immediately through Pulastya's curse; Kubera Vaiśravaṇa's birth to Viśravas, his severe austerities, and attainment from Brahmā of the status of the lord of wealth (*dhanādhipatva*) and the fourth quarter-guardian (*caturtha lokapāla*), his getting an aerial car called Puṣpaka from the same god, and his residence, according to his father's instructions, at Laṅkā which had been left vacant by the Rākṣasas out of fear from Viṣṇu (Chapter 74); birth of Heti and Praheti; birth of Sukeśi[59] (grandson of Heti and son of Vidyutkeśa), who was discarded by his mother on the Kailāsa mountain immediately after his birth, picked up by Pārvatī with motherly affection, and given by her an aerial city (*vaihāyasa pura*) for residence; birth of three sons to Sukeśi, viz., Mālyavat, Sumālin and Mālin, who practised severe austerities, received a boon from Brahmā to be invincible, ordered Tvaṣṭṛ to construct a beautiful city for their residence, and occupied, at Tvaṣṭṛ's advice, the city of Laṅkā which had been built by him on the Trikūṭa mountain for Indra; birth of sons and daughters to Mālyavat, Sumālin and Mālin, of whom the second had four daughters including Kaikasī; beginning of a war between the gods and the Rākṣasas for possession of Laṅkā (Chapter 75); detailed description of the war, in which Kumbhakarṇa, Meghanāda and others took active part; final victory of Rāvaṇa, who then continued to reside at Laṅkā with all his relations and followers (Chapters 76–77).

Here ends Vasiṣṭha's prelude to the Rāma story, which begins from Chapter 78. In this chapter Vasiṣṭha does not give any detailed description of the birth of Rāma and others but simply says, in verses 1-8, that for killing Rāvaṇa, the enemy of the gods and Brahmins, Nārāyaṇa (also called Hṛṣīkeśa) was born as the son of Daśaratha. Vasiṣṭha then passes on to the incident of

57. In the *Āgneya-p.*, Viśravas is once named as Viśvāvasu. See *Āgneya-p.* 74. 29.

58. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (vii. 2) she was the daughter of Tṛṇabindu, a royal sage living in a hermitage.

59. The *Rāmāyaṇa* names him as Sukeśa (see *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 4. 32, and 5. 1, 3, 5 etc.).

Viśvāmitra's arrival at Ayodhyā for taking Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa for the protection of his sacrificial rites and goes on describing Daśaratha's conversation with Viśvāmitra who gives out Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to be the incarnations of Nārāyaṇa and Śeṣa respectively, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa's start with the sage, the latter's imparting the spells, named Balā and Atibalā, to the two brothers, Rāma's killing of Tāḍakā, a Rākṣasī stationed there by Rāvaṇa[60], Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa's arrival at Siddhāśrama and giving protection to the sacrificial rites of Viśvāmitra and other sages (Chapter 78), Rāma's freeing Ahalyā of Gautama's curse which turned her into stone (Chapter 79), Viśvāmitra's taking Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Mithilā, where Rāma broke the Māheśvara bow which had been kept with Janaka by Bhārgava, and so on. Vasiṣṭha finishes his Rāma story with Sītā's fire-ordeal at Laṅkā, Rāma's return from there in an aerial car, his corronation at Āyodhyā, and his peaceful reign there.

A careful comparison of the Rāma legend in the *Āgneya-p.* with that in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* will show that so far as the main incidents of the legend are concerned there is practically no difference between the two works. There are, of course, occasional differences in matters of details. For instance, in *Āgneya-p.*, Chapter 74, Pulastya is said to have practised austerites on the Himādri (and not on a side of the mountain Meru, as said in *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 2.7), and Viśravas (son of Pulastya and father of Kubera Vaiśravaṇa) is named as Viśvāvasu also; in Chapter 75 Vidyutkeśa's son (and Heti's grandson) is named as Sukeśi (and not Sukeśa as in *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 4-5), Sukeśi's mother is said to have discarded him, immediately after his birth, on the Kailāsa mountain (and not on the Mandara as said in *Rāmāyaṇa*. vii. 4. 24), and the names of the sons and daughters of Mālyavat, Sumālin and Mālin differ in some cases from those given in *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 5. 34-43 ; in Chapter 112 Sītā, in her talk with Rāvaṇa in disguise, gives out Rāma's age to be 28 years and that of herself to be 20 at the time of Rāma's exile by his father (whereas according to Sītā's statement, occurring in *Rāmāyaṇa* iii. 47. 10b-11a, Rāma's age was

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60. ....................ताडका नाम राक्षसी ।
रावणस्य नियोगेन वसत्यत्र महावने ॥

then 25 years and that of Sitā 18 years),[61] in Chapter 113 Rāvaṇa is said to have abducted Sitā on the eighth lunar day of the dark half of the month of Māgha (there being no mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of any particular day for the incident); and so on.

As regards language, the *Āgneya-p.* cannot claim originality in all cases. Though there are many occasions on which this Purāṇa has described certain incidents of Rāma's life in its own language, there are numerous others on which it has taken verses from the *Rāmāyaṇa* with slight modifications or without any change at all. In a number of cases it has summarised the contents of certain verses by retaining their language as far as possible. As an instance, we may compare *Āgneya-p.*, Chapter 75 with *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 5. A list of common or parallel verses from these two chapters are given below for comparison :

*Āgneya-p.* *Rāmāyaṇa.*

75. 10a (mālyavantaṁ, etc.) = vii. 5. 6a (v. l. 'balināṁ' for 'rākṣasaṁ').

75. 11a (tapas taptuṁ, etc.) = vii. 5. 9b.

75. 11b (saṁtas tu, etc.)—cf. vii. 5. 10a (first half) and 10b (second half).

75. 13a (sukeśi-putrān, etc.) = vii. 5. 12b (v. l. 'āmantrya' for 'āhūya').

75. 14b (ajeyāḥ, etc.)—cf. vii. 5. 14b.

75. 15a (evaṁ bhaviṣyati, etc.)—cf. vii. 5. 15.

75. 15b (evaṁ labdha varāḥ, etc.)—cf. vii, 5. 16a.

75. 17a (asmākaṁ taṁ, etc.)—cf. vii. 5. 20a.

75. 17b (deveśvara-gṛha°, etc.)—cf. vii. 5. 21a (maheśvara-gṛha°).

75. 19a (dakṣiṇasyodadheḥ, etc.) = vii. 5. 22b.

75. 19b (śikhare tasya, etc.) = vii. 5. 23b (v. l. madhyame' mbudasannibhe).

75. 20a (patatribhiś ca, etc.) = cf. vii. 5. 24a.

75. 21a (vasantu tatra, etc.)—cf. vii. 5. 25a.

75. 21b (amarāvatīm, etc.) = vii. 5. 26b.

75. 22 (laṁkā-durgaṁ, etc.) = vii. 5. 27 (arrangement of the pādas differs) And so on.

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61. मम भर्ता महातेजा वयसा पञ्चविंशकः ।
अष्टादश हि वर्षाणि मम जन्मनि गण्यते ॥

Thus, the Rāma legend of the *Āgneya-P.* has striking agreement with that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* not only in contents but also in language, and this legend, being added to this Purāṇa as early as the fifth century A. D., can be utilised for solving textual and other problems relating to the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

It should be mentioned in this connection that in Chapter 20 (which has many verses in common with *Vāyu-p.*, Chapter 70) the *Āgneya-p.* gives a remarkably different tradition about the birth and appearance of Kubera, Rāvaṇa and others. According to this chapter Viśravas had four wives,—Devavarṇinī (daughter of Bharadvāja), Puṣpotkaṭā and Rākā (both daughters of Mālyavat), and Kaikasī (daughter of Mālin), of whom the first gave birth to Vaiśravaṇa, the eldest son of Viśravas. Vaiśravaṇa had an ugly appearance with three legs, an extremely huge body, a big head, a very broad chin, eight teeth, yellow beards, spike-like ears, and a tawny complexion. Consequently, his father named him Kubera, the word 'ku' being used in the sense of decrying and 'bera' meaning 'body[62]. Kailasī, the fourth wife of Viśravas, gave birth to Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, Śūrpaṇakhā and Vibhīṣaṇa of

62. ऋषिरैडविडो यस्यां विश्रवाः समपद्यत ।
तस्य पत्न्यश्चतस्रश्च पूर्वा वै देववर्णिनी ॥
पुष्पोत्कटा च राका च सुते माल्यवतः शुभे ।
कैकसी मालिनः कन्या तासां तु श्रृणुत प्रजाः ॥
ज्येष्ठं वैश्रवणं तस्य सुषुवे देववर्णिनी ।
ज्येष्ठं वैश्रवणं यज्ञे (? जज्ञे) कुरूपं देववर्णिनी ॥
त्रिपादं सुमहाकायं स्थल (? स्थूल) शीर्षं महाहनुम् ।
अष्टदंष्ट्रं हरिश्मश्रुं (? हरिच्छ्मश्रुं)
शङ्कुकर्ण [णं] विलोहितम् ॥
पिङ्गलं नाम सन्तप्य पिता दृष्ट्वाब्रवीत्ततः ।
कुत्सायां तु कु-शब्दोऽयं शरीर बेरमुच्यते ।
कुशरीरत्वान् नाम्नाति तेन वै स कुबेरकः ॥ *Āgenya-p.* 20. 23-27.

For these verses see also *Vāyu-p.* 70. 32-39. For line 6 of the above extract the *Vāyu-P.* has :

दिव्येन विधिना युक्त मार्षेणैव श्रुतेन च ।
राक्षसेन च रूपेण आसुरेण बलेन च ॥

(See *Vayu p.* 70-35 b-c

whom the first (viz., Rāvaṇa) had spike-like ears, ten heads, four legs, twenty hands, red hair, a huge body, a collyrium-dark complexion, and red throats[63]. It may be mentioned here that these statements regarding Kubera, Rāvaṇa and others do not agree with what has been said about some of them in *Āgneya-p.*, Chapters 74-75 and *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 3-5. According to these two sources, Viśravas had two wives Devavarṇini and Kaikasī, of whom the second was a daughter of Sumālin (and not of Mālin as said in *Āgneya-p.* Chapter 20), and Kubera Vaiśravaṇa was not ugly. In *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 9.4 Kubera Vaiśravaṇa has been described as *amara-saṁkāśa* (shining like a god) and *pāvakopama* (resembling Fire).

As regards the text of the Rāma legend of the *Āgneya-p.* it may be said that the two complete manuscripts of this work, which we have been able to consult, are highly corrupt and defective and sometimes omit large extracts or even complete chapters. For instance, in Chapter 75 the first thirty verses name the descendants of Heti, narrate short stories about Vidyutkeśa, Sukeśi, and the three brothers Mālyavat, Sumālin and Mālin, and end with the mention that these three brothers began to reside happily at Laṅkā with their sons and daughters

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and for line 9 this Purāṇa reads :

ह्रस्व-बाहुं प्रबाहुं च पिङ्गलं सुविभीषणम् ।
वैवर्तज्ञानसंपन्नं संबुद्धं ज्ञानसम्पदा ॥
एवंविधं सुतं दृष्ट्वा विश्वरूपधरं तथा ।
पिता दृष्ट्वा ब्रवीत्तत्र कुबेरोऽयमिति स्वयम् ॥ (*Vāyu-p.* 70. 37-38)

63. शङ्कुकर्णो दशग्रीवः पिङ्गलो रक्तमूर्धजः ।
चतुष्पाद् विंशतिभुजो महाकायो महाबलः ॥
जात्यञ्जननिभो मर्दं (?) लोहितग्रीव एव च ।
निसर्गाद् दारुणः क्रूरः स रावण इति स्मृतः ॥

*Āgneya-p.* 20. 29b-30.

For these verses *see* also *Vāyu-p.* 70. 42-44. (For 'mardaṁ' in line 3 the *Vāyu-p.* reads 'daṁstri; after line 3 this Purāṇa has the following two additional lines :

राजसेन यथा युक्तो रूपेण च बलेन च ।
सत्यबुद्धिर्दृढतनू राक्षसैरेव रावणः ॥

and for the second half of line 4, it reads '*rāvaṇād rāvaṇas tu saḥ*').

(who also have been named in a few verses immediately preceding verse 30), but from verse 31 we find a description of war between the gods and Rākṣasas which extends up to the end of Chapter 77 and in which Kumbhakarṇa and Meghanāda are found to take active parts. As this chapter ends with verse :

एतत्ते कथितं राजन् चरितं रावणस्य च ।
जन्म चैव महाबाहो देवानां च पराजयम् ॥

and as there is no mention in this chapter of the birth and exploits of Rāvaṇa, it is sure that a very large extract, or more probably one complete chapter or two have been lost between verses 30 and 31 of Chapter 75.

As regards textual corruption, which is very frequent and often extends over small or large extracts, it is hardly necessary to cite any example.

### IV. Miscellaneous topics of interest in the Āgneya-purāṇa

Though in Chapter 1 the *Āgneya-p.* is said to have dealt with the five traditional topics of Purāṇas, its later recast by the Vaiṣṇavas has totally changed its form and character and made it practically into a book of religious matters. Yet it contains a few chapters on genealogies of kings and has a number of myths and legends which have interests of their own.

Of the various ancient royal families reigning in Northern India down to the time of the *Mahābhārata* war it is only those of Ayodhyā and Videha which have been treated of in the present *Āgneya-p.* It is not that this Purāṇa did not at any time deal with any other royal dynasty of renown. We shall see from the evidence of the *Nāndī-p.* noted in section V below that the *Āgneya-p.* (which the *Nāndī-p.* names as '*Vahni-p.*') once contained chapters not only on the Solar dynasty but also on the Lunar and other dynasties reigning in different parts of Northern India. Unfortunately the chapters containing accounts of these dynasties have been eliminated from this work by the Vaiṣṇava redactors and can no longer be traced.

The *Āgneya-p.*, as we have it now, deals with the Ayodhyā dynasty in Chapters 66-71 and with that of Videha in Chapter 72. Of these, Chapter 66 narrates the story of Saṁjñā in connection with the birth of Vaivasvata Manu (Saṁjñā's son by the Sun-god

Vivasvat), from whom all the ruling dynasties of Northern India are said to have proceeded ; Chapters 68-69 give the stories of Bhagīratha's birth and austerities and the origin of Gaṅgā and her penance and descent on earth ; and Chapter 70 glorifies this holy river. So, it is only in three chapters (viz., 67, 71 and 72) and a small part of a fourth (viz. Chapter 68) that actual dynastic accounts have been given. That the *Āgneya* accounts of these two dynasties have been retained from the earlier form of this work and are not later additions, is shown not only by the *Nāndī-p.* which includes the Solar dynasty among the subjects treated of in the "*Vahni-p.*" but also by a comparison of these accounts with those contained in the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and other Purāṇas. As a matter of fact, these accounts have linguistic and other peculiarities of their own and do not agree much with those contained in the other Purāṇas, although in a few details they are found to approach the *Brahma*, *Harivaṁśa*, *Padma* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) and *Matsya* traditions much more than those of the other Purāṇas. We are also to note in this connection that it is Sūta (and not Vasiṣṭha) who is found to speak to some sages in these chapters, in spite of the fact that king Ambarīṣa puts a question to Vasiṣṭha and wants to hear the answer from him. Further, we shall see later on that in the dynastic accounts of the *Āgneya-p.* there are legends which bear stamps of pre-Brahmanic origin and are, therefore, of great antiquity. It is, however, not to be supposed that these accounts enjoyed complete immunity from additions and alterations of later days.

Here a question may be asked as to why those few chapters which deal with the dynasties of Ayodhyā and Videha only have been retained in the *Āgneya-p.* and not the others containing accounts of the Lunar and other dynasties. As an answer we may say that the Vaiṣṇava redactors who wanted to add the Rāma legend to the *Āgneya-p.* for religious purposes, were interested only in these two dynasties, the rest being immaterial and unnecessary to them. That the narration of the Rāma legend was one of the chief aims of the Vaiṣṇava redactors of the *Āgneya-p.* is shown definitely by their repeated mention of Rāma and the *Rāmāyaṇa* in chapters preceding those on the Rāma story.

A long list of kings of the Ayodhyā family from Vaivasvata Manu to Bṛhadbala, a contemporary of the Pāṇḍavas, has been given in Chapters 67, 68 (partly) and 71, the texts of which, as presented by the two Mss. utilised by us, are highly incorrect and have very often the same mistakes and omissions. According to this list, Vaivasvata Manu had ten sons (and not nine, as said in most of the other Purāṇas), and these included Śivi and Viṣṇu (or Jiṣṇu according to Ms. No. 1425), who are not mentioned in any other Purāṇa and in whose place the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍna* and a few other Purāṇas name Dhṛṣṭa and Prāṁśu.[64]

Iḍa, one of the ten sons of Vaivasvata Manu, is said to have gone out on a hunting expedition in the Himalayas and become a female named Iḍā by entering the Caitraratha wood on the bank of the Ganges, where Śiva was sporting with Pārvatī after turning himself into a boy (*bāla*) and his attendants into young females at Pārvatī's request. Here Iḍā chanced to meet Budha, son of Soma, and had by him a son named Purūravas, who was later established at Pratiṣṭhāna. After the birth of Purūravas, Iḍa regained his malehood and became known as Sudyumna. To Sudyumna were born three sons named Utkala, Gaya and Vinatāśva, who ruled respectively over Utkala, Gayā and the eastern region.[65]

About Nariṣyanta, Nābhāga, Śaryāti, Nābhāriṣṭa and Karūṣa, all sons of Vaivasvata Manu, the *Āgneyapurāṇa* contains the following information.

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64. *See* for instance, *Vāyu-p.* (Ānandāśrama Press ed.) 64. 29-30, and 85. 3-4, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.) ii. 38. 30-32, and iii. 60. 2-3, *Brahma-p.* (Ānandāśrama Press ed.) 7. 1-2, *Liṅga-p* i. 65. 17-19, *Kūrma-p.* i. 20. 4-6, *Harivaṁśa* i. 10. 1-2; *Agnipurāṇa* 273. 5-7; and so on. (The *Liṅga-p.* and the *Harivaṁśa* read 'dhṛṣṇuḥ' for 'dhṛṣṭaḥ').

    In *Mārkaṇḍeya-p.* 79. 11-12 and 111. 4-5. *Garuḍa-p.* i. 142.2, *Matsyapurāṇa* 11. 41, etc., only Dhṛṣṭa has been mentioned.

65. According to *Vāyu-p.* 85. 19, *Brahma-p.* 7. 18-19, *Liṅga-p.* i. 65. 27, etc. Vinatāśva ruled over the western region.

Nariṣyanta's sons were Śukas, from whom sprang the Śauka Kṣatras[66]; and Nābhāga had a son named Ambarīṣa, from whom proceeded a clan of good Kṣatras.

Śaryāti had a son named Ananta and a daughter named Sukanyā. According to a verse[67] placed after that containing accounts of the descendants of Nābhāriṣṭa and Karūṣa, Śaryāti had another more powerful son, but the latter killed a cow by chance and became a Śūdra through a curse. Ananta's son Reva is said to have constructed the city of Kuśasthalī in Ānarta. He had a hundred sons (?)[68], of whom Raivata Kakudmān, the best, became king of Kuśasthalī. During his reign Kuśasthalī was attacked by the Rākṣasas. Raivata left the city with his daughter; so also did

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66. The text of the line of the *Āgneyapurāṇa* containing this information, is highly corrupt. One Ms. (No. 1001) gives it as follows :

*'nariṣyantaḥ śukāḥ putrā śākaṁ kṣatram udāhṛtam'* (Chap. 67, fol. 163b), whereas the other (No. 1425) has it thus :

*'nariṣyataḥ śukāṁ putrāḥ śaukaṁ kṣetram udāhṛtam'.* According to the *Matsya* (12.20) and the *Padma-p.* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 8. 125) Nariṣyanta had only one son named Śuka.

The *Brahma-p* (7.24), *Agni-p.* (273. 10), and *Harivaṁśa* i. 10.28 say that Nariṣyanta's offspring were Śakas.

67. *'śaryāter abhavat putro vṛṣado* (v. 1. *'vṛṣato'* in Ms. No.1425) *balavattaraḥ|*
*daivāt sa gāṁ purā hatvā śāpāc chūdratvam eyivān||'*
*Āgneya-p.* Chap. 67, fol. 164a).

68, The texts, given by the two Mss. of the *Āgneya-p* as regards the 'hundred sons', are confusing. The two verses containing this information are as follows :

(1) रेवस्य रैवतः पुत्रः ककुद्मान् नाम धार्मिकः ।
श्रेष्ठः पुत्रशतस्यासीत् तस्यां पुर्यां नृपोऽभवत् ॥
(Chapter 67, verse 29, fol. 163b).

(2) रैवतस्य गतस्याथ सा पुरी राक्षसैर्हृता ।
तस्य पुत्रशतं यच्च त्यक्त्वा तामगमद् दिशः ॥
(Chapter 67, verse 31, fol. 164a).

From the opposing statements contained in these two verses we fail to understand whether, according to the *Āgneya-p.*, it was Reva or his son Raivata who had a hundred sons.

the other sons (of Reva ?). After many years Raivata returned to Kuśasthalī and found it occupied by the Yādavas, who had rebuilt the city, furnished it with numerous gates, and given it a new name 'Dvāravatī'. Raivata then gave his daughter Revatī in marriage to Balabhadra and retired to the peak of the Meru for practising austerities. His descendants, who were known as Śaryātas, became Kṣatriyas.

Nābhāriṣṭa (also called Nābhāgariṣṭa in one verse[69]) had two sons, who became Brahmins; and Karūṣa's descendants became known as Kārūṣa Kṣatriyas.

Ikṣvāku, the eldest son of Vaivasvata Manu, reigned in Madhyadeśa and had a hundred sons, of whom Vikukṣi was the eldest. Once Vikukṣi ate a hare before the performance of a Śrāddha ceremony. So, he became known as 'Śaśāda' (Hare-eter) and was discarded by his father and brothers. Later on at Vasiṣṭha's words Ikṣvāku placed Vikukṣi on the throne of Ayodhyā. Vikukṣi had fifteen sons Śakuni and others[70],

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69. *Āgneya-p.* 67. 37 (fol. 164a).
70. See *Āgneya-p.* 67. 39-40 (fol. 164a)—

वैवस्वतमनोरासीद् इक्ष्वाकुः पृथिवीपतिः ।
तस्य पुत्रशतं चासीद् विकुक्षिज्येष्ठ उच्यते ॥
सोऽयोध्याधिपतिर्वीरस्तस्य पञ्चदश स्मृताः ।
शकुनिप्रमुखाः पुत्रा दक्षिताः (MS. No. 1425—
रक्षिता) रोमहर्षिताः (?) ॥

For the text of the fourth line see *Vāyu-p.* 88. 8b-9a and *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 63. 9b-10a—

*śakuni pramukhās tasya putrāḥ* pañcaśatas tu' (v. l. '*pañcaśataṁ tu*' in *Vāyu-p.*) *te* | *uttarāpatha-deśasya rakṣitāro mahīkṣitaḥ* ||

(Cf. also *Brahma-p.* 7.46-47a, *Harivaṁśa* i. 11.13b-14, and *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 2.3).

The above statements of the *Āgneya-p.* that Vikukṣi had fifteen sons and that they included Śakuni, are peculiar and seem to be due to a confusion between the two different versions contained in the Purāṇas regarding the descendants of Vikukṣi.

and also another named Kakutstha, who succeeded his father on the throne of Ayodhyā. From this Vikukṣi proceeded the famous Ayodhyā dynasty (better known as the Solar dynasty) in which Rāma Dāśarathi was born. The long line of kings from Vikukṣi to Bṛhadbala, which has been given in Chapters 67-68 and 71 of the *Āgneya-p.* with occasional accounts of the individual kings, has considerable importance for the study of ancient Indian historical tradition, but, as has already been pointed out, the texts presented by the two Mss. we have been able to consult, are highly corrupt and do not in a number of cases preserve the correct readings. Consequently, the genealogy of the kings of Ayodhyā, as presented by these two Mss., does not agree in all cases with that reconstructed by F. E. Pargiter from a critical study of the different Purāṇas and given by him in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 145-149. The variations, so far as the dynastic list is concerned, are the following :

(*i*) The eighth king from Vaivasvata Manu is named Indra (and not Ārdra, as in *Brahma-p.* 7.52-53, *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 2. 13, *Matsya-p.* 12.29, *Kūrma-p.* i. 20.12, *Harivaṁśa* i. 11. 21, etc., or Andhra, as in *Vāyu-p.* 88.26 and *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 63. 27, or Candra, as in *Bhāgavata-p.* ix. 6. 20).

(*ii*) The tenth king is named Rāva in Ms. No. 1001 and Kāvya in Ms. No. 1425[71] and not Śrāvasta as in the other Purāṇas.

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According to one of these versions, which is found in the *Vāyu-p.* (88. 8–11), *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (iii. 63. 8–11), *Brahma-p.* (7. 45–48), *Viṣṇu-p.* (iv 2. 3) and *Harivaṁśa* (i. 11. 12–15), Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons and these included Vikukṣi, Nimi and Śakuni. According to the other version contained in the *Matsya* (12. 26–28), *Padma* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 8. 130–133), *Liṅga* (i. 65. 31–32) and *Kūrma-p.* (i. 20. 10–11) Vikukṣi, the eldest of the hundred sons of Ikṣvāku, had fifteen sons, of whom Kakutstha was the eldest, there being no mention of Śakuni.

In the Vaṅgavāsi Press edition of the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa of the *Padma-p.* there is no mention of Vikukṣi having fifteen sons.

71. That the name 'Rāva' or 'Kāvya' is a mistake for 'Śrāvasta' seems to be indicated by the line

*'śrīvasābṛhadaśvo 'bhūd rājā parama-dhārmikaḥ'*

(contained in Ms. No. 1001) which immediately follows the verse containing the said name, In this line the reading *"śrīvasābṛhadaśvo' bhūt"* is clearly a mistake for *"śrāvastādbṛhadaśvo bhūt"*.

(*iii*) Like the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Harivaṁśa* etc. the *Āgneya-p.* omits the name of Pramoda, whom Pargiter names as the fourteenth king on the authority of the *Matsya*, *Padma* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa), *Kūrma* and *Liṅga-p*.

(*iv*) The *Āgneya-p.* names two kings, both named Kṛtāśva, between Saṁhatāśva (No. 17) and Prasenajit (No. 19).[72]

According to the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahma* and other Purāṇas Saṁhatāśva had two sons variously named as Kṛśāśva and Akṣayāśva (v. i. Akṛśāśva) in *Vāyu-p.* 88.63, Kṛśāśva and Akṛtāśva in *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 63. 65, Akṛśāśva and Kṛśāśva in *Brahma-p.* 7. 89 and *Harivaṁśa* i. 12. 3, Kṛśāśva and Aruṇāśva in *Kūrma-p.* i. 20. 23, Akṛtāśva and Raṇāśva in *Matsya-p.* 12. 34, and so on. In *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 2. 14 Saṁhatāśva's son is named as Kṛśāśva.

(*v*) The *Āgneya-p.* agrees with the *Brahma* (7.96), *Matsya* (12.36) and *Padma-p.* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 8. 141) in making Tridhanvan (No. 29) the son of Saṁbhūta (No. 24)[73] and does not mention the four kings (Anaraṇya, Trasadaśva, Haryaśva II, and Vasumata or Vasumanas) said in *Vāyu-p.* 88. 75-77, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 63. 74-76, *Kūrma-p.* i. 20. 28–30, *Liṅga-p.* i. 65. 43–45, *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 3. 13, etc, to have intervened between them. (The *Viṣṇu-p.* names Trasadaśva as Pṛṣadaśva.)

(*vi*) The *Āgneya-p.* wrongly names the son and successor of Harita (No. 35) as Jahnu and says that this Jahnu drank up the river Jāhnavī.[74] According to *Vāyu-p.* 88.119, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 63. 117, *Brahma-p.* 8. 26, *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 3. 15 and *Harivaṁśa* i. 13. 28, Harita's son was Cañcu. The *Linga-p.* (i. 66.12) names him as Dhundhu, and the *Bhāgavata-p.* (ix. 8. 1) as Campa.

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72. संहताश्वो निकुम्भस्य पुत्रः परपुरंजयः ।
तस्य पुत्रः कृताश्वस्तु कृताश्वस्तस्य चात्मजः ॥
*Āgneya–p.* 67.77 (fol. 165a–b).

73. संभूतस्य तु पुत्रोऽभूत् त्रिधन्वा चारिसूदनः ।
*Āgneya p.* 67 92a (fol. 165b).

74. रोहिताश्वो हरिश्चन्द्राद् धरितस्तस्य चात्मजः ।
तस्माज् जह्नुरिति प्रोक्तो येन पीता तु जाह्नवी ॥
*Āgneya p.* 67.99c. (fol. 166a).
Jahnu, who drank up the water of the Ganges, was born long after Harita's son.

(*vii*) The *Āgneya-p.* omits the name of Ruruka, son of Vijaya (No. 36) and makes Bhūka and Bāhu the son and grandson respectively of the latter (Vijaya).

Ruruka is named as Bharuka in *Bhāgavata-p.* ix. 8. 2, as Kāruka in *Kūrma-p.* i. 21. 4–5, and as Rucaka in *Liṅga-p.* i. 66.13.

The name Bhūka of the *Āgneya-p.* is most probably a mistake for Vṛka who is named as the grandson of Vijaya in all the Purāṇas. (*Vāyu-p.* 88. 121 wrongly names Vṛka as Dhṛtaka).

(*viii*) The *Āgneya-p.* omits the name of Ayutāyus, son of Sindhudvīpa (No. 49), and mentions Ṛtuparṇa as Sindhudvīpa's son and successor.

(*ix*) The *Āgneya-p.* names the son and successor of Mūla (No. 56) as Daśaratha (and not as Śataratha) and omits Aiḍaviḍa Vṛddhaśarman (No. 58).

It should be mentioned here that in *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 4. 38 and *Garuḍa-p.* i. 142.34 Mūlaka's son is named as Daśaratha.

(*x*) *Āgneya-p.* 71. 46b gives the name of Devānīka's son as Aheḍaka (and not as Ahīnagu) and says that Aheḍaka's son was Ruru and not Pāripātra, whom the *Āgneya-p.* makes Aheḍaka's grandson.[75]

It should be mentioned here that the *Viṣṇu* (iv. 4. 48) and the *Garuḍa-p.* (i. 142. 40) also make Ruru the son and successor of Ahīnagu (who has been named as Aheḍaka in the *Āgneya-p.*).

According to the *Vāyu-p.*, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.*, *Bhāgavata-p.*, etc. Pāripātra was the son of Ahīnagu.

(*xi*) The *Āgneya p.* names the son and successor of Dala (No. 77) as Chalana[76] and in this respect agrees with the *Viṣṇu* (iv. 4. 48) and the *Garuḍa-p.* (i. 142. 41) which also name Dala's son as Chala. *Bhāgavata-p.* ix. 2. 2. names Chala as Sthala but the *Vāyu* (88.204) and the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (iii. 63. 204) name him as Bala (whom the *Bhāgavata-p.* makes the son of Pāripātra and father of Sthala).

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75. *See* Āgneya-p. 71.46b-47a (fol. 173a)—
तस्मादहेडको जातो रुरुस्तस्यापि चात्मजः ।
रुरोस्तु पारिपात्रस्तु पारिपात्रा[द्]दलोऽभवत् ॥

76. *See Āgneya-p.* 71. 47b (fol. 173a)—
*dalāc chalananāmāsīd vajranābhas tu tasya ca.*

(*xii*) The *Āgneya-p.* does not mention Uktha (No. 78), whom the *Viṣṇu* and a few other Purāṇas make the father of Vajranābha (No. 79).

Uktha is named Auṅka in the *Vāyu-p.* (88. 205) and Ulūka in the *Brahmāṇḍa* (iii. 63. 205).

According to the *Āgneya-p.* Vajranābha's father was Chalana.

(*xiii*) According to the *Āgneya-p.* Vajranābha's son and grandson were Vareṇaka and Ṛṣitāśva respectively.[77] Of these two kings, the former is named as Śaṅkhana in the *Vāyu* (88. 205) and the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (iii. 63. 205), Śaṅkhanābha in the *Viṣṇu-p.* (iv. 4.48), Sagaṇa in the Bhāgavata-p. (ix. 12. 2-3), Gaṇa in the *Garuḍa-p.* (i. 142. 41), and so on, and the latter as Dhyuṣitāśva in the *Vāyu-p.*, Vyuṣitāśva in the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Viṣṇu-p.*, Uṣitāśva in the *Garuḍa-p.*, and so on.

(*xiv*) The *Āgneya-p.* does not mention Śighra (No. 88), who is named as the son of Agnivarṇa and father of Maru in the *Vāyu* (88. 210), *Brahmāṇḍa* (iii. 63. 210), *Viṣṇu* (iv. 4. 48) and *Bhāgavata-p.* (ix. 12. 5).

According to the *Garuḍa-p.* (i. 142. 44) Śighra was Agnivarṇa's grandson, Padmavarṇa's son, and Maru's father.

(*xv*) The *Āgneya-p.* names the last six kings of the Ayodhyā dynasty as Maru, Praśukra, Subandhin (or Subandhu according to Ms. No. 1425), Amartha (? Amarṣa), Viśvabhava (Viśvasaha according to Ms. No. 1425), and Bṛhadbala.[78] Thus, it seems to follow the same tradition as that found in the Vāyu (88. 210-212), *Brahmāṇḍa* (iii. 63. 210–213), *Viṣṇu* (iv. 4. 48) and *Bhāgavata-p.* (ix 12. 5–8). According to these Purāṇas the descendants of Maru are the following :

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77. *Ibid.* 71. 48a (fol. 173a)—
*tasmād vareṇakaś cāsīd ṛṣitāśvas tu tasya vai.*

78. See *Āgneya-p.* 71. 50–52 (fol. 173a)—
*agnivarṇo 'pi tasyābhūn maros tasyāpi cātmajaḥ|*

* * * *

*praśukras tu maroḥ putraḥ subandhus* (v. l. *subandhī* in Ms. No. 1001) *tasya cātmajaḥ ||*

| *Vāyu-p.* | *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* | *Viṣṇu-p.* | *Bhāgavata-p.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Maru | 1. Maru | 1. Maru | 1. Maru |
| 2. Prasuśruta | 2. *Prabhuśruta* | 2. Prasuśruta | 2. Prasuśruta |
| 3. Susandhi | 3. Susandhi | 3. *Sugandhi* | 3. *Sandhi* |
| 4. Amarṣa (*alias* Sahasvat) | 4. Amarṣa (*alias* Sahasvat) | 4. Amarṣa | 4. *Amarṣaṇa* |
| 5. Viśrutavat | 5. Viśrutavat | 5. *Mahasvat* | 5. *Mahasvat* |
| 6. Bṛhadbala | 6. Bṛhadbala | 6. Viśrutavat | 6. *Viśvabāhu* |
| | | 7. Bṛhadbala | 7. *Prasenajit* |
| | | | 8. *Takṣaka* |
| | | | 9. Bṛhadbala |

The names of the descendants of Ahīnagu (No. 75), as given in the *Matsya-p.* (12. 53–55), *Padma-p.* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa 8. 158–160), *Kūrma-p.* (i. 21. 60–61), and *Liṅga-p.* (i. 66. 40–42),[79] are quite different from those given in the *Āgneya*, *Vāyu* and other Purāṇas mentioned above except that the *Liṅga-p.* gives the name of the last king of the dynasty as Bṛhadbala.

The genealogy of the Videha dynasty, as given in *Āgneya-p.* Chapter 72, is comparatively brief and poor in legends, but it has its own peculiar features which should not be overlooked, although, being recorded in a badly preserved text, the names of some of the kings differ from those given in the five Purāṇas (viz., *Vāyu, Brah-*

79. According to these four Purāṇas Ahīnagu (called Ahīnara in the *Liṅga-p.*), was followed successively by (i) Sahasrāśva (called Mahasvat in the *Kūrma-p.*), (ii) Candrāvaloka, (iii) Tārāpīḍa, (iv) Candragiri, (v) Bhānucandra (called Bhānucitta in the *Kūrma-p.*, and Candra in the *Padma-p.*, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa), and (vi) Śrutāyus, with whom the Ikṣvāku family ended according to the *Matsya-p*, *Kūrma-p.* and *Padma-p.* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa). The *Liṅga-p.* names one king more, viz., Bṛhadbala, who is said to have succeeded Śrūtāyus.

*māṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and *Garuḍa*) which record the genealogy of the Videha dynasty. The chief points, in which the *Āgneya* list of kings differs from those given by the five Purāṇas mentioned above, are the following :

(*i*) The *Āgneya-p.* does not mention the following kings :—

(*a*) Udāvasu and Nandivardhana, who are said in the other Purāṇas to have followed Mithi (No. 5 in Pargiter's dynastic list given in his *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 145–149), The text of the relevant verse[80] of the *Āgneya-p.* is corrupt in both the Mss.

(b) Dhṛtimat (No. 26), who is said in Vāyu-p. 89.9 and *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 64. 9 to have followed Mahāvīrya. (The *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavata* and *Garuḍa-p.* also omit the name of Dhṛtimat.)

(c) Mahāroman (No. 59) and Svarṇaroman (No. 61), whose names occur in all the five Purāṇas mentioned above.

(d) Suśruta (No. 86), who has been mentioned in *Vāyu-p.* 89.21, *Brhamāṇḍa-p.* iii. 64. 21. *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 5. 13, and *Garuḍa-p.* i. 142. 55.

(ii) The *Āgneya-p.* names Śuci in place of Muni as the successor of Śatadyumna (No. 66). According to *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 5. 13, *Bhāgavata-p.* ix. 13. 21-22 and *Garuḍa-p.* i. 142. 50, Śuci succeeded Śatadyumna, there being no mention of Muni in these Purāṇas.

(iii) The *Āgneya-p.* names (a) all the twelve kings from Añjana (No. 71) to Upagupta (No. 82) who have been omitted in the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* and also (b) one Svānaṁta, who is said to have come between Svāṁga (i. e., Svāgata) and Vasuvarcas (i.e., Suvarcas) and whom the *Garuḍa-p.* names as Khanara in the Vangavāsī Press edition and as Svanara in Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition.

(iv) In the *Āgneya-p.* there are a few additional names which do not occur in any other Purāṇa, viz.

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80. *See* *Āgneya-p.* 72. 17b–18a (fol. 173b)—
mithis tasmād uṁdarbhe (Ms. No. 1425 °udartto) vā
tasya putras tadātmanaḥ /
ṣuketus tasya putro 'bhūt * * * * //

(a) Budha, who is said to have come between Devamīḍha and Vibudha; and

(b) Samaratha and Śrutaṁjaya, who are placed between Vasuvarcas (i. e., Suvarcas—No. 84) and Śruta (No, 85).

(v) The *Āgneya-p.* names Devarāta (No. 17) as Devarāja, Dhṛṣṭaketu (No. 32) as Vṛṣaketana, Pratīndhaka[81] (No. 41) as Prabandhaka, Kīrtiratha (No.44) as Kṛtiratha[82], Kīrtirāta (No.56) as Kṛtirāta[83] (or Kṛttirāta in Ms. No. 1001), Ūrjavaha (No. 68) as Ūrja[84], Śakuni (No. 70) as Kuti[85] (or Kuṁti in Ms. No. 1001), Añjana (No. 71) as Raṁja, Ṛtujit (No. 72) as Kakujit,[86] Ariṣṭa-nemi[87] (No. 73) as Piṣṭanemi, Anenas[88] (No. 78) as Aninaṣṭa (or Avinaṣṭa in Ms. No. 1001), Mīnaratha (No. 79) as Vāmaratha[89], Satyaratha (No. 80) as Satyarathi[90], Upaguru (No. 81) as Gupta-ratha, Svāgata (No.83) as Svāṁga, Suvarcas (No.84) as Vasuvarcas

81. For 'Pratīndhaka' the *Vāyu-p.* (89.11) has 'Pratitvaka' (v. l. 'Pratinvaka' in foot-note 8), *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (iii.64.11) 'Pratīmbaka', *Viṣṇu-p.* (iv. 5. 12) 'Pratibandhaka', and *Bhāgavata-p.* (ix. 13. 16) 'Pratīpaka'.

82. This name (Kṛtiratha) occurs in the *Garuḍa-p.* (i. 142. 47) also. The *Viṣṇu* (iv. 5. 12) and the *Bhāgavata-p.* (ix. 13. 16) gives it as Kṛtaratha.

83. For this name see also *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 5. 12, *Bhāgavata-p.* ix. 13. 17 and *Garuḍa-p.* i. 142. 48. The *Vāyu-p.* (89. 13) gives it as Kīrtirāja.

84. For this name (Ūrja) see also *Garuḍa-p.* i. 142. 51. The *Bhāgavata-p.* omits this name.

85. The *Viṣṇu-p.* (iv. 5. 13) names this king as Kuni, and the *Garuḍa-p.* (i. 142. 51) as Kuli. The *Bhāgavata-p.* omits this name.

86. The *Garuḍa-p.* (i. 142. 52) names him as Kulajit, and the *Bhāgavata-p.* (ix. 13. 22) as Purujit.

87. The *Garuḍa-p.* (i. 142. 52) names him as Adhinemika.

88. The *Bhāgavata-p.* omits Anenas.

89. The *Garuḍa-p.* (i. 142. 53-54) names him as Rāmaratha, and the *Bhāgavata-p.* (ix. 13. 24.) as Samaratha.

90. According to *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 5. 13 Sātyarathi succeeded Satyaratha, and Upagu (i e., Upaguru) succeeded Sātyaraith.

Ṛta (No. 89) as Kratu[91], Vītahavya (No. 91) as Dīptivāhana, Bahulāśva (No. 93) as Bāhu, and Kṛtakṣaṇa (No. 94) as Kṛti[92].

From the above examination of the genealogical lists, as contained in the *Āgneya-p.*, it is evident that this work has its own dynastic tradition which is fairly correct and does not doggedly follow those of the other Purāṇas. As regards language, it agrees very rarely with that of the latter.

Like the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, etc. the *Āgneya-p.* contains a number of legends about the most notable kings of the two dynasties. These are the following :

(a) Iḍa's attainment of womanhood by entering the Caitraratha forest on the Himalayas, where Śiva was sporting with Pārvatī after turning himself into a boy and his attendants into young females.[93]

(b) Raivata's loss of kindom primarily as a result of an attack on his capital by the Rākṣasas, his giving Revatī in marriage with Balabhadra, and his retirement to a peak of the Meru for practice of austerities[94].

(c) Kuvalāśva being known as Dhundhumāra by killing the demon Dhundhu at the order of his father who was approached for the purpose by the sage Uttaṅka[95].

(d) Birth of Māndhātṛ and his naming by Indra.[96]

(e) Satyavrata-Triśaṅku's residence with the Śvapacas (Cāṇḍālas) after being discarded by his father Trayyāruṇa for abducting the wife of a citizen through youthful rashness.[97]

In this story, which has been narrated very briefly in the *Āgneya-p.*, it is said that though Vasiṣṭha saw all that the father

91. The name 'Kratu' for 'Ṛta' also occurs in *Brahmāṇḍa p.* iii. 64. 22.
92. For the name 'Kṛti' see also *Vāyu-p.* 89.23, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 64.23, *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 5. 13, *Bhāgavata p.* ix. 13. 27, and *Garuḍa-p.* i. 142. 58.
93. *Āgneya-p.*, 67. 6ff (fol. 163a-b).
94. *Ibid.*, 67. 29-37 (fols. 163b-164a).
95. *Ibid.*, 67. 46-75 (fols. 164b-165a).
96. *Ibid.*, 67. 80-89 (fol. 165b).
97. *Ibid.*, 67. 93-99 (fol. 166a).

and the son were doing, he prevented neither of them.[98] It is also stated that when Satyavrata was living with the Śvapacas, his father retired to the forest, and that there was complete drought in his kingdom for twelve years.

(f) Sagara's birth and exploits.[99]

According to this story Sagara was born with poison in the hermitage of Aurva, a Bhārgava, after the death of his father and was educated there by the sage. As he grew up, he learnt from his mother about the defeat his father had sustained from the Haihayas and the Tālajaṅghas. With firm determination he attacked the enemies, defeated them, and began to exterminate them with their allies, viz., the Śakas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and Pāradas. Finding no other way of excaping death these allies of the Haihayas sought Vasiṣṭha's shelter. The latter assured them safety and prevented Sagara on condition that they would submit to him. At Vasiṣṭha's request, Sagara spared their life but compelled them to change their religion and dress. He made the Śakas, Yavanas and Kāmbojas shave half the head, and the Pāradas and Pahlavas keep their hair loose and have beards. He also deprived these people of their right to Vedic study and performance of Srāddha and compelled them as well as the other Kṣatriya tribes, viz., Kolisparśas Māhiṣakas, Darvas, Śailas, Khasas and others, to give up their Kṣatriyan dutiess.[100] Thus consolidating himself Sagara performed a horse-sacrifice.

98. *Ibid.*, 67. 97b—*paśyan na vārayāmāsa vasiṣṭhaḥ pitaraṁ ca tam.* On the implication of Vasiṣṭha's indifference to the activities of the king and his son *see* F. E. Pargiter in *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 888ff.

99. *Ibid*, 67. 101-117 and 68, 1-37 (fols. 166a-168a).

100. स तेनास्त्रबलेनाजौ बलेन च समन्वितः ।
बभूव मातरं सोऽपि पर्यपृच्छद् यथातथम् ॥
सा चख्यौ तस्य चक्रे स प्रतिज्ञानं विनाशने ।
दर्पितो हैहयान् सर्वांस्तालजङ्घान् सुदुर्जयान् ॥
जघान शककाम्बोजान् यवनान् पह्लवांस्तथा ।
पारदान् हन्यमानास्ते वसिष्ठं शरणं ययुः ॥
वसिष्ठोऽवनतान् कृत्वा समयेन महाद्युतिः ।
सगरं वारयामास तेषां दत्त्वाभयं नृप ॥

It is to be noted that this story records a very ancient tradition, according to which the Śakas, Kāmbojas and others (mentioned above) were Kṣatriyas, and not Mlecchas, and were entitled to study the Vedas and perform Śrāddha ceremonies. (For detailed discussion on this point *see* Pargiter in *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 358 ff.)

(g) Bhagīratha's bringing down the Ganges.[101]

(h) Saudāsa Mitrasaha's activities after attaining the state of a Rākṣasa, and his having his feet spotted by the water with which he was going to curse Vasiṣṭha.[102]

In this story a confusion has been made between Saudāsa Mitrasaha of Ayodhyā (who incurred the rage of his priest, Vasiṣṭha) and Sudāsa of North Pañcāla (who had enmity with Śakti and was later than Saudāsa by at least fourteen generations). Its main incidents are the following : (*i*) Saudāsa killed a Rākṣasa, whose mate spread his influence over the king under the instigation

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सगरस्तां प्रतिज्ञां च गुरोर्वाक्यं निशम्य च ।
धर्मं जघान तेषां वै वेषान्यत्वं चकार ह ॥
अर्धं शकानां शिरसां मुण्डं कृत्वा व्यसर्जयत् ।
यवनानां तथा कृत्वा काम्बोजानां तथैव च ॥
पारदान् मुक्तकेशांश्च पह्लवाः श्मश्रुधारिणः ।
निःस्वाध्यायवषट्काराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना ॥
शका यवनकाम्बोजा [:] पारदाश्चावसांतयः
(v. l. चावसातपाः in MS. No, 1425) ।
कौलिस्पर्शा माहिषका दर्वाः शैलाः श्रमैः
( ? स्वसैः, MS. No. 1425 श्वसैः) सह ॥
सर्वेषां क्षत्रियाणां तु धर्मस्तेषां निराकृतः ।

*Āgneya-P.* 67. 109-117a (fol. 166b).

In some places of the above passage the readings of Ms. No. 1001 have been replaced by those from Ms No. 1425

101 *Ibid.*, 68. 40ff. and Chaps. 69-70 (fols. 168a-171a). The Śailas have been named as Colas in *Vāyu* 88.143 and *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 63.140.

102. *Ibid.* 71.3-37 (fols. 171b-172b). Compare this story with those given in *Rāmāyaṇa* vii. 65, *Mahābhārata* i. 176-177 and 182, *Viṣṇu-p.* iv. 4.20-38, *Bhāgavata-P.* ix. 9.18-39, *Liṅga-p.* i. 63.83 and 64.2-47 and *Bṛhaddevatā* vi. 28 and 33-34 on *Ṛgveda* vii. 104.

of Kauśika. (*ii*) He was cursed by Śakti, whom he had struck with a whip for not leaving the path for him. (*iii*) He was then cursed by Vasiṣṭha to become a Rākṣasa for serving the latter with a dish containing human flesh, which was procured and supplied by his cook without his knowledge. (*iv*) After attaining the state of a Rākṣasa he ate up the hundred sons of Vasiṣṭha including Śakti. (*v*) In grief Vasiṣṭha tried repeatedly to put an end to his own life, but he gave up his resolve at the possibility of the birth of a son to his widowed daughter-in-law, who had drawn his attention to the sound of Vedic chant proceeding from her womb. (*vi*) Saudāsa ate up a Brahmin, whose amorous wife cursed the king to perish during sexual enjoyment. (*vii*) In the twelfth year, after which Vasiṣṭha's curse was to end according to his own blessings, Saudāsa chased Vasiṣṭha's daughter-in-law with the intention of eating her up. The latter raised a hue and cry, and at her sight Vasiṣṭha gave out a roar, which drove the Rākṣasa out of the king. (*viii*) Vasiṣṭha reminded the king of the curse given by the Brahmin's wife and, at his request, begot a son on his wife Madayantī.

(*i*) Nimi and Vasiṣṭha's mutual curse, which resulted in Nimi's becoming Videha (incorporeal) and Vasiṣṭha's birth as the son of Mitra and Varuṇa.[103]

Besides the stories mentioned above, there are short notices of incidents in the lives of some of the other kings such as Vikukṣi Śaśāda (who ate a hare before the performance of a Śrāddha ceremony), Asamañjas (who raped a girl), Khaṭvāṅga (who attained great fame as a pious and successful ruler), and Sīradhvaja (to whom Sītā was born from the furrow). In verse 70 of Chap. 3 there is a reference to king Hariścandra's becoming the servant of a Caṇḍāla.

As to the genealogies of sages (ṛṣi-vaṁśa) the *Āgneya-p.* says almost nothing. The only information this Purāṇa gives us on this topic relates to the descendants of Atri and Vasiṣṭha and occurs in Chapter 20, which has the majority of its verses in common with *Vāyu-p.*, Chapter 70 and *Brhmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 8. The last twelve verses of this chapter of the *Āgneya-p.* agree remarkably, but not completely in language and contents with *Vāyu-p.* 70. 79–91,

103. *Āgneya-p.* 72. 1–17.

*Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 8. 86-102 and *Liṅga-p.* i. 63. 78-95 and give an account of the Vasiṣṭha family which, in spite of its confusion as regards the different persons of the same names,[104] deserves notice here. It is remarkable that of the remaining Purāṇas it is only the *Kūrma* which names the descendants of Vasiṣṭha from Śaktri to the grandsons of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa)[105], but its account lacks many of the important details found in the *Vāyu* and other Purāṇas mentioned above. The *Matsya-p.*, though containing in Chapter 200–201 a long list of names of the Ṛṣis and Pravaras of the Vasiṣṭha family, does not give any pedigree except in the cases of the sages from 'Vasiṣṭha' to Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana. So, the *Āgneya* account has its importance, being one of the four sources which record ancient traditions about the Vasiṣṭha family. According to this account Vasiṣṭha's wife was Arundhatī, who gave birth to Śaktri and a hundred more sons[106]. To Śaktri's wife Adṛśyantī was born a son named Parāśara[107],

104. This confusion has been made by the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Liṅga-p.* also. For a full discussion on this point *see* Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp, 203-217.

105. *Kūrma-p.* i. 19. 23-27.

106. *Āgneya-p.* 20.50—

अरुन्धत्यां वसिष्ठस्तु पुत्रमुत्पादयन्मुनिः ।
शक्त्रि नाम महाभाग शतं तस्यानुयायिनः ।।

India Office Ms. No. 1425 reads '*śataṁ tasyā sutā punaḥ*' for the second half of line 2).

According to the *Mahābhārata*, *Liṅga-p.*, etc. Vasiṣṭha had a hundred sons including Śaktri.

Śaktri is named as Śakti in Ind. Off. Ms. No. 1425 of the *Āgneya-p.* For the name 'Śakti' see also Chap. 70 of both the Mss.

107. *Āgneya-p.* 20. 51a—sutaṁ tv ajanayac chakter adṛśyantī parāśaram,

The *Vāyu p.* (70. 83b) reads the first half of this line as '*sāgaraṁ janayac chakteḥ,*' the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (iii. 8. 91b) as '*svāgajaṁ janayac chaktiḥ*' and the *Liṅga-p.* (i. 63. 83b) as '*jyāyaso janayac chakteḥ*'.

It is to be noted that the *Āgneya-p.* does not characterise Parāśara with any word that may help us to distinguish Parāśara, the son of Śakti, from Parāśara, the father of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, who flourished much later.

who, in his turn, begot Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana[108] on Kālī. Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana had by Araṇi (his wife) a qualified son named Śuka, who, again, had by his wife Pībarī five sons named Bhuriśravas, Prabhu, Śaṁbhu, Kṛṣṇa and Gaura, and also a daughter named Kīrtimatī, who was an adept in Yoga practices and became the wife of Aṇuha and the mother of Brahmadatta. Here the *Āgneya-p.* makes a confusion between Śuka, the son of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana, and Śuka, the grandfather of Brahmadatta and father of Kṛtvī or Kīrti, who was earlier than the other Śuka by at least six generations. The *Āgneya p.* further says that Parāśara's descendants formed eight pakṣas or groups, viz., the Śvetas, Kṛṣṇas, Gauras, Śyāmas, Dhūmras (together with the Mūlikas), Uṣṇas, Bādarikas and Nīlas[109], and that 'Vasiṣṭha' begot on Kapiṁjalī Ghṛtācī a son named Indrapramati, who became famous under the name of Kuṇin[110] and had by the daughter of Pṛthu a son named

108. In making Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana the grandson of Śaktri the *Āgneya-p.* makes a confusion between the two Parāśaras mentioned in the immediately preceding footnote.

109. *Āgneya-p.* 20. 54b–55a—

श्वेताः कृष्णाश्च गौराश्च श्यामा धूम्रा समूलिनः ।
उष्णा बादरिकाश्चैव नीलाश्चैव पराशराः ।।

(v. 1. in Ind. off. Ms No. 1425—'*śyāmās tāś ca bhūlinaḥ*' for the second half of line 1; '*upta*°' for '*uṣṇa*°' in line 2).

The reading '*sabhūlinaḥ*' must be a mistake for '*samūlikāḥ*' which occurs in *Vayu-p.* 70. 87a. For this reading the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (iii. 8. 95a) has '*ca caṇḍinaḥ*' and the *Liṅga-p.* (i. 63. 87b) has '*tathāruṇaḥ*'.

For '*uṣṇā bādarika*°' in line 2 *Vāyu-p.* 70. 87b) reads '*ūṣmapā dārakā*°' (v. 1. '*ūṣmādā dārikā*°' given in footnote 5), *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* iii. 8. 95b has '*uṣmādā dārikā*°' and *Liṅga-p.* i. 63. 88a has '*nīlo vādarika*°'. That the name 'Bādarika' given by the *Āgneya* and the *Liṅga-p.* is the correct one, is quite obvious.

The *Matsya-p.* (Chap. 201) does not mention the Uṣṇas and the Bādarikas.

110. This name occurs as 'Karṇāti' in the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms. and in India Office Ms. No. 1001 and as 'Karṇatī' in Ind. Off. Ms. No. 1425. It is probable that according to the *Āgneya-p.* this name was 'Karṇin' and not 'Kuṇin'. The *Liṅga-p.* (i. 63. 90a) gives this name as Trimūrti.

Vasu[111], whose son Upamanyu became the progenitor of the Upamanyus. As to the other Vasiṣṭhas the *Āgneya-p.* says that the Kuṇḍins sprang from Mitra and Varuṇa.[112] It concludes its account of the Vasiṣṭha family by saying that all these and other descendants became well known as Vasiṣṭhas and came from the same Ṛṣi.

In course of our attempt to examine critically the genealogies of kings and sages as retained in the present form of the *Āgneya-p.* and to point out their peculiarities and interest, we have noted the important stories narrated about some particular kings and sages. But these stories are not all that the present *Āgneya-p.* contains. There are many others, mostly mythical, which cannot be overlooked. Of these, some have been derived from the *Mahābhārata*[113], *Viṣṇu-dharma*[114], etc. but some are peculiar to the *Āgneya-p.* or have peculiarities not found anywhere else. As examples of this latter class of stories we may mention the following :—King Veṇa's hunting expedition and his performance of the horse-sacrifice to remove the sins arising out of his addiction to women, wine, gambling, hunting etc.[115]; a Brahmin's worship of

111. *Āgneya-p.* 20. 56b—prasutāyāṁ tu saṁbhūtaḥ putras tasya bharad-vaśuḥ. (For 'prasutāyāṁ' the As. Soc. Ms. reads 'pṛsutāyāṃ'; and for the second half of the line Ind. Off. Ms. No. 1425 reads 'putrapasyābhavad vasu', which is clearly a mistake for 'putras tasyābhavad vasuḥ').

The reading 'prasutāyāṁ tu' seems to be a mistake for 'pṛthoḥ sutāyāṁ' as is shown by the reading 'pṛsutāyāṁ tu' of the As. Soc. Ms. Or, it may be that according to the *Āgneya-p.* the name of Indrapvamati's wife was Prasutā.

112. *Āgneya-p.* 20. 57b—mitrāvaruṇayoś caiva kuṁḍino ye pariśutāḥ (Ind. Off. Ms. No. 1425 reads 'kuṭṭinā' for 'kuṁḍino').

113. See for instance, the story of Uddālaka and Nāciketa in *Āgneya-p.* Chap. 36, which has been taken from *Mahābhārata* xiii. 71. (Many verses are common to these two works).

114. For instance, compare the story of Yama and Mudgala in *Āgneya-p.*, Chap.37 with that in *Viṣṇudharma*, Chap. 88.

115. See *Āgneya-p.*, Chap. 8-9.

The *Āgneya-p.*, names Veṇa very often as Veṇu.

For a description of the horse-sacrifice see *Āgneya-p.*, Chapter 8.

Durgā in a forest and the consequent birth to him of a son, who, after being carried away by a Mleccha king and married to his daughter, took to the Mleccha way of life but was rescued by Sāvitrī (also called Gāyatrī) from his Mlecchahood[116]; and Dakṣa's performance of a horse-sacrifice on the bank of the Ganges, and Satī's self-immolation by throwing her body into water.[117]

### V. The "Nāndī-Purāṇa" claiming to be a part of the "Vahni purāṇa"

This lengthy work, which has been published under the title '*Nāndī-purāṇa*'[118], consists of two parts called by the editor as '*Nāndī-purāṇa*' and *Nāndī-purāṇa-māhātmya*' respectively, although none of these two names occurs anywhere in the whole work except in the final colophons of the two parts which appear to have been added by the editor himself. In the first part this work has been called in verses 49b–50a of Chapter 52 to be a 'Veda-saṁmita Purāṇa of the Nāndīmukha Vipras'[119] and described in all the chapter-colophons as a treatise dealing with the origin of the Nāndīmukha Brahmins and belonging to the *Vahni-p.* The chapter-colophons of the second part, on the other hand, say that this part glorifies the Nandabāṇa (i.e. Nāndīmukha) Brahmins by way of giving accounts of them and belongs to the Brahma-khaṇḍa of the eightyfour-thousand-versed Saṁhitā of the *Vahni-p.*[120]

Whatever the title of this so-called '*Nāndī-p.*' may have been, it is of immense importance to us for the information it gives about the contents of the *Vahni–p.*' (i. e. *Āgneya-p.*), of which it claims to be a part and from which it derives its interlocutors, viz.,

116. *Ibid.*, Chap. 11.
117. *Ibid.*, Chap. 16.
118. This work was edited, though very indifferently, from a number of Mss. by V. D. Boal of Rajkot (Gujarat) and published in Saṁvat 1995 (=A. D. 1938) by Dāmodara Viṭṭhalarāma Parakhāṇī from 37, Canning Street, Calcutta.
119. एवं तु कथितं वत्स पुराणं वेदसंमितम् ।
नान्दीमुखानां विप्राणां वह्निना यत्पुरोदितम् ॥
120. इति श्रीवह्निपुराणे चतुरशीतिसाहस्र्यां संहितायां ब्रह्ममरीचिसंवादे नान्दी-मुखवर्णने नन्दबाणमाहात्म्ये····नाम····अध्यायः ।

Agni (or Vahni, the Fire-god) and Vasiṣṭha, who, as we have already seen, appear in the same capacities in the present *Vahni-p.* (i.e. *Āgneya-p.*) in its Viṣṇuite form. At the very outset of this work Vasiṣṭha is found to request Vahni (the Fire-god) saying :

भगवन् देव देवाग्र विभो धर्मादिकारण ।
त्वत्प्रसादाच् छ्रुताः सर्वे धर्मा वर्णाश्रमोचिताः ॥
कुण्डमण्डपवेदीनां प्रमाणं च यथाश्रुतम् ।
दीक्षां यज्ञादिकानां च वास्तुशास्त्रनिरूपणम् ॥
अवतारान् भगवतश्चतुर्विंशतिसंमितान् ।
मन्त्रदीक्षाविधिश्चापि संस्कारानष्टसंयुतान् ॥
चत्वारिंशन्मितान् सूर्यसोमवंशादिवर्णनम् ।
एतदन्यच्च भगवन् छ्रुतं विस्तरतो मया ॥
अधुना श्रोतुमिच्छामि ब्रह्माण्डस्य निरूपणम् ।
संक्षेपात् कथितं यच्च पुरा ह्येतत्तु विस्तरात् ॥
श्रोतुमिच्छाम्यहं वह्ने ब्रूहि प्रलयकारणम् ॥

(Nāndī-p., chap. 1, vereses 1-6a).

From these words of Vasiṣṭha we learn that besides giving a brief account of the universe (most probably including terrestrial and celestial geography), the *Vahni-p.* (i.e. *Āgneya-p.*) dealt elaborately (vistarataḥ) with the entire duties of the different castes and orders of life, and also with the construction of sacrificial pits, pandals and altars, consecration for and preliminaries to Vedic sacrifices, various matters relating to the building of houses, the twentyfour incarnations of the Bhagavat (i.e. Agni, who is considered to be identical with Rudra-Śiva)[121], the forty-eight sacraments, the method of imparting initiatory Mantras, the accounts of the Solar, Lunar and other royal dynasties, and so on (*etad anyac ca*). It should be mentioned here that in the *Vahni-p.* (i.e. *Āgneya-p.*) in its present form there are no chapters or verses on most of these topics; and this elimination was undoubtedly made by the Vaiṣṇavas not during their first recast of this work but in a subsequent one to which they must have subjected this work in course of time.

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121. According to the *Vāyu-p.* (Chap. 23), *Kūrma-p.* (i. 52), etc. Śiva had twenty-eight incarnations.

The above information supplied by the '*Nāndī-p.*' about the contents of the *Vahni-p.*' lends very strong support to our statements made in Part I of the present article that the *Āgneya-p.* (*alias Vahni-p.*) was, in its origin, concerned with the Fire cult of the Agnihotrī Brahmins of the *Yajurveda* and that it dealt with the five Purāṇic topics as well as with the various duties and sacrificial rites of these Brahmins.

As has already been said, the '*Nāndī-p.* is meant for the glorification of the Nāndīmukha or Nandabāṇa Brahmins living in Gujarat as well as in a part of Rajputana which lies round about Puṣkara in the district of Ajmere-Merwar. It traces the origin of these Brahmins from the Nāndīmukha Pitṛs and says that they gave up their Brahmanical rites and conduct and became merchants. As to the religious faith of these Brahmins this work informs us that at first they belonged to the Brahmā-sect, but later on they changed their faith, some turning Vaiṣṇavas, some Śaivas, and some Śāktas. According to this work the Nāndīmukha Brahmins were divided into eleven groups according to the difference in their Gotras, and one of these groups consisted of the Candrātreyas.

Though coming from a comparatively late date the '*Nāndī-p.*' is a very interesting work containing much useful information about the Nāndīmukha or Nandabāṇa Brahmins of Gujarat and the neighbouring districts. As a thorough examination of this work will require much space, we shall deal with it elaborately on another occasion.

# TEXT AND INTERPRETATION OF A VERSE OF THE MATSYA-PURĀṆA*

Recently. while turning the pages of some old issues of the *Purāṇam*, I came across, in Vol. VI, 1964, pp. 445-450, an interesting article entitled "*Dharmādhikaraṇa and Dharmādhikārin*", in which the words 'धर्माधिकरण' and 'धर्माधिकारिन्' (both masculine), contained in two verses of the *Matsya-purāṇa*, have been taken to be the designations of two 'separate officers' and the latter word to mean an officer in charge of 'the Department of Religious Affairs, of which the king's charities formed a branch'.[1] These two verses of the *Matsya-p.*, which occur in the same chapter and have seven metrical lines on allied topics intervening between them, are the following :

"समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च धर्मशास्त्रविशारदः ।
विप्रमुख्यः कुलीनश्च **धर्माधिकरणो** भवेत् ॥"
"पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः प्रांशवश्चाप्यलोलुपाः ।
**धर्माधिकारिणः** कार्या जना दानकरा नराः ॥"

Of these two verses the first occurs, without any difference in reading, not only in a few editions of the *Matsya-p.* such as the Vaṅga. ed. (215.24), Veṅkaṭ. ed. (214.24) and ĀnSS. ed. (215.24), but also in the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara* (Veṅkaṭ. ed. ?.24.24cd-25ab); and, so far as I have been able to find, it is only Jīv.'s ed. (214.24) and the G. S. ed. (214.24) which read 'धर्माधिकरणी' (for 'धर्माधिकरणः'). So, it is wrong to say that 'in the printed texts of the *Matsya-purāṇo*' 'we usually get the reading *Dharmādhikaraṇī* for *Dharmādhikaraṇa*[2], although the *Budha-bhūṣaṇa*[3], which calls a judge 'धर्माधिकारी', anonymously quotes the said verse of the *Matsya-p.* with the reading 'धर्माधिकरणी(णो)'[4]. As a matter of fact, the word 'धर्माधिकरणः'

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* *Purāṇam*, vol. xvii, No. 1, pp. 15-23.

1. *Purāṇam*, VI, p. 449.
2. *Ibid.*, VI, p. 446.
3. Ed. H. D. Velankar, Bomboy.
4. *Bhudha-bhūṣaṇa*, p. 48, verse 216.

being derived, like 'जनार्दनः', 'मधुसूदनः', etc., as "धर्मम् अधिकरोति इति धर्म + अधि- √कृ + ल्यु" by Pāṇini's rule 3.1.134—"नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः", is quite good and correct and adequately means 'an officer (a judge) who is in charge of Dharma (Law, i. e., judicial matters)'; whereas 'धर्माधिकरणी', being derived thus—"अधिक्रियते अस्मिन् इति अधि- √कृ + ल्युट्—अधिकरणम् (by Pāṇini's rule 3.3.117—"करणाधिकरणयोश्च"), धर्मस्य अधिकरणं धर्माधिकरणम्, तदस्ति अस्य इति धर्माधिकरण + इन् (by Pāṇini's rule 5.2.115— "अत इनिठनौ"), and consequently meaning 'one having a court of justice' or 'the owner of a court of justice', does not invariably mean 'a judge'. So, the latter reading is definitely worse. and not 'a better' one, and must be due to a misreading of the former, and not *vice versa*[5]. But it is strange that P. V. Kane, though giving out (on p. xxviii) to have used the ĀnSS. ed. of the *Matsya-p.* in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. III, quotes, in foot-note 167 on p. 126, the former verse (समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च etc.) with the worse reading 'धर्माधिकरणी', which is not given in the text of that edition but is said in a foot-note to occur in three manuscripts, which are evidently worse. As a matter of fact, the use of the term 'धर्माधिकरणी' for a judge is foreign to Smṛti works as well as to the epics and the Purāṇas (except some of the mss. of the *Matsya-p.*).

The second verse (पुरुषान्तरतत्वज्ञाः etc.), with which we are mainly concerned here, occurs, without the least variation in reading, in all the printed eds. of the *Matsya-p.* known to us, viz., Vaṅga ed. (215. 28cd-29ab), Veṅkaṭ. ed. (214. 28cd-29ab), ĀnSS. ed. (215. 29cd-30ab), Jīv.'s ed. (214. 28cd-29ab), and G. S. ed. (214. 28cd-29ab). The *Viṣṇu-dh.* (2.24.29) also has this verse but reads its second half thus :

"धर्माधिकरणे कार्या जनाह्वानकरा नराः ॥"

That some of the mss of the *Matsya-p.* had the second half of this verse with the readings as given in the *Viṣṇu-dh.*, is shown by the fact that, of the six mss. used in the ĀnSS. ed., two (ग and ङ) read 'धर्माधिकरणे' and one (ङ) has 'ज्ञानाह्वानकराः', which is evidently a mistake for 'जनाह्वानकराः'

5. *Purāṇam*, VI, pp. 446-47.

Under the word 'धर्माधिकरण' the *Śabda-kalpadruma* quotes both the said verses, ascribing the first to the '*Matsya-purāṇa*' and the second anonymously by reading its second half, like the *Viṣṇu-dh.*, as 'धर्माधिकरणे कार्या जनाह्वानकरा नराः'. But, even in view of the readings of the second verse as quoted in the *Śabda-kalpadruma,* the learned author of the said article finds nothing wrong in the readings of this verse (पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः etc.) as given in the printed eds. of the *Matsya-p.*, but takes them to be correct and to have been derived by the *Śabda-kalpadruma* 'from a corrupt text of the Purāṇa' (i. e. *Matsya-p.*) with 'some error in the quotation of the second half'.[6] As the said two verses of the *Matsya-p.* have been intervened by seven metrical lines[7], of which one gives the qualifications of the

6. *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 448 and 446.

7. These seven lines, togethor with the said two verses (of which the first precedes and the second follows them), have been given in the *Matsya-p.* thus:

समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च धर्मशास्त्रविशारदः ।
विप्रमुख्यः कुलीनश्च धर्माधिकरणो (G. S and jiv'.s. eds.
करणी') भवेत् ।
कार्यास्तथाविधास्तत्र द्विजमुख्याः सभासदः ॥
सर्वदेशाक्षराभिज्ञः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ।
लेखकः कथितो राज्ञः सर्वाधिकरणेयु वै ॥
शीर्षोपेतान् सुसंपूर्णान् समश्रेणिगतान् समान् ।
आन्तरान् वै लिखेद् यस्तु लेखकः स वरः स्मृतः ॥
उपायवाक्यकुशलः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः ।
बह्वर्थवक्ता चाल्पेन लेखकः स्यान्नृपोत्तम ॥
पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः प्रांशवश्चाप्यलोलुपाः ।
धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जना दानकरा नराः ॥

—See Vaṅga. ed. 215. 24-29ab, Veṅkaṭ. ed. 214. 24-29ab, ĀnSS. ed. 215. 24-28ab and 29cd-30ab, Jīv's. ed. 214. 24-29ab, and G. S. ed. 214. 24-29ab.

For these verses see also *Viṣṇu-dh.* 2. 24. 24cd-29, which read '—देशाक्षराभिज्ञाः सर्वशास्त्रविशारदाः । लेखकाः कथिता राम सर्वाधि-' in lines 4-5, '-द्रोणी-' for '-श्रेणी-' in line 6, अक्षरान् विलिखेद्' in line 7. 'स्याद् भृगूत्तम' in line 9. and '-धिकरणे कार्या जनाह्वानकरा-' in line **11.**

Sabhāsads (members of the court of justice) and the remaining six enumerate those of the Lekhaka (Scribe) by repeating the word 'सर्वशास्त्रविशारदः' for a second time in a different verse, and as the author of the said article fails to understand the meanings of these lines as well as that of the verse (No. 2) which follows them, he takes 'धर्माधिकरणः' (in verse No. 1) and 'धर्माधिकारिणः' (in verse No. 2) to mean two 'separate officers' (of which the second, in his opinion, is in charge of धर्माधिकार, by which he means the Department of Religious Affairs); and connecting 'दानकराः' with 'धर्माधिकारिणः' as an epithet, he says: "The epithet *dānakara* applied to the person qualified to become a Dharmādhikārin suggests that he was in charge of the king's *dāna-dharma* or charities, while we have seen above that he was a superintendent in the Department of Religious Affairs"[8], and "The occurrence of the expression *sarva-śāstra-viśāradaḥ* in two different stanzas in the description of the Lekhaka may be a copyist's error or due to the fact that the Purāṇa adopted the verses from two separate sources"[9].

It is hardly necessary to say that most of these and similar other statements made in the said article are based mainly on a complete misunderstanding of the text and meaning of the second verse (पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः etc.) quoted above; and, in this, the author of the said article is in good company, because none of the translators of the *Matsya-p.* known to us is found to have the slightest doubt about the readings of this verse as given in the printed texts of this Purāṇa or to translate it correctly. For instance, Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna translates the word 'पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः' and the line 'धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जना दानकरा नराः' into Bengali as 'जनगणेर मर्मभिज्ञ' ('thoroughly knowing the minds of the people') and 'दाता जनगणके धर्माधिकरणे नियोग करा कर्तव्य' (liberal persons should be employed in a court of justice)[10], and Taluqdar renders them into English as 'expert in knowing the hearts of people' and 'those people ought to be placed in religious services, or in judicial services who are ....of a charitable disposition' respectively[11].

8-9. *Purāṇam*, VI, p. 448.

10. See *Matsya-p.*, Vaṅga. ed., p. 771.

11. *Matsya-purāṇa* (translated into English; Sacred Books of the Hindus. Vol XVII, reprint, 1972.)

Now, the question is : If 'दानकराः' be taken to qualify 'धर्माधिकारिणः' (having the first case ending), then how are we to construe the said verse ? Is it not extremely queer and incorrect to say "....जनाः....नराः कार्याः" or "....नराः....जनाः कार्याः", when both 'जनाः' and 'नराः' mean the same thing ? What, again, is exactly the meaning of the word 'दानकर', and how are we to derive it ? If it be a Bahuvrīhi compound formed of the words 'दान' (gift) and 'कर' (hand) thus—'दानं (दानानि वा) करे (करयोर्वा) यस्य सः' and, consequently, mean '(one) who has a gift (or gifts) in his hand (or hands)', then it is quite irrelevant here, because an officer (here a Dharmādhikārin), having a gift (or gifts) in his hand (or hands) and not indicating in any way that he is not the original owner of the object (or objects) of gift or that he is giving, or has the intention of giving, it (or these) to a donee (or donees), is absolutely useless and does not serve any purpose. If, again, it be a Kṛdanta word derived, in accordance with Pāṇini's rule "कृञो हेतुताच्छील्यानुलोम्येषु'[12] (3.2.20), with the Kṛt suffix 'ट', thus—दानं करोति इति (ताच्छील्ये) दान + √कृ + ट', and consequently mean 'one who makes gift (as a matter of duty, habit or nature)', it makes the officer himself the donor (दाता); and it has to be rejected not only for this implication but also for the fact that it does not indicate in any way that the officer is a mere representative of another person and is meant for properly disbursing the gifts to be made by the latter.

Thus, the word 'दानकर', being given separately in the said verse of the *Matsya-p.*, has created insurmountable difficulties; and for this situation we are to find fault not with the text of the *Matsya-p.* but with the careless and not rarely inadequately educated scribes of its mss. and more particularly with the editors of this work, who have written the words 'जना' and 'दानकराः' separately without trying to understand the meaning of the verse. As a matter of fact, 'जनादानकराः' is one word, and with it the second half of the said verse has to be read as

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12. It means that, in the sense of 'cause', 'duty' (or 'habit' or 'nature') and 'compliance', the root कृञ् (- कृ), when preceded by an *upapada* (contiguous word) in the Accusative case, takes the suffix 'ट'.

"धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जनादानकरा[13]नराः",

in which 'धर्माधिकारिन्'[14] means a 'judge' ('प्राड्विवाक' as Pratāparudra-deva says in his *Sarasvatī-vilāsa*, Vyavahāra kāṇḍa, Mysore ed., p. 80), 'कार्याः' means 'should be made (i. e., appointed, —नियोज्याः), 'आदान' (derived from आ + भ्वादि—or जुहोत्यादि-गणीय √दा) means 'bringing in' 'imprisoning', 'making captive', 'binding' or 'fettering', and 'जनादानकराः' is a Compound which is formed of the words 'जन', 'आदान', and 'कर' (derived, in accordance with the said rule of Pāṇini, by adding the Kṛt suffix ट to √कृ in the sense of ताच्छील्य) and means '(those) who (as a matter of duty) bring people in (and keep them in custody)', and 'नराः' means 'men' (i. e., 'officers',—'पुरुषाः'). According to Bṛhaspati, a court of Justice is to have ten *aṅgas* (limbs or constituents) including the Gaṇaka (Accountant), the Lekhaka (Scribe), and the king's 'own officer' (स्वपुरुष, otherwise called Sādhyapāla).[15] As to the appointment and duties of this 'officer', Bṛhaspati says :

"आकारणे रक्षणे च साक्ष्यर्थिप्रतिवादिनाम् ।
सभ्याधीनः सत्यवादी कर्तव्यस्तु स्वपूरुषः ॥"[16]

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13. Cf. 'जनाह्वानकराः' of the *Viṣṇu-dh*.

14. 'धर्माधिकारिन्' is formed thus : धर्मे अधिकारः (धर्माधिकारः), सः अस्ति अस्य इति इन्. So, it means 'one who is placed in charge of *dharma* (Law, i. e. judicial administration).

15. नृपोऽधिकृतसभ्याश्च स्मृतिर्गणकलेखकौ ।
हेमाग्न्यम्बुस्वपुरुषाः साधनाङ्गानि वै दश ॥

For this verse see Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtya-kalpataru* (Baroda ed., XII (Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa), p. 26; Aparāditya's commentary *Aparārka* on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (ĀnSS. ed.), p. 600; Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā* (Mysore ed.), III (Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa), Part 1, p. 20; and so on.

See also *Bṛhaspati-smṛti* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda), Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa, 1.87.

16. For this verse see *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, XII, pp. 29-30, *Smṛti-candrikā*, III, i, p. 39, Madana-siṁha's *Madana-ratna-pradīpa* (ed. P. V. Kane, Bikaner), p. 9, pṛthvī-candra's *Vyavahāra prakāśa* (ed. J. H. Dave, Bombay), Part I, p. 21, Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya*, Vyavahāra-prakāśa (ed. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1929), p. 31, and so on.

आकारणम् आह्वानम्—*Smṛti-candrikā*, III, i, p. 39.

["But the (king's) own officer, who is truthful, should be placed under the assessors (i. e., members of the court of justice) in (the matter of) summoning and guarding (from escape the witnesses, plaintiffs and defendants"], and

"प्रत्यर्थिसभ्यानयनं साक्षिणां च स्वपूरुषः ।
कुर्याद् अलग्नकौ रक्षेद् योऽर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ सदा ॥"[17]

["The (king's) own officer should bring in (to the court of justice) the defendants, the assessors and the witnesses, (and he) should always guard (and prevent from escape) the plaintiff and the defendant who have furnished no surety"].

The said officer is called Sādhyapāla and has to be a Śūdra and to be hereditary, (physically and mentally) firm, and obedient to the members of the court, as Vyāsa says :

"साध्यपालस्तु कर्तव्यो राज्ञा साध्यस्य साधकः ।
क्रमायातो दृढः शूद्रः सभ्यानां च मते स्थितः ॥"[18]

According to Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa, 'साध्यस्य' means 'अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिसाक्ष्यादीनाम् आह्वानकार्यस्य' ('of the work of summoning the plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, and others').

From the above statements of Bṛhaspati and Vyāsa it is evident that, in ancient India, officers were appointed by the State in the courts of justice to help the judges in their work of judicial administration by summoning the plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, Sabhyas, and others according to necessity, by keeping in custody the first three (viz, plaintiffs, defendant and witnesses), and by guarding from escape the plaintiffs and the defendants, in case they furnished no surety. So, these officers were required to be extremely honest, truthful and painstaking, to avoid, in all circumstances, confusion between man and man in summoning

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17. For this verse see *Kṛtya-kalpataru*, XII, p. 27, *Smṛti-candrikā* III, i, p. 45, *Madana-ratna-pradīpa*, p. 11 (v. 1. 'रक्षेद् अर्थि-' omitting 'यः' in the second half), *Vyavahāra-prakāśa*, p. 17, (v. 1. as in *Madana-ratna-pradīpa*), *Vīramitrodaya*, Vyavahāra-prakśā, p. 31, and so on.

18. For this verse of Vyāsa see *Smṛti-candrikā*, III. i, p. 39, *Madana-ratna-pradīpa*, p. 9, *Vīramitrodaya*, Vyavahāra-prakāśa, p. 31, and so on.

them or keeping them in custody or guarding them from escape, to be men of great stature (so that they might be the objects of the people's fear as well as respect and might cover long distances easily and speedily), and be above acceptance of unlawful gratification. Consequently, the *Matsya-p.* characterises these officers thus :

"पुरुषान्तरतत्त्वज्ञाः प्रांशवश्चाप्यलोलुपाः ।
धर्माधिकारिणः कार्या जनादानकरा नराः ॥"

["(Those people who are) conversant with the true nature of the *difference* between persons, (are) tall, and also (are) not greedy, should be made a judge's men (i. e. officers) *who bring in* (*relevant*) *people* (and keep them in custody)",

or

"A judge's men (who are) conversant with the true nature of the *difference* between persons, (are) tall, and also (are) not greedy, should be made to *bring men in* (and to keep them in custody)".

As, with the sixth case-ending in 'धर्माधिकारिणः' (which means 'of the judge'), the said verse of the *Matsya-p.* cannot be construed properly and satisfactorily, and as the *Viṣṇu-dh.* (2.24.29), from which, as we have shown elsewhere,[19] the *Matsya-p.* borrowed the said verse together with a number of others, reads the second half of the verse as "धर्माधिकरणे कार्या जनाह्वानकरा नराः", we should read 'धर्माधिकरणे' for 'धर्माधिकारिणः' and translate the said verse thus :

"Men (who are) conversant with the true nature of the *difference* between men, (and are) tall, and also (are) not greedy, should be made *in a court of justice to bring people in* (and keep them in custody)".

It has already been said that by 'धर्माधिकारिन्' the Smṛti-writers (such as Pratāparudradeva) meant the प्राड्विवाक (judge). As a matter of fact, no Smṛti work, early or late, makes any mention of any special officer who was in charge of the Department of Religious Affairs and dealt with the king's charities. The reasons for

19. R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Upapurāṇas*, Vol. I, pp. 202-05.

this silence of the Smṛti-writers will be pointed out later on a different occasion.*

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* Abbreviations used above :

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| ĀnSS. | = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona. |
| Ed.; eds. | = Edition, or, edited by; editions. |
| G. S. | = Gurumaṇḍala Series, Calcutta. |
| Jīv. | = Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta. |
| Mss. | = Manuscripts. |
| -p. | = -purāṇa. |
| Vaṅga | = Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. |
| Veṅkaṭ. | = Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay. |
| *Viṣṇu-dh.* | = *Viṣṇu dharmottara.* |

# THE ŚIVA-DHARMOTTARA*

This is an interesting and fairly popular work[1] awaiting publication. Like the *Śiva-dharma* (of which we have said elsewh-

* *JGJRI*, Vol. XIII, pts 1-4, pp. 19-50.

1. In analysing this unpublished work we have chiefly used Ms. No. G. 3852 preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. This Ms. is written on palm-leaf in Newari characters 'of the twelfth century' A. D., and consists of the following six works on Śaivism : (1) *Śiva-dharma*, (2) *Śiva-dharmottara*, (3) *Śiva-dharma-saṅgraha* (4) *Umāmaheśvara-saṁvāda*, (5) *Śivopaniṣad*, and (6) *Uttarottara-tantra.*

For further information about this Ms. see Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereinafter referred to as 'Shastri, *ASB Cat.*'), Vol. V, No. 4085, pp, 723-744.

For other Mss. of the *Śiva-dharmottara* see

(i) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, No. 4084, pp. 718-723 (Ms. No. G. 4077, which is written on palm-leaf in Newari script and contains nine different works on Śaivism, of which the first six are the same as those in Ms. No. G. 3852 already mentioned, the seventh is the *Vṛṣa-sāra-saṅgraha*, and the last two are both named *Lalita-vistara*. In this Ms. the eighth work, called *Lalita-vistara*, contains a post-colophon statement, which informs us that one 'Kula-putra-Ratna-siṁha' copied it in 'संवत् अदभ' (i.e., Newari year 156 = 1036 A.D.) during the victorious reign (vijayarājye) of 'Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Lakṣmī-kāma-deva'.

(ii) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, p. 92, No. 36 (complete in 12 chapters; written in Newari script).

(iii) *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library*, Part I, p. 158, Ms. No. 30 C 20 आ 332 (written in Āndhra script).

(iv) M. Winternitz, *Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit Manuscripts (especially those of the Whish Collection) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1902), No. 156 (Whish No. 162), p. 214 (a palm-leaf Ms. complete in 12 chapters and written in Mālayalam of the 17th or 18th century A.D.).

ere[2]) it is a short manual of religious rites and duties meant exclusively for the Śiva-worshippers. It consists of twelve chapters but is a little more extensive than the *Śiva-dharma*, of which it is said to form the latter part. According to a statement made in its concluding chapter, this work was originally spoken out by Kumāra to the sage Agasti in 12000 verses dealing with Karma-yoga, Jñāna-yoga, and the nature of Dharma and Adharma, and, after fully comprehending its contents, Agasti spoke out its essence briefly in twelve chapters.[3] It should be mentioned here that of this revised

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(v) P. P. S. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library* (Tanjore), Vol. XV, p. 7156, Nos. 10555-6 (complete in 12 chapters and written in Devanāgarī script).

(vi) A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore* (London, 1880), p. 195 (complete in 12 chapters; written in Devanāgarī).

(vii) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, VI, pp. 272-4, No. 2208 (containing the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*; written in Bengali script).

(viii) G. Bühler, *Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Mss. made in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India* (*JBBRAS*, Extra Number, 1877), p. vii.

For small treatises claiming to belong to the *Śiva-dharmottara* see

(i) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, p. 830, No. 4174A, Ms. No. G. 5628 (written in 'Uḍiyā of the nineteenth century' and dealing with Vratas).

(ii) A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office* (London), II, ii, p. 1000 (a section on Umā-maheśvara-vrata).

2. For our article one the *Śiva-dharma* see *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* (Allahabad), X, 1952-53, pp. 1—20.

3. The rulevant verses are the following.

उक्तं द्वादशसाहस्त्री ( ? स्रं) शिवधर्मोत्तरं महत् ।
अगस्तये मुनीन्द्राय कुमारेण महात्मना ।
इतीह कर्मयागस्य ज्ञानयोगस्य तत्त्वतः ।
धर्माधर्मगतीनां च स्वरूपमुपवर्णितम् ।
इत्येतदखिलं बुद्ध्वा संक्षिप्यागस्तिरब्रवीत् ।
द्वादशाध्यायसंयुक्त मिति सारं विमुक्तिदम् ।
शिवधर्मोत्तरं शास्त्रं ............ Chap. 12 (fol. 88a).

work, which has come down to us in Mss., Chap. 9 is composed mostly in prose.

The *Śiva-dharmottara* calls itself a 'Śāstra' or 'Āgama' on several occasions[4] but not a 'Purāṇa' or 'Upapurāṇa' even once; it has none of the Purāṇic characteristics; and its name does not occur in any of the numerous lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas[5] known to us. Yet it came to be recognised as an Upapurāṇa, probably because of its title which connects it with the *Śiva-dharma* as the latter part of that work.

Beginning with a salutation to Śiva, called Hara, who bears on his head a crescent moon, has around his neck a snake and a garland of white skulls, and carries in his hand a trident with which he pierced the demons, the *Śiva-dharmottara* states that as Skanda[6] had heard the various kinds of Dharma (religious duty) described by Śiva to Devī, Agasti requested him to speak 'briefly' (*saṁkṣepāt*) on 'Śiva-dharma' (religious rites and duties relating to Śiva) including Liṅga-worship, donation especially of books (*vidyā-dāna*), performance of various pious acts which entitle people to practise Śaiva Yoga, performance of the five Great sacrifices (*mahāyajña*) viz., Karmayajña, Tapo-yajña, Svādhyāya-yajña, Dhyāna and jñāna-yajña, signs of pious men and sinners, and so on. Con-

4. See, for instance, the following lines :
'*śivadharmottaraṁ nāma śāstram īśvara bhāṣitam*'—Chap. 1 (fol. 40b);
'*atha dharmāḥ śivenoktāḥ śivadharmottare*'—Chap. 5 (fol. 35b);
'*śivadhrmottarṁ śāstraṁ vācayed yaḥ śṛṇoti ca*'—Chap. 12 (fol. 88a).

In a second place in Chap. 12 (fol. 88a) the name '*Śivadharmaśāstra*' occurs; and in the line which follows the colophon of Chap. 12, the work has been called '*Śivadharmottara-śāstra*'.

5. For these lists see my article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXI, 1940, pp. 38ff. See also *Padma-purāṇa*, Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 111. 94b-98; and *Vindhya-māhātmya* (claiming to belong to the *Bṛhad-auśanasa-upapurāṇa*) chap. 4 (Shastri, *ASB Cat*, V, pp. 745-6, No. 4086, Ms. No. G. 8091, fol. 8a).

6. He is also mentioned in this work under the names of Kumāra and Mahāsena and is said to be a son of Śaṅkara, an annihilator of the enemies of gods, and the possessor of knowledge and power (Jñānaśaktidhara)—See verse 2 of Chap. 1.

sequently, Skanda spoke out "the Śastra named *Śiva-dharmottara* (which was originally) proclaimed by Īśvara (i.e. Śiva)"[7].

Thus, laying claim to a divine origin and introducing its contents in the first fifteen verses, the *Śiva-dharmottara* goes on to describe the religious duties to Śiva. It praises Śraddhā (faith) as the first principle of life and as the best type of Tapas (austerity), and stresses upon its importance in the apprehension of the subtle (*sūkṣma*) Dharma which leads to final release. It lays down the characteristic features of a Mantra (which is to consist of only a few syllables, to be easy of pronunciation, to have great significance, to be capable of leading to final liberation, and so on), and praises the six-syllabled Mantra 'oṁ namaḥ śivāya', which is said to be the seed (*bīja*) or essence of all sciences (*sarva-vidyīnām*) and to be expressive of Śiva described as 'pañca-brahma-tanu' and the cause of liberation. According to it, "the sixs-yllabled Mantra remains in both the Veda and the Śivāgama [and] in the mouth of the good, and among the people [at large] it is remembered as consisting of five syllables.'[8]

By way of praising faith in the words of Śiva and glorifying a spiritual guide who explains and preaches these words, the *Śiva-dharmottara* enjoins upon the Śaiva teachers the highly important duty of imparting instructions on Śiva-dharma to kings as well as commoners. The former are to be convinced by means of 'the eight-limbed discourse' (*aṣṭāṅga-vādena*) on Śiva and to be won over first to the parctice of Śiva-dharma and then gradually to (Śaiva) Jñāna-yoga; and a wise Śaiva, who can enlighten a king given to sensual pleasures and acquisition of wealth and win him over to Śiva-dharma and Jñāna-yoga, is said to be known and respected as a universal teacher (*jagadguru*)[9]. A king in his turn, who, being

7. For the relevant line see foot-note 4 above.
8. *Śivadharmottara*, Chap. I (fol. 41b)–
वेदे शिवागमे वाच्यमुभयत्र षडक्षरः ।
मन्त्रः स्थितः सतां वक्त्रे लोके पञ्चाक्षरः स्मृतः ॥
9. *Ibid*., Chap. 1 (fol. 42a)–
मन्त्रौषधिनिधिक्षेत्रबिलमूलरसक्रियाः ।
धर्ममार्गवितराय वादोऽष्टाङ्गः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

himself attracted to Śiva-worship, encourages his subjects and other kings to practise Śiva-dharma, is said to be able to enjoy the various benefits accruing from this pious acts. As to the method of spreading Śiva-dharma among the common people the *Śiva-dharmottara* says that the Śaiva teachers are to propagate his Dharma among them by terrifying or temptiug the illiterate and by influencing the greedy by means of spells, medicines, mystic rites, etc.[10]

After devoting a good number of verses to the praise of imparting instructions to kings, the *Śiva-dharmottara* distinguishes between good and bad speech, saying that those words which though sweet and polished, excite passion, hatred, anger, and similar other feelings and thus cause rebirths and lead to hell by creating nescience. are really bad and vulgar, but fine words are those which, in spite of their being unattractive, create virtue, and destory passion and other feelings which cause bondage.[11] As to the necessity of the study of Śāstras in life the *Śiva-dharmottara* says :

"The Purāṇa, the Bhārata, the Vedas, and the highly extensive Śāstras—all these are destructive of longevity, [because] Dharma [to be derived from them] is scanty, [whereas] there is a [great] extent and multiplicity of works.

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प्रत्याख्याष्टाङ्गवादेन कामार्थाभिरतं नृपम् ।
शनैर्धर्मे नियुञ्जीत ज्ञानयोगे पुनः क्रमात् ॥
एवं यः सर्वयत्नेन राजानं बोधयेद् बुधः ।
जगद्गुरुः स विज्ञेयः सर्वलोकानुकम्पकः ॥

10. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 42a)—
उपायेन भयाल्लोभात् मूर्खान् सदानुबोधयेत् ।
मन्त्रौषधिक्रियाद्यैर्वा लुब्धान् धर्मे निवेशयेत् ॥

11. *Ibid.*, Cahp. 2 (fol. 42a)—
रागद्वेषानृतक्रोधकामतृष्णानुसारि यत् ।
वाक्यं निरयहेतुत्वात् तद् दुर्भाषितमुच्यते ॥
संस्कृतेनापि किं तेन मृदुना ललितेन च ।
अविद्यारागवाक्येन संसारक्लेशहेतुना ॥
यच्छ्रुत्वा जायते पुण्यं रागादीनां च संक्षयः ।
विरूपमपि तद् वाक्यं विज्ञेयमतिशोभनम् ॥

"The great burden of sons, wives, etc, to perfectly infatuated persons, and that of Śāstras to learned people,—both of these are harmful to the practice of [really] beneficial Yoga.

"One who wants to know everything, thinking 'This has to be known', 'This has to be known', does not get to the end of Śāstras, even though he may have a life of a thousand years.

"(So,) knowing the 'Akṣara-tanmātra' and the life to be extremely fickle, one should set aside the multitudes of Śāstras and perform works benefical in the next world.

"What is the good of a scholar and an able-bodied person who are incapable of bearing the burden of virtue beneficial in the next world?

"A person, who is unable to deliver his own self from rebirths, is a fool, even though he may be a scholar, and lacks strength, even though he may be [physically] strong."[12]

The *Śiva-dharmottara* allows the Śaiva teachers to use Sanskrit, Prakrit or any of the local dialects as a medium of religious instruction.[13] It extols a Śaiva teacher and calls him 'Vidyā-parameś-

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12. *Ibid.*, Chap. 1 (fol. 42a-b)—
पुराणं भारतं वेदः शास्त्राणि सुमहान्ति च ।
आयुषः क्षयणाः सर्वे धर्मोऽल्पोग्रन्थविस्तरः ॥
पुत्रदारादिकं भारः पुंसां संमूढचेतसाम् ।
विदुषां शास्त्रसंभारः सद्योगाभ्यासविघ्नष्कृत् ॥
इदं ज्ञेयमिदं ज्ञेयं यः सर्वं ज्ञातुमिच्छति ।
अपि वर्षसहस्रायुः शास्त्रान्तं नाधिगच्छति ॥
विज्ञायाक्षरतन्मात्रं जीवितं चातिचञ्चलम् ।
विहाय शास्त्रजालानि पारलौकिकमाचरेत् ॥
पण्डितेनापि किं तेन समर्थेन च देहिना ।
यः पुण्यभारमुद्वोढुमशक्तः पारलौकिकम् ॥
पण्डितोऽपि स मुर्खः स्याच् छक्तियुक्तोऽप्यशकिमान् ।
यः संसारात् स्वमात्मानमुत्तारयितुमक्षमः ॥

13. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 43a)—
संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैर्वाक्यैर्यः शिष्यमनुरूपतः ।
देशभाषाद्युपायैश्च बोधयेत् स गुरुः स्मृतः ॥
The words संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैर्वाक्यैः may also be taken to mean 'polished or unrefined language.'

vara[3] (the supreme master of learning) who, being intimate with the meanings of Śaivatantras, restores the correct texts of Śaiva works made defective by time or spoiled by bad scribes and inefficient teachers in various ways, viz., by leaving out syllables or inserting new ones during copying, by wrongly reading a text, by making arbitrary changes in the text by way of correction, by separately reading the different members of a compound word, by reading the text in such a way as to create contradiction in sense or to give no sense at all, by creating serious metrical defects, and so on.[14] It then gives a detailed description of the method which is to be followed by the rich in giving away manuscripts of Śaiva scriptures copied by themselves or by scribes. According to this method, the donor has to worship Śiva, the Śaiva scripture to be copied for donation, and his spiritual guide. Next, he has to select a suitable place, in which a circular or quadrangular Vidyā-maṇḍala (i.e., a sacred piece of ground meant for keeping the book to be given away) of eight or four cubits is to be prepared with scented water mixed with cow-dung, and a lotus (*padma*) is to be painted in this Maṇḍala with white powder. Outside the lotus the Maṇḍala has to be decorated with painting of different hues and with flowers of five colours; and a white or variegated canopy is to be spread over it. This canopy is to be set with pearls and small bells and decorated with hanging threads, pearl-necklaces, balls (*kanduka*), etc. The four posts, supporting the canopy, are to be covered with coloured cloth; and there should be four pitchers strewn over with white lotuses and earthen dishes containing ger-

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14. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 43b)—

शिवज्ञानस्य कालेन विनष्टस्य प्रमादतः ।
ऊनातिरिक्तवर्णस्य मूढैर्दुर्लिखितस्य च ॥
प्रमादाधीतपाठस्य नाशितस्याल्पबुद्धिभिः ।
ज्ञानावलेपमानान्धैराचार्यैः शोधितस्य च ॥
व्यस्तैः पदैरुपेतस्य पुनरुक्तस्य चार्थतः ।
पूर्वोत्तरविरुद्धस्य स्वसिद्धान्तविरोधिनः ॥
छन्दसातीवनष्टस्य शब्दार्थरहितस्य च ।
इत्येवमादिभिर्दोषैरुपेतस्य क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥
यः करोति पुनः सम्यक् संस्कारं पूर्ववद् गुरुः ।
शिवतत्त्वार्थविद् धीमान् स विद्यापरमेश्वरः ॥

minating barley and Śāli grains. An ivory throne, worked with gold and gems, is to be placed and worshipped, and on this throne the holy book, from which the copy is to be made, and the leaves, which are to be used in preparing this copy, are to be kept and worshipped with the offer of flowers, incense, etc. Then, after worshipping his spiritual guide and having his permission, the donor is to take his bath, decorate himself, and begin to prepare the copy by writing five verses at first. He is then to feed his spiritual guide, and also Brāhmaṇas, beggars, invalids and others, to ask his spiritual guide's pardon, to take his meal, and to make offerings to Gaṇas at night. Next morning, a small Vidyā-maṇḍala of two cubits is to be painted with various hues, decorated with flowers, shallow earthen dishes (*śarāva*) containing germinating barely grains, etc., and covered with a canopy. The book, to be used as the original, is to be brought down from the throne, placed on a special stool called Śara-yantra, and worshipped. Thus, every day, after worshipping the holy book, the work of copying is to be continued, the script used being Nandi-nāgara as described in the following verses :

"चतुरस्रैः शमशीर्षैर्नातिस्थूलैर्नवा कृशैः ।
संपूर्णविभवैः स्निग्धै र्नातिविच्छिन्नसंहतैः ॥
मात्रानुस्वारसंयोगः(? ग-)ह्रस्वदीर्घादिलक्षितैः ।
नन्दिनागरकैर्वर्णैर्लेखयेच् छिवपुस्तकम् ॥"[15]

After the copy is completed, the donor is to observe fast, worship Śiva, Agni, the religious teacher, and the newly written manuscript, and keep awake at night with various diversions such as the sounding of drums and other musical instruments, singing of songs, performance of dance, narration of stories of Śiva, recitation of Vedic texts, exhibition of attractive shows and playful performances (*prekṣaṇakaiś ca śobhanaih, krīḍāyatta-prayogādyaiḥ*), and so on. In the following morning a beautiful Vimāna (car, conveyance) is to be constructed with wood and bamboos as covered with a piece of coloured cloth, and the Śaiva work (*śiva-jñānasya pustakam*) is to be placed in it together with the stool. This book is to be decora-

15. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 44a),
The fourth line is the same as *Devī- purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī Press ed.) 91.53a.

ted with paintings, furnished with leather at the side, and tied tightly with a piece of strong thread.[16] The Vimāna, with the holy book in it, is to be taken to a Śivāśrama in a chariot. Or, it may be carried there either by strong men or by an elephant, and on its way to the Āśrama it should be taken round the city in a big procession led by the king and attended with songs of females (*strī-saṁgītaiḥ*). The persons joining the procession should include wandering singers, professional bards, Brāhmaṇas loudly citing Vedic hymns, and females carrying beautiful chowries and singing songs. While the book is thus carried to the Āśrama, offerings are to be made in all directions and at every step. On this occasion the citizens are to clothe themselves in white, their houses are to be decorated with flags, Brāhmaṇas are to be fed by householders, no harm is to be done to anybody, not even to trees, enemies, imprisoned through rage, are to be released,[17] and the Kaumudī (Mahotsava), though out of time, is to be observed for two days in every house.

After the book has thus been taken to the Śivāśrama, it is to be kept before the image of Śiva in a sanctified place and offered to the Śaiva teacher (*guru*) For averting evils (*śāntyartha*) of cows Brāhmaṇas, kings, country-folk and townspeople, a chapter of this work is to be read out by a good reader, who is to have thorough knowledge of metres, to be a good poet, to have a sweet voice, to know the science of music, and to be a cultured man (*vidagdha*). The teacher, receiving the work, is to sprinkle the king and other persons present there with the water meant for averting evils, and to mean peace to the whole world. After feeding his teacher and paying honorarium to him, the king is to dine with his attendants and the females of the harem, and the dinner is to be followed by various shows.[18]

The copy of the Śaiva work, received by the Śaiva teacher, is to be kept in a Vidya-koṣa-gṛha made with cloth, and for this

16. *Ibid.*, Chap 2 (fol. 44b)—
*Pārśve carma-samāyuktaṁ dṛḍha-sūtra-nibandhanam.*
17. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 44b)—
*bandhanasthāś ca moktavyā baddhāḥ krodhena śatravaḥ.*
18. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 45a)—
*kāryā ca vividhā prekṣā bhuktavatsu janeṣu ca.*

Vidyā-koṣa-gṛha, a Vidyāyatana, eight cubits in length, is to be constructed with stone, bricks, earth or wood and furnished with doors, doorpanels, bolts, walls, gardens, flags, canopy, bells, chowries, etc. In this Vidyāyatana the casket containing the holy book (*vidyā karaṇḍaka*)[19] is to be placed with ceremony; and the book is to be worshipped thrice daily like Śiva himself.

In connection with the donation of manuscripts the *Śiva dharmottara* gives details of the construction of a highly beautiful, three or four-storied house (*pura*) or monastery (*maṭha*) called Śivāśrama (hermitage of Śiva) and meant for Śiva and his worshippers. This house or monastery, which is to be built on a plinth having a height of two cubits and also pillars at the sides, is to be furnished with small but beautiful caves (or cubicles) meant for those who have given themselves up to the acquirement of knowledge of Śiva. It is to have a big kitchen in the south-east with an outlet for smoke, a sacrificial hall in the east, a room for incense and flowers in the north-east, a store-room (*bhāṇḍāgāra*) in the north, a granary (*koṣṭhāgāra*) in the north-west, and a bathroom in the west with windows. In the south-west there should be a room for fuel, sacrificial wood, Kuśa grass and weapons, and in the south there should be a safe and pleasant room meant for guests and furnished with bed, seats, foot-wears, water, fire, lamps and good servants. The intervals between the different rooms are to be decorated with groups of water-banana plants and with flowers of five hues; and outside the wall surrounding the entire mansion, there should be a good and well-arranged flower-garden, around which there should be another big outer-wall furnished with gates and door panels and surrounded by a ditch.[20] Above

19. This casket, which is to be made of gold, silver, copper, bellmetal, iron, wood, bamboo, etc. and to have a lid (*pidhāna*), has other peculiarities as mentioned in the verse :

    सर्वाश्मकटकोपेतं दृढसूत्रनिबन्धनम् ।
    कुर्यात्तालकसंयुक्तं विद्यारत्नकरण्डकम् ।।

20. The relevant verses of the *Śivadharmottara* (Chap. 2, fols. 46b–47a) are the following :

यः कारयेन्महारम्यं सुवेदिसंस्थितं पुरम् ।
पञ्चभौमं त्रिभौमं वा शिवज्ञानरतात्मनाम् ।।

गुहाप्रवरकैर्युक्तं मैत्रस्थानसमन्वितम् ।
वास्तुविद्याविभक्तं च प्राकारपरिवारितम् ।।

the third story there should be a beatifully painted lecture-hall (*vidyā-vyākhyāna-maṇḍapa*) with a Vidyā-maṇḍala in it and with windows and outlets; and in the uppermost story (?) a room (*vaḍabhī-gṛha*), six or eight cubits in length, is to be made with beautiful cloth, and, after the ceremony of consecration of the Śivāśrama is over, an earthen, wooden or stone image of Nakulīśvara Śiva is to be established in this Vaḍabhī-gṛha with due worship. According to the *Śiva-dharmottara* this Nakulīśvara Śiva is the creator (or ordainer) of all the Sciences (*vidyā*); he is omniscient and is surrounded by his disciples and grand-disciples; he has one of his hands raised in explaining the Śāstras and is seated in a particular posture called Padmāsana; he is very white, has a pleased countenance, and is a teacher.[21]

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तस्य वेदी द्विहस्तोच्चा पर्यन्तस्तम्भसंयुता ।
पक्षे (? क्वे)ष्टकापरिच्छिन्ना तत्सुरम्यं भ्रमन्तकम् ॥
सुवीथ्याः पुरतः कार्यं दिश्याग्नेय्यां महानसम् ।
धूमनिर्गमनोपेतं पूर्वतः सत्रमण्डपम् ॥
गन्धपुष्पगृहं कार्यमैशान्यां पटसंयुतम् ।
भाण्डागारं च कौबेर्यां कोष्ठागारं च वायवे ॥
उदकाश्रयं च वारुण्यां वातायनसमन्वितम् ।
समित्कुशेन्धनस्थानं आयुधानां च नैर्ऋते ॥
अभ्यागताभयं रम्यं शय्यासनसपादुकम् ।
तोयाग्निदीपसद्भृत्यैर्युक्तं दक्षिणतो भवेत् ॥
गृहान्तराणि सर्वाणि जलजैः कदलीगृहैः ।
पञ्चवर्णैश्च कुसुमैः शोभितानि प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
प्राकारान्तर्बहिर्दद्यात् पञ्चहस्तप्रमाणतः ।
प्राकाराच्च बहिःकुर्यात् सर्वदिक्षु समन्ततः ॥
दिव्यं शिवाश्रमारामं नानापुष्पोपशोभितम् ।
सर्वर्तुकगुणोपेतं नानावृक्षसमन्वितम् ॥
* * * *
स्थानविन्यासरचितैः सन्मार्गाधारसंयुतैः ।
पुष्पैर्बहुविधैर्युक्तं दिग्विदिक्षु जलान्वितम् ॥

21. *Śivadharmottara*, Chap. 2 (fol. 47a)—

तृतीयाच्च पुरादूर्ध्वं विद्याव्याख्यानमण्डपम् ।
गवाक्षनिर्गमोपेतं विचित्रं परिकल्पयेत् ॥
पुरार्धं पञ्चमं कार्यं शिवस्य वडभीगृहम् ।
षड्हस्तमष्टदीर्घं वा चारुपट्टविनिर्मितम् ॥

The Śivāśrama, thus constructed, is to be provided with temple-girls (*śivāyatana-yoṣitaḥ*) called 'Rudra-gaṇikās' (harlots or female Gaṇas of Rudra), who may have wilfully accepted that position in life, or who may have been presented there by somebody, or purchased for the purpose, or compelled to be so as a sort of punishment, or reduced to that state per force; and the descendants of these Rudra-gaṇikās are said to attain heaven after death by dint of their mothers' virtues.[22]

Going to describe the religious duties to Śiva (*Śiva-dharma*),[23] for which it is exclusively meant, the *Śiva-dharmottara* speaks of their ten constituent parts (*skandha*), viz., abstention from killing or giving pain to others, toleration, truthfulness, modesty, devotion, control of the organs of senses, munificence, performance of sacrifice, muttering (of the Mantra), and meditation, and says that the nature of enjoyment is determined by the virtue earned by the practice of Śiva-dharma.[24] It mentions the five great sacrifices (*pañca mahāyajña*), of which Karma-yajña is said to consist of worship, sacrificial rites, etc., Tapo-yajña, of austere practices such as Cāndrāyaṇa, Svādhyāya-yajña, of the repetition of the Śiva-mantra, Dhyāna-yajña, of the incessant thinking of Śiva, and Jñāna-yajña, of teaching, studying, explaining, hearing and thinking of Śaiva scriptures. According to this work, worship (*pūjā*) yields nothing more than a great kingdom, and the cult of Fire (*agni-kārya*) leads one to prosperity; so, Karma-yajña is much inferior to Tapo-yajña, which, in its turn, is far excelled in efficacy by Svādhyāya-yajña which

22. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 47b) :—
दत्ताः कीताः प्रविष्टाश्च दण्डोत्पन्नाबलात्कृताः ।
विज्ञेया रुद्रगणिकाः शिवायतनयोषितः ॥
या रुद्रगणिकोत्पन्ना पुत्रपौत्रादिसन्ततिः ।
सापि याति मृता स्वर्गं मातुरेवानुभावतः ॥
तत्र मृद्दारुशैलं वा स्थापयेद् विधिवच् छिवम् ।
सर्वविद्याविधातारं सर्वज्ञं लकुलीश्वरम् ॥
वृतं शिष्यप्रशिष्यैश्च व्याख्यानोद्यतपाणिकम् ।
पद्मासनस्थं सुश्वेतं प्रसन्नवदनं गुरुम् ॥

23. See *ibid*., Chap. 3 (fols. 49a–50a). Also Chap. 5 (fols. 53b-54a).

24. *Ibid.*, Chap. 5 (fols. 53b-54a).

frees one from sins. Dhyāna-yajña and Jñāna-yajña, which constitute Śiva-yoga, are together capable of yielding final emancipation; but Jñāna cannot be attained without the practice of Yoga. It is only by the practice of Yoga after getting away from all kinds of attachment to objects of senses that one can attain Jñāna which causes tranquility of mind, undisturbed concentration on god, and immunity from Upādhis. Ajñāna, on the other hand, is the cause of bondage and rebirth and, consequently, of untold suffering and misery in life. It can be destroyed not by Karman but by Jñāna[25] which puts a stop to all kinds of attachment to worldly objects and thus makes one go beyond the domains of virtue and vice. "A successful Yogin, who has been satiated by the nectar of Jñāna, has no duty; but if he has any, he has not known the Truth."[26] "Just as one furnished with the power of spells, is not bitten by snakes when playing with them, so also a Jñānin, though playing with the snakes in the forms of the organs of senses, is not bitten by them. As a poison, taken [by one], is assimilated through the power of spells and herbs, so also the sinful acts of those possessing Jñāna are digested (i. e., made ineffective) immediately [after these are done by them]."[27] As a matter of fact, "neither the holy places full of water nor the gods made of stone or earth reach those Yogins who have realised their own Self."[28] One, who realises Śaṁkara as omnipresent, finds him in his Ātman. "Persons failing to realise Śiva in their own Ātman search for him in a

25 *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 49b).—
*jñānena ca tad ajñānaṁ nivarteta na karmabhiḥ.*

26. *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 49b).
ज्ञानामृतेन तृप्तस्य कृतकृत्यस्य योगिनः ।
नैवास्ति किञ्चित् कर्तव्यमस्ति चेन्न स तत्त्ववित् ॥

27. *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50a) —
यद्वत् मन्त्रबलोपेतः क्रीडन् सर्पैर्नं दृश्यते ।
कीडन्न दृश्यते ज्ञानी तद्वद् इन्द्रियपन्नगैः ॥
मन्त्रौषधिबलैर्यद्वज् जीर्यते भक्षितं विषम् ।
तद्वत् पापानि कर्माणि जीर्यन्ते ज्ञानिनां क्षणात् ॥

28. *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50a)—
तीर्थानि तोयपूर्णानि देवाः पाषाणमृण्मयाः ।
योगिनो न प्रपद्यन्ते स्वात्मप्रत्ययकारिणः ॥

holy place".[29] "To those who are given to work the gods are in Fire, to the talented (sages) they are in heaven, to the unenlightened they are in images, and to the Yogins they are in their Ātman. The Yogins find Śiva in their Ātman and not in images. Due to Ājñāna, an image is worshipped for inspiring thought. One, who forsakes Śiva residing in his Ātman and worships the deity remaining outside, licks his elbow by leaving off the lump of food in his own hand."[30] So, people should try to experience the deity in their own Ātman, and for this purpose they should study the highly effective but least tiresome (works on) knowledge of Śiva in preference to the Vedas whose results are not directly perceived.[31] These people should also practise the faultless and liberating Śiva-yoga by giving up the austerities which are difficult to practise and all sacrificial rites which are troublesome and yield scanty result.[32]

It has already been said that the *Śiva-dharmottara* subordinates Karma-yoga to Jñāna-yoga. As a matter of fact, it regards the

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29. *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50b)—
*ātmasthaṁ ye na paśyanti tīrthe mārganti te śivam.*

30. *Ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50)—
अग्नौ क्रियावतां देवा दिवि देवा मनीषिणाम् ।
प्रतिमास्वप्रबुद्धानां योगिनामात्मनिस्थिता ॥
शिवमात्मनि पश्यन्ति प्रतिमासु न योगिनः ।
अज्ञानाद् भावनार्थाय प्रतिमा परिपूजिता ॥
आत्मस्थं यः शिवं त्यक्त्वा बहिःस्थं यजते शिवम् ।
हस्ते पिण्डं समुत्सृज्य लिहेत् कूर्परमात्मनः ॥

31. See *ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50b)—
सत्यामागमवार्तायामप्रत्यक्षे च तत्फले ।
अधेयमीश्वरं ज्ञानमल्पक्लेशं महाफलम् ॥

32. See *ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 50b)—
एवं हि कष्टानि तपांसि यज्ञान्
क्लेशात्मकानल्पफलप्रदांश्च ।
संत्यज्य सर्वान् शिवयोगमेकं
ध्यायेत् परं मुक्तिकरं विशुद्धम् ॥

(Vedic) fire-cult as yielding unstable results[33] and discourages people from practising austerities and performing the Vedic sacrificial rites. Even as regards Rudra-worship[34] it does not entertain any high opinion, inasmuch as it says that people attain different regions (such as those of Piśācas, Rākṣasas, etc.) by worshipping Rudra in different ways. For instance, a worshipper is said to be able to go to the Yakṣa-loka by worshipping Rudra thrice a day with the intention of taking wine and meat (*madya-māṁsāturāḥ*), to the Gandharva-loka by worshipping him three or four times daily with song and dance, to the Indra-loka by worshipping him five times a day, to the Prājāpatya-loka by worshipping him six times daily with a passionate mind (*kāmāsakta citta*), to the Soma-loka by worshipping him seven times a day, to the Brahma-loka by worshipping him eight times a day with the Gāyatrī, to the Viṣṇu-loka by worshipping him nine times a day, and even to the Rudra-loka (also called Śiva-pura), which is situated above Viṣṇu-pura and meant for those who are given to Karma-yoga, without making much effort. The *Śiva-dharmottara* further tells us that above Śiva-pura there are three excellent regions (*sthāna-trayaṁ param*) of Skanda, Umā and Śaṁkara,[35] the last occupying the highest position and being the only place where rebirth is unknown.

33. Cf. *ibid.*, Chap. 3 (fol. 51a)—

तस्मात् स्वग्नीयमुत्सृज्य कर्मयोगमशाश्वतम् ।
ध्यायेन्नित्यं विशुद्धं च ज्ञानयोगमनुत्तमम् ॥

34. See *ibid.*, Chap. 5 (fol. 54a-b).

35. These three deities have been described as follows :

स्कन्दं शक्तिधरं शान्तं षड्मुखं शिखिवाहनम् ।
तप्तचामीकरप्रख्यं त्रिशिखं बालरूपिणम् ॥
प्रभाभिर्भाषिततनुं सर्वलोकानुकम्पकम् ।
ध्यायमानः प्रसन्नात्मा गुहस्थानमवाप्नुयात् ॥
कन्यारूपामुमां शान्तां सूर्यकोटिसमप्रभाम् ।
ध्यायमानः सदा भक्त्या देव्याः स्थानमवाप्नुयात् ॥
शुद्धस्फटिकसंकाशं जटामुकुटधारिणम् ।
त्र्यङ्गं चतुर्भुजं शान्तमक्षमालाधरं हरम् ॥
वरदाभयहस्तं च त्रिशूलासक्तपाणिकम् ।
ध्यायमानः शिवं नित्यं शिवस्थानमवाप्नुयात् ॥

*Śivadharmottara*, Chap. 5 (Fol. 54b)

Among other topics of interest the *Śiva-dharmottara* mentions the establishment of hospitals (*ārogya-śālā*)[36] and poor-houses (*anātha-maṇḍapa*)[37] and the free distribution of medicine among the diseased (*ārtauṣadhi-dāna*).[38] The hospitals are to be fully equipped (*sarvopakaraṇopetā*) and attended by great physicians (*mahāvaidya-samanvitā*). In connection with the method of Śiva-worship this work says[39] that in the Go-mātṛ-loka (the region of Cows, which is the same as Śiva-pura or Śiva-loka) there are five divine Cows named Mandā,[40] Subhadrā, Surabhi, Suśilā and Sumanas, who came out of the churned ocean and are the mothers of the whole world (*sarvalokasya mātarah*). It is further said that from these five Cows, who came down to the earth from Śiva-pura descended all the cows on earth; from their dung originated all kinds of lotus-seeds as well as the Bilva tree, in which Śrī (Lakṣmī) resides permanently; their urine was the source of origin of the fragrant gum resin; the seed of the world (*jagad-bīja*) came out of their milk; and nectar originated from ghee.

Besides the subjects mentioned above the *Śiva-dharmottara* deals with the following topics :

Method of Śiva-worship[41] which includes the following operations :--bathing the deity with ghee, milk and curd, which, being derived from cows, are highly sanctifying; offer of Bilva-leaves, red and blue lotuses, etc., and then of various kinds of delicious food including meat and other things cooked with ghee,[42] burning of fragrant gum resin after worship; circumam-

36. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 48a).

37-38. *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fol. 58a).

39. See *ibid.*, Chap. 1 (fol. 42b) and Chap. 12 (fol. 84a).

40. In Chap. 1 the name 'Mandrā' (for 'Nandā') occurs.

41. This method is called 'ṣaḍ-aṅga vidhi' (six-limbed procedure'). For description of this method see *ibid.*, Chap. 1 (fols. 42b-43a) and Chap. 4 (fols. 51b-52a).

42. For a list of these varieties of food to be offered to Śiva see Chap. 4, fols. 51b-52a. These varieties include the following also; boiled rice with ghee; the same with soup; the same with pungent condiments; Saṣṭika rice; various kinds of Śāli rice (viz., Sugandha-śāli, Rakta-śāli and Kalama-śāli); tasteful condiments; milk with rice; scented drinks; special varieties of fruits; delicious sweets prepared with ghee; various kinds of sweet and fragrant curd prepared with sugar; and so on.

bulation and salutation of the deity, and prayer to him for forgiveness. Praise of performing, seeing, hearing or encouraging Śiva-worship.

Praise of giving copies of Śaiva works to students and worthy Śaiva teachers.[43]

Method of worshipping a Śaiva scripture (*śiva-jñāna-pustaka*) on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha or Āṣāḍha. (On this occasion all the requisites for preparing a copy are to be worshipped, viz., leaves, thread, ink-pot, pen, stool called Śara-yantra, seat, unguents, bed, good food, the sum to be given as remuneration, and so on.[44]

Praise of presenting a piece of cloth for covering the manuscript as well as a canopy for use at the place where the manuscript is kept and worshipped.[45]

Praise of giving food, clothes, foot-wears, umbrellas, bed, bed-sheets, seats, collyrium, unguents, requisites for bath, feasts, medicine, etc. to those given to the acquisition of knowledge of Śiva (*śiva-jñānābhiyukta*).[46]

Results of reading, hearing, etc. of a complete or half verse of a Śaiva scripture.[47]

Procedure of inaugurating a Śaiva monastery (*śivāśrama*) and of establishing an image of Śiva in it. (This procedure includes a number of functions, viz., Śivādhivāsa, silent recitation of five kinds of Śaiva hymns, Śivavijñāpana, etc.).[48]

Construction of small rooms in front of a Śiva-temple, each to accommodate one or two Śaivas; furnishing these rooms with coloured circles (called *Śiva-maṇḍalaka*) containing the figure of a lotus in the middle; and dedication of these rooms to Śiva.[49]

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43. *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 2 (fols. 43a–45a).
44-46. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 45b).
47. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2. (fol. 46a).
48. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 47a).
49. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 47b-48a)—

कृत्वा सुकुट्टिमं भूमिमीश्वरायतनाग्रतः ।
तत्र मण्डलकं कुर्यात् सुवृत्तं गोमयाम्भसा ॥
सूत्रेण समितं कृत्वा नानावर्णकशोभि तम् ।
विचित्रकुसुमाकीर्णं मध्ये पङ्कजशोभितम् ॥
प्रदीपाक्षतसंयुक्तमुदकं भ्राम्य पाणिना ।
मूर्ध्ना प्रणम्य मेदिन्यां शिवाय विनिवेदयेत् ॥

Praise of drawing Maṇḍalas for Śiva, the Śaiva scripture (*Vidyā*), and the spiritual guide (*Guru*) and making a *Vidyā-maṇḍapa* (i. e., a shed for the scripture) in the lecture-hall (*vidya-vyākhyāna-maṇḍapa*.[50]

Praise of offer of food, cooked or not, to Śiva, Agni and Guru. All kinds of food are to be offered to Śiva first of all; next, Homa is to be performed by throwing a small part of these into the fire; and then a portion is to be offered to the spiritual guide. Observance of this procedure is said to destroy sins arising from cultivation, usury, trade, anger, untruth, and 'the five places of slaughter' (*pañcasūnā*). Sins arising out of violation of this procedure.[51]

Superiority of Jñāna to vows, donation, austerities, sacrifices, etc.[52]

Praise of meditating on Siva.[53]

Praise of serving Śiva-yogins with food, drink, shelter, bed, clothes, etc.[54] and of seeing them, speaking with them and honouring them with food in a Śrāddha ceremony,[55] Results of neglecting or denouncing Śiva-yogins.[56]

The five qualifications of a donor, viz., courtesy, generosity, friendliness, compassion and impartiality. Names of places suitable for making gifts, viz., Vārāṇasī. Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Puṣkara, Gaṅgā-tīra, Samudra-tīra, Naimiṣa, Amara-kaṇṭaka, Śrīparvata, Gokarṇa, Vedaparvata, etc. Suitable time for making gifts, viz., eclipses, winter and summer solstice, etc. Necessity of Śraddhā in making gifts. The five components of Śraddhā.[57]

Nature of Śiva-dharma (which is free from the intention of doing mischief and the feeling of hatred, requires no physical tor-

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50. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 48a).
51. *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fol. 51b).
52. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 49b).
53. *Ibid* , Chap. 3 (fols. 50a and 51a).
54. *Ibid* , Chap. 3 (fols. 48b-49a).

55–56. *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fols. 52a and 52b respectively).

57. *Ibid* , Chap. 4 (fol. 53b).

The components of श्रद्धा are as follows

भक्तिर्भावपरा प्रीतिः शिवधर्मैकतानता ।
प्रतिपत्तिरिति ज्ञेयं श्रद्धापर्यायपञ्चकम् ॥

ture or accute effort, is pure, extremely subtle and beneficial to all beings, yields the best results, has many branches all rooted in Śiva and so on).[58]

Discourses on *Adharma* (sinful acts), which varies with the inclination of sinners. Classification of *Adharma* into gross (*sthūla*), subtle (*sūkṣma*), super-subtle (*susūkṣma*), etc. Description of Sthūla Adharma, which relates to the mind, speech and body. Four kinds each of mental, verbal and physical Adharma. Various other sinful acts, viz., denouncement and hatred of Śiva and his worshippers; stealing of Śaiva scriptures or of articles offered to Śiva; giving up of Śaiva customs; denouncement or neglect, in any way, of one's spiritual guide; committing of the heinous crimes called *Mahāpātaka*; committing of sins with respect to the Brāhmaṇas (viz., divulging their serious faults, humiliating them by one's learning, refusing them after inviting to accept gifts, creating obstacles to them when they are hungry, dispossessing them of their property earned by fair means, and so on); giving up of Śiva-jñāna after studying it; forsaking of one's parents as well as of the sacrificial rites such as the Agnihotra, the five great sacrifices, and so on; killing of innocent animals living in forests; not giving a marriageable daughter in marriage; having sexual union with a son's wife, a friend's wife, a sister, a virgin girl, an Antyaja woman, and so on.[59]

Enumeration of the *Upapātakas*[60] committed by the following acts :—refusing a person after promising to give him money; stealing an article belonging to a twice-born man; transgressing the boundary; allowing one's own self to be subject to extreme vanity or rage or to haughtiness, ungratefulness, miserliness, etc.; over-addiction to objects of senses; adultery; marrying before one's elder brother; doing mischief to a Śaiva monastery (*śivāśrama*) with respect to its trees, inmates, cattle, agricultural products (such as paddy), etc.; selling of one's wife or child; living on one's wife's property; living with a wife who is in the habit of drinking; administering poison, or applying a *Yantra* (Tantric diagram) for killing a person; performance of *Mūla-karmans* and *Abhicāra* with

58. *Ibid.*, Chap. 5 (fol. 53b).
59. *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fols. 55a-56a).
60. *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fols. 56a-57a).

evil purposes;[61] teaching people or reading books for fees; breaking of embankments; manufacturing or selling bows, arrows, darts, missiles, etc.; practising cruelty to animals; showing neglect to guests; and so on.

Discourses on *Karma-vipāka*[62] (fruition of action), with the mention that the above-mentioned sins of four kinds lead people to the region of Yama, where Citragupta and five other officers act as judges for the actions of all. Results of giving various things (including palanquins, horses, etc.), constructing a temple or an assylum (*pratiśraya*), making a garden, dedicating troughs for containing drinking water for animals, and so on.

Description of the city of the God of Death (Vaivasvata-pura)[63] and of the way to it, a city, where people of objectionable conduct and miserly habit are taken after death and punished. Description of the affairs of Yama's house. Names and description of hells (Raurava, Mahāraurava, etc.). Praise of birth as a human being in Bhārata.

Accounts of rebirth (*saṁsāra*),[64] with a description of (i) the way in which creatures get different kinds of body according to their actions, (ii) the formation of the body in the mothers's womb, (iii) the process of birth, and (iv) the sufferings undergone by creatures after death.

Five causes of death, viz., diseases, weapons, snakebite, poison, and Abhicāra rites.

Denouncement of money. Need for performance of Dharma; and necessity of penance (*prāyaścitta*) for a better rebirth.[65]

Discourses on Jñāna-yoga[66] which reveals Śiva as the only reality and the course of which is to be determined by the Śaiva Āgamas and not merely by one's *a priori* speculation.

61. *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 56b)—
    विषमारणयन्त्राणां प्रयोगो मूलकर्मणाम् ।
    उच्चाटनाभिचारश्च गरविद्वेषणक्रिया ॥
62. *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fols. 58a-59a). Also Chaps. 8-9.
63. *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fols. 59a–64b).
64. *Ibid.*, Chap. 8 (fols. 65b–70a).
65. *Ibid.*, Chap. 9 (fols. 71a–72b).
66. *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fols. 72b–74a).

Practice of Yoga[67]—Its four factors—the person meditating the act of meditation, the object of meditation, and the necessity of meditation. Qualifications for Yoga practice. Suitable places (which should be very secluded). Conduct of Yogins (who are to be moderate as regards their food, rest, sleep, etc.[68], and to look upon Brahmā, Viṣṇu and other gods as well as upon the diseases, relations and kings as great impediments to Yoga-practices).[69] Constitution of the seats to be used by Yogins.[70] Sitting postures (*āsana*, viz., Padmaka, Svastika, etc., before practising which Śiva, Devī and Gaṇādhipa are to be saluted). Mode of sitting.[71] Method of meditation, which consists of (i) *Tri-maṇḍala-dhyāna* which helps one get over the three Guṇas—Sattva, Rajas and Tamas, (ii) meditation on the twenty-fifth Tattva, viz., the Puruṣa who is beyond the Guṇas, and (iii) meditation on Śiva (having a figure as small as one's thumb) in the pericarp of a lotus (*padma*), which is twelve

67. *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fols. 74a–78b).

68. युक्ताहारविहारात्मा युक्तचेष्टेन (? चेष्टश्च) कर्मसु ।
युक्तस्वप्नावबोधश्च सर्वायुक्तविवर्जितः ॥
*Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 74b).

69. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fols. 48a)—
ब्रह्मविष्णुसुराः सर्वे व्याधयः स्वजना नृपाः ।
योगस्यैते महाविघ्ना व्याधयस्तेन योगिनाम् ॥

70. आसनं तूलसम्पूर्णं सितवस्त्रावगुण्ठनम् ।
कृष्णाजिनोत्तरीयं च विन्यसेत् मृदुचर्मणि ॥
*Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 74b).

71. *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fols. 74b).
ऋजुग्रीवः शिरोवक्षा (? ग्रीवशिरोवक्षा)
नातिश्लिष्टोष्ठलोचनः ।
किंचिदुन्नामितशिरा दन्तैर्दन्तान् न च स्पृशेत् ॥
दन्ताग्रसन्निधौ जिह्वामचलां संनिवेश्य च ।
पार्ष्णिभ्यां वृषणौ रक्ष्यौ तथा प्रजननं पुनः ॥
ऊर्ध्वोपरि[च] संस्थाप्य बाहू तिर्यक् प्रयत्नतः ।
दक्षिणं करपृष्ठं तु न्यसेद् वामतलोपरि ॥
उन्नाम्य शनकैः पृष्ठमुरो विष्टभ्य चाग्रतः ।
संप्रेक्ष्य नासिकाग्रं तु दिशश्चानवलोकयन् ॥
संहृतः (? संहृत-)प्राणसंचारः पाषाण इव निश्चलः ।
मैत्र्यादिवासनायुक्तः परं वैराग्यमाश्रितः ॥

Aṅgulas in diameter, has eight petals, rises from the navel, and remains above the Puruṣa. Different ways of meditating on Śiva in the pericarp, viz., Śiva as Oṁkāra may be conceived of as consisting of three Mātrās अ, उ and म् represented by Skanda, Devī and Maheśvara, or by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara, or by Vyakta, Avyakta and Puruṣa, Śiva himself being represented by half a Mātrā or kṣityāditattva-dhyāna; and so on. Description of Yoga of six functions (*ṣaḍaṅga yoga*), viz., Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāra, Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna, Japa, and Samādhi. Method of performing *Recaka* (exhaling), *Pūraka* (inhaling) and *Kumbhaka* (retention of breath). Various disturbances (*upadrava*). Diseases and their treatment. Performance of Prāṇāyāma with or without *Japa* (mental repetition of the Mantra). Praise of Prāṇāyāma practised with *Japa*. Praise of Japa (which removes many difficulties). Idleness and other obstacles to Yoga-practice. Divine indications (*upasarga*), such as *Pratibhā*, etc.,[72] foretokening success. Characteristics of a *Siddha* (successful) Yogin (viz., revelation of the knowledge of the Vedas and other scriptures as well as of the divine medicines, fragrance of the body, and so on).

Conduct of the Śiva-worshippers.[73] —Their morning duties; mode of purification of the body; cleansing of clothes of different stuff with different articles, cleansing and purification of utensils and other articles; bath after cleansing the body with earth and cow-dung and sanctifying the water by citing the Śiva-mantra twenty-one times; muttering of the Śiva-mantra as a means of purification in case of various kinds of sins including murder of men, women and children of different castes (among whom the *Sat-śūdras* and the ordinary Śūdras have been mentioned); restrictions about taking food, etc. in case of impurity due to birth and death. Method of bathing Śiva after performing the penance called *Brahma-kūrca*[74] every four months, and of drinking this water for self-purification.

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72. *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 78a).

73. *Ibid.*, Chap. 11 (fols. 78b-80b).

74. This penance is as follows :

अहोरात्रोषितो भूत्वा पौर्णमास्यां विशेषतः ।
पञ्चगव्यं पिबेत् प्रातर्ब्रह्मकूर्चमिति स्मृतम् ॥

Statements (made in connection with the world of cows—*Go-loka* or *Go-mātṛ-loka*) about the position, extents, distance, etc. of the hells and the seven lower worlds (*pātāla*).[75]

Terrestrial geography.[76] —Names and position of the seven continents (*Dvīpas*), of which Jambu-dvīpa is said to be in the middle of the earth (mahī-madhye).[77] Names of the seven oceans, viz., those of salt, sugarcane juice, wine, etc. Names and position of the nine principal mountains of Jambu-dvīpa (viz., Himavat, Hemakūṭa, etc.). Names of mountains of other Dvīpas, of which Puṣkara-Dvīpa is said to have a circular mountain named Mānasottara.[78]

Celestial geography.[79]—Position and description of the upper worlds (*loka*), viz., Bhūr-loka, Bhuvar-loka, etc. The seven Winds, viz., Āvaha, Pravaha, Udvaha, Saṁvaha, Vivaha, Parāvaha and Parivaha, and the places occupied by these. Position and description of Brahma-loka, Viṣṇu-loka, Skanda-loka, Umā-loka and Śiva-loka, the last one occupying the highest place. Detailed description of Śiva-loka (which is the same as Go-loka—the world of cows) and of the Gaṇas there.

Glorification of cows.[80] —Praise of rendering respectful service to cows and of making gifts of these animals to Śiva or to one's spiritual guide.

Detailed instructions on the rearing of cattle. Worship of Rudra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Durgā, Nandā and other Mātṛs (mother

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75. *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chp. 12. (fols. 80b-81a).
76. *Ibid.*, chap. 12 (fol. 81a-b).
77. *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 81b)—
जम्बुद्वीपो महीमध्ये प्लक्षद्वीपस्ततः परः ।
तृतीयः शाल्मलीद्वीपः कुशद्वीपश्च तद्बहिः ॥
क्रौञ्चद्वीपश्च परतः शाकद्वीपश्च तद्बहिः ।
परतः पुष्करद्वीपः सप्तमः परिकीर्तितः ॥
78. *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 81b)—
पुष्करद्वीपमध्ये त्त पर्वतो बलयाकृतिः ।
एकः स्थितः समन्ताच्च नामतो मानसोत्तरः ॥
79. *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fols. 82a-83a and 87a).
80. *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fols. 83-87a).

goddesses) in a cowshed. Nature of grazing grounds in different seasons. Restrictions about milking of cows (which are not to be milked during the first two months of their delivery, and from which only half the quantity of milk is to be had during the third month). Prohibitions about using cows and bulls for riding.

Gift of various things (including articles of food) to Śiva and to a 'Pāśupata'.[81]

Praise of study and practice of the Śiva-dharma.[82]

Method and praise of worshipping the Śiva-dharmaśāstra by placing it on a Simhāsana (throne) or a Daṇḍāsana[83] and of having it read out by a reader.[84]

The above summary of contents of the *Śiva-dharmottara* shows that it is an interesting work containing varied information about the contemporary state of religion and society. It belongs to those Pāśupatas who looked upon Lakulīśa as a great teacher (*guru*) identical with Śiva himself, worshipped Śiva in a Liṅga or image or in fire, and held that the best adept in religious lore was one who knew the import of the 'Śiva-tantras'[85]. These sectaries respected the Veda and looked upon it as one of the sources of their sectarian Mantra of six syllables (the other source being the Śivāgama),[86] but they deprecated the performance of Vedic sacrifices as causing great waste of time, money and energy and yielding negligible result.[87] On the other hand, they regarded the Śaiva Āgamas as the highest authority in religious matters[88] and advocated

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81. *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 86).
82. *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 87b).
83-84. *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 88b).
85. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 43b).
*śiva-tantrārthavid dhīmān sa vidyā-parameśvaraḥ|*
86. For the relevant verse see foot-note 8 above.
87. For the relevant verses see foot-notes 12 and 33 above.
88. Cf. *Śivadharmottara*, Chap. 10 (fol. 72b)—

स्वसिद्धान्ताविरोधेन यस्तर्केण विचारयेत् ।
धर्मज्ञानापवर्गार्थं स तत्त्वान्वेषणे रतः ॥

* * * *

तस्मादागमयुक्त्यैव सूक्ष्मार्थप्रविचारणम् ।
कर्तव्यं नानुमाने न केवलेन विपश्चिता ॥

the superiority of these works over the Vedas saying that 'both the Vedas and the Śivāgamas being Āgamas, one should not have any dislike for the latter in which an easy way of attaining final release in a single life has been indicated'.[89] According to them, 'Śiva is known to the Śivāgamas as having no beginning, middle or end and being naturally pure, mighty, omniscient and complete'[90], and 'in spite of the multiplicity of scriptures the (book of) knowledge accomplished by the omniscint Śiva is the (only) authority'[91]. In their opinion, Rudra is the twenty-sixth Tattva, and Śiva, who is tranquil and extremely subtle and is the Parameśvara (supreme lord), is the twenty-seventh one[92]. They further say that from Puruṣa, who is the twenty-fifth Tattva, originate Rudra (i.e., the lower and secondary one), Viṣṇu and Pitāmaha, and from *Pradhāna* comes *Buddhi*, from which, again, come *Ahaṁkāra* and the other *Tattvas* in succession.

Though decrying the Vedic sacrificial rites and professing to follow the Śaiva Agamas, the *Śiva-dharmottara* seems to uphold the rigours of caste-system by distinguishing between Sat-śūdras and ordinary Śūdras and by declaring as heinous crimes (*mahāpātaka*) all acts that may affect a Brāhmaṇa physically, mentally or economically. Like the other Purāṇic works it takes a pessimistic view of life and cites a good number of instances[93] to show

89. *Ibid*. Chap. 10 (fol. 73b)—
आगमत्वेऽपि सामान्ये कः प्रद्वेषः शिवागमे ।
अनायासेन यत्रोक्ता मुक्तिरेकेन जन्मना ॥
90. *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 73a)—
आदिमध्यान्तनिर्मुक्तः स्वभावविमलः प्रभुः ।
सर्वज्ञः परिपूर्णश्च शिवो ज्ञेयः शिवागमे ॥
91. *Ibid.*, Chap. 10 (fol. 73a)—
बहुत्वेऽपि च शास्त्राणां सर्वज्ञेन शिवेन यत् ।
प्रणीतममलं ज्ञानं तत् प्रमाणं न संशयः ॥
92. *Ibid.*, chap. 10 (fol 74a)—
रुद्रः षड्विंशकः प्रोक्तः शिवश्च परमं ततः ।
सप्तविंशतिमः शान्तः सुसूक्ष्मः परमेश्वरः ॥
93. Viz., those of Yajña, whose head was severed and later joined to the trunk by Aśvins and who, consequently, had a permanent disease of the head (*śiro-roga*); Mārtaṇḍa Bhānu, who had an attack of leprosy; Varuṇa, who suffered from dropsy (*jalodara*); Pūṣan, who

that even gods cannot escape the sufferings consequent upon physical existence.

A perusal of the *Śiva-dharmottara* shows that it was composed much later than the *Śiva-dharma*. Unlike the latter, it recognises the authority of the Śivāgamas[94] and the Śiva tantras,[95] mention the use of Tantric Yantra for evil purposes,[96] and refers, in connection with the mention of the distances between the different Pātālas, to 'people most conversant with the meanings of Tantras' (*tantrārtha-vittama*).[97] By its inclusion of meat among the articles of food to be offered to Śiva and by its mention that people used to worship Rudra for the sake of wine and meat, the *Śiva-dharmottara* seems to betray its knowledge of the wide spread of Tantricism among the people. In Chap. 2 (fol. 44a) there is a direction for the use of the Nandi-nāgara script in copying manuscripts, and, according to Dr. Bühler, this script originated from the Southern Nāgarī of the 8th-11th centuries A.D.[98] So, the *Śiva-dharmottara* cannot possibly be dated earlier than 700 A.D. On the other hand, there are evidences to show that this work was written earlier than 800 A.D. It has already been mentioned that of the two old Newari Mss. in the library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, which include the texts of both the *Śivadharma* and the *Śivadharmottara*, one was dated by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri in the twelfth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds and the other has in the post-colophon statement of its eighth work the mention of the Newari year 156(=1036 A.D.). So, the *Śiva-dharmottara* must have been written not later than 1000 A.D. Again, a good number of verses have been quoted from the '*Śiva-dharmottara*' in Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, Rudradhara's *Varṣa-kṛtya*, Mādhavācārya's commentary

had mutilation of tooth (*daśana-vaikalya*); Śacī's husband (Indra), who had his hand benumbed; Soma, who was attacked with a dangerous type of consumption; Dakṣa, who had a severe attack of fever; and so on.

94. See *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chaps. 1 (fol. 41b), 5 (fol. 53b), and 10 (fols. 72b, 73a, 73b).
95. *Ibid.*, Chap. 2 (fol. 43b).
96. *Ibid.*, Chap. 6. (fol. 56b). For the text of the verse see foot note 61 above.
97. *Ibid.*, Chap. 12 (fol. 81a).
98. G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 51.

on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, and Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, and also in the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya* ascribed to Śaṅkara[99] (see Appendices I and II); *Devī-purāṇa*, Chap. 91, which was interpolated not later than 1050 A.D.,[100] has the line 'nandi-nāgarakair varṇair lekhayec chiva-pustakam' in common with *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 2 and seems to have known and utilised the section on Vidyā-dāna of the latter work; the *Ekāmra-purāṇa*, which was written in the tenth or eleventh century A.D.[101] mentions 'Śiva-yoga' as having been described in the '*Śiva-dharmottara*[102] and thus knows the present *Śiva-dharmottara*, which deals with ,Śiva-yoga' in Chap. 10; and the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā (of the *Śiva-purāṇa*), which was written between 800 and 1000 A.D.,[103] knows the *Śiva-dharmottara*, which it mentions as the "Uttara" (latter part) of the "*Śiva-dharmākhya* Śāstra".[104] So, the *Śiva-dharmottara* must be dated not later than 800 A.D.

Thus, the date of composition of the *Śiva-dharmottara* (in its present form) falls between 700 and 800 A.D.

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99. That this Bhāṣya is a post-Śaṅkara work can be little doubted. S. K. Belvalkar, Vidhuśekhara Śāstri, and others do not recognise it as a work of the great teacher Śaṅkarācārya.
100. For my article on the *Devī-purāṇa* see *New Indian Antiquary*, V, pp. 2-20.
101. For this date of the *Ekāmra-purāṇa* see my article in *Poona Orientalist*, XVI, 1951, pp. 70-76.
102. See *Ekāmra-purāṇa* (Dacca university Ms. No. 4492), fol. 86a—b—

    शिवयोगं समासाद्य शिवधर्मोत्तरोदितम् ।
    अक्षये शिवलोके च शिवेन सह मोदते ।।
103. For the date of the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā see my article on "The Problems relating to the *Śiva-purāṇa*" published in *Our Heritage* (a half-yearly Bulletin of the Research Department of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta), Vol. I., 1953, pp. 46ff.
104. See *Śiva-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.), V (Vāyavīya-saṁhitā). 24. 17a—

    *śāstraṁ ca śiva-dharmākhyaṁ dharmākhyaṁ ca tad-uttaram.*

Like the *Śiva-dharma*, the *Śiva-dharmottara* also seems to have been written in Northern India. Most, if not all, of the holy places, said to be resorted to by gods and Siddhas,[105] belong to this part of the country. It is probable that the work was written at Banaras, the name of which heads the list of holy places given in Chap. 4 (fol. 53b). In spite of its probable origin in Northern India, this work attained popularity in South India also, where Mss. of this work have been found in Devanāgarī, Āndhra and Malāyalam scripts.

It has already been said that the *Śiva-dharmottara* has been drawn upon in some of the Smṛti Nibandhas. But unfortunately, most of the verses quoted therein are not found in the present text of this work.[106] This remarkable fact may be explained by saying that the text of the *Śiva-dharmottara*, known to these writers, was more extensive than what has come down to us. As a matter of fact the *Śiva-dharmottara* itself records a tradition that it is the abridged form of a much bigger work dealing with Karma-yoga, Jñāna-yoga and the nature of Dharma and Adharma. So, the original *Śiva-dharmottara* must have been composed much earlier than the eighth century A.D.

105. These are Vārāṇasī, Kurukṣetra, Prayāga, Puṣkara, Gaṅgā, Samudra-tīra, Naimiṣa, Amarakaṇṭaka, Śrī-parvata, Gokarṇa and Veda-parvata. —*Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 4 (fol. 53b).

106. For an idea of these untraceable vesses see Appendise II. One of these verses (quoted in Mādhavācārya's commentary on *Parāsāra smṛti* II. ii.p. 339) is as follows :

वेश्यां कुलवधूं कृत्वा वर्त्तते यो नराधमः ।
भक्तं भोक्तुमशक्तश्च मण्डपानेन जीवति ॥

## APPENDIX I

| The verses, ascribed to the '*Śiva-dharmottara*' in | |
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| 1. Aparārka's commentary (on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*), | Occur in *Śiva-dharmotara*, |
| p. 274 (the first quotation of 2 lines) | Chap. 11 (fol. 80a). |
| 2. Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, III | |
| p. 353 (2 lines wrongly ascribed to the '*Śiva-dharma*') | Chap. 2 (fol. 43a). |
| p. 430 (2 lines) | Chap. 4 (fol. 52a). |
| pp. 434-5 (2 lines) | Chap. 4 (fol. 52a). |
| pp. 1628-29 (17 lines) | Chap. 12 (fol. 85a-b). |
| p. 1633 (4 lines) | Chap. 12 (fol. 85b). |
| p. 1634 (7 lines) | Chap. 12 (fol. 85b). |
| 3. Mādhavācārya's commentary (on the *Parāśara-smṛti*) | |
| II. ii, p. 208 (2 lines) | Chap. 6 (fol. 55a). |
| 4. Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 657 (2 lines, wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma*') | Chap. 2 (fol. 43a). |
| 5. *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad-bhāṣya* ascribed to Śaṅkara (Ānandāśrama Press ed.), | |
| p. 7 (4 lines) | Chap. 3 (fol. 49b, lines 3-4) |
| p. 8 (10 lines) | Chap. 3 (fol. 49b, line 6 to fol. 50a, line 2). |
| p. 33 (2 lines) | Chap. 3 (fol. 50a, line 3– v. l. ज्ञानात् for ध्यानात्) |
| p. 34 (2 lines) | Chap. 3 (fol. 49b, line 4). |
| p. 35 (9 lines) | Chap. 3 (fol. 50b, line 2). |

While examining the *Śiva-dharma* we have already said that in *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 467 and II. ii, pp. 396 and 887-9, 6, 11, and 37 metrical lines respectively of *Śiva-dharma*, Chaps. 10 and 9 have been wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva-dharmottara*.

## APPENDIX II.

The verses, ascribed to the '*Śiva-dharmottara*' in the following works, are not found in the present *Śiva-dharmottara* :—

(1) Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, pp. 274-5 (five quotations of 3, 1, 4, 12 and 9 lines re-pectively on impurity and purification).

(2) Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III. i, p. 354 (4 lines on the characteristics of an 'Ātmajña' and the Śiva-yogins).

(3) Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, II. ii, pp. 227 (4 lines on Karma-vipāka), 236(11 lines on the same topic), 339-40 (21 lines on the same topic), 243-4 (13 lines on the same topic), and 250 (2 lines on the same topic).

(4) Rudradhara's *Varṣa-kṛtya*, pp. 102-111 (about 200 lines on Sivarātri-vrata-vidhi).

(5) Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 417 (2 lines on Siva-worship).

## THE GAṆEŚA-PURĀṆA*

Though not mentioned in any of the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, this work[1] reckons itself as one of the 'eighteen Upa-

* J. G. J. R. I., Vol. X, pp. 79-99.

1. Our analysis of this Upa-purāṇa is based on the edition published by Gopal Narayan and Co., Bombay, 1892.

According to M. Winternitz, an edition of the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa* 'appeared in Poona in 1876.' (See Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 582, footnote 3). As I was unable to procure a copy of this Poona edition, I could not compare it with the Bombay edition.

For MSS of this *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa* (hereinafter referred to as *Gaṇeśa-p.* or *Gaṇ.*) see :

(i) Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, pp. 78-79, Nos. 133-134. (Of these two MSS, the former contains the Upāsanā-khaṇḍa divided into 93 chapters).

(ii) Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, VI, p. 1199, Nos. 3549-51. (Of these three MSS, the first preserves the text of the Upāsanā-khaṇḍa of 93 chapters).

(iii) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. MSS*, VII, pp. 91-96, Nos. 2325-26. (Of these two MSS, the former is incomplete and contains chaps. 1—81 of the Upāsanā-khaṇḍa).

(iv) Hrishikesh Shastri and Siva Chandra Gui, *Calcutta Sans. College Catalogue*, IV, pp. 18-19, No. 23 (containing both the Khaṇḍas).

(v) A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sans. MSS in the Palace at Tanjora*, p. 187.

(vi) M. A. Stein, *Jammu Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, p. 200.

(vii) *Benares Sans. College Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, pp. 287 and 308.

(viii) Lewis Rice, *Catalogue of Sans. MSS in Mysore and Coorg*, p. 70.

(ix) Hiralal, *Catalogue of Sans. and Prakrit MSS in the Central Province and Berar*, p. 115.

(x) P. P. S. Sastri, *Tanjore Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, XV, pp. 7171-72, No. 10571—77.

(xi) H. I. Poleman, *Census of Indic MSS. in the United States and Canada*, p. 49, Nos. 1046—48.

(xii) *Adyar Library Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, Part I, p. 150.

purāṇas[2] but does not claim to belong to any Mahā-purāṇa. It is divided into two parts, viz, Upāsanā-khaṇḍa and Krīḍā-khaṇḍa, of which the former consists of 92 chapters and the latter (styled 'Uttara-khaṇḍa' in all the chapter-colophons), of 155 chapters.

At the very outset of the first part we are told that some sages, who attended the twelve-year sacrifice instituted by Śaunaka and had already heard the 'eighteen Purāṇas', requested Sūta to speak further on Purāṇic topics. Consequently, Sūta spoke out 'the Purāṇa of Gaṇeśa' and glorified this deity through the story of Somakānta, which runs as follows :

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(xiii) F. Kielhorn, *Report on the Search for Sans. MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the year* 1880-81, p. 64. (The MSS is dated Saṁvat 1890).

For MSS of the *Gaṇeśa.gītā* (forming chaps. 138–148 of the second part of the *Gaṇeśa-p.*), see

(i) Mitra, *Notices of Sans. MSS*, IV, pp. 27–28, No. 1403.

(ii) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sans. MSS in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (hereinafter referred to as *ASB. Cat.*), pp. 789–791, Nos. 4137–38. (The latter MS is dated Śaka 1616 and furnished with a commentary entitled *Gaṇapati-bhāva-dīpikā* of Nilakaṇṭha, son of Govinda–sūri).

(iii) M. A. Stein, *Jammu Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, p. 200. (One of the two MSS mentioned by Stein contains Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary).

(iv) R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sans. MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the years* 1887–88, 1888–89, 1889–90, *and* 1890–91, p. 11,

For MSS of the *Gaṇeśa-sahasra-nāma-stotra* (occurring in *Gaṇ*. 1, 46); see

(i) Mitra, *Notices of Sans. MSS*, IV, p. 32, No. 1410. (This MS is dated Śaka 1549 and furnished with the commentary of Gopālabhaṭṭha, surnamed Ḍāva).

(ii) R. L. Mitra, *Bikaner Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, pp. 199-200, No. 434.

(iii) Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, p. 71.

(iv) Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue of Sans. MSS*, p. 79, No, 135.

It should be mentioned that all the above-mentioned MSS are written in Devanāgarī.

2. *Gaṇ.*, I. 1.8.

अन्यान्युपपुराणानि वर्तन्तेऽष्टादशैव च ।
गणेशं नारदीयं च नृसिंहादीन्यथापि च ॥

Somakānta, the able and pious ruler of Devanagara (or Devapura) in Saurāṣṭra, had a sudden attack of leprosy. Finding himself completely disabled by this fell disease Somakānta installed his son Hemakaṇṭha on the throne, gave him instructions on *ācāra* and *nīti*,[3] and retired to the forest with his wife Sudharmā and two of his ministers. While living at the side of a lake Sudharmā chanced to meet Cyavana, son of Bhṛgu, and told him all about her husband. Cyavana reported the matter to Bhṛgu, who, consequently, sent Cyavana to bring Somakānta and others to his hermitage. Cyavana did so, and Somakānta asked Bhṛgu the cause of, and remedy for the disease. Bhṛgu explained the whole situation thus. In his previous birth Somakānta was a Vaiśya named Kāmanda of Kolhāranagara near the Vindhya mountain. After his parent's death Kāmanda became reckless and earned much wealth by plundering and killing Brāhmaṇas, women and children. When, in his old age, he became invalid and was forsaken even by his nearest relations, he became repentant and determined to give away all his ill-earned property to worthy Brāhmāṇas. But as none came forward to accept anything from him, he spent the greater part of his wealth in turning a small dilapidated temple of Gaṇeśa into a magnificent one.[4] Not long after this Kāmanda died and was allowed by Yama first to reap the fruit of his pious act. Consequently, he was born as Somakānta and enjoyed royal fortune for some time. Now that the time for suffering had come, he was attacked with leprosy. Somakānta listened to Bhṛgu's words, but his mind did not become free from doubt. Consequently, a number of birds appeared on the scene and began to tear away Somakānta's flesh. Being very much afflicted Somakānta sought Bhṛgu's protection, and the latter scared away all the birds with a roar and suggested to

3. For these instructions see *Gaṇ*. I, 3, in which the following topics have been dealt with—morning duties (including salutation to the spiritual preceptors and to Gaṇanātha, Kamalā-pati, Girijā-pati, Dīnānātha and Girijā); purification of the body; general maxims; duties of a king towards his own subjects as well as towards his neighbours.

4. Kāmanda is said to have furnished this temple with four *toraṇas*, four *dvāras*, and four *śikharas*, and to have decorated it with various kinds of jewels—*Gaṇ*. I. 8. 21–24.

Somakānta that he should listen to 'the Purāṇa of Gaṇeśa' for escaping all kinds of miseries. Bhṛgu then sprinkled water on Somakānta by repeating one hundred and eight names of Gaṇeśa, and, as a result, an extremely dark pāpapuruṣa came out of Somakānta's body and resorted to a dry mango tree at the order of the sage. As Somakānta was eager to listen to 'the Purāṇa of Gaṇeśa', Bhṛgu asked him to bathe at the Bhṛgu-tīrtha and undertake a solemn vow for the purpose. Somakānta did so and instantaneously became free from the disease Bhṛgu then glorified Gaṇeśa as well as the Purāṇa in his praise, which Bhṛgu had heard from Vyāsa, and Dakṣa from Mudgala. Bhṛgu added that as, during the Kali age, the people did not study the Vedas, neglected the duties enjoined on them by their castes and orders of life, created mixed castes, and committed various kinds of sins, Vyāsa wrote the eighteen Purāṇas and the eighteen Upapurāṇas for saving the (Vedic) *dharma*.[5] Bhṛgu then narrated the Purāṇa to Somakānta thus : Vyāsa divided the originally one Veda into four and undertook to write the Purāṇas 'for elucidating the meanings of the Vedas.'[6] But as out of pride he did not begin with any verse on salutation to, or in praise of Gaṇeśa, his memory failed him on certain points. Being unable to account for such loss of memory Vyāsa saw Brahmā in Satyaloka and learnt from him that neglect of Gaṇeśa was the real cause of such forgetfulness. (Chaps. 1—10). Vyāsa then wanted to know about Gaṇeśa and his worship. Consequently Brahmā spoke on the following topics :

Praise of Gaṇeśa as the highest deity and Parama Brahma and of Gaṇeśa-mantras, especially the one-syllabled ***mantra-rāja***

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5. *Gaṇ*. I. 9. 37–39a :

वेदार्थज्ञानरहितान् वेदाध्ययनवर्जितान् ।
वर्णाश्रमाचारशून्यान् जातिसंकरकारिणः ॥
कलौ विलोक्य तु जनान् कुटिलान् पापकारिणः ।
अष्टादश पुराणानि कृतवान् धर्मगुप्तये ॥
तावन्त्युपपुराणानि ततोऽर्थान् बुबुधुर्जनाः ।

6. *Gaṇ*. I. 10. 2—

कृत्वा वेदं चतुर्भागं तदर्थज्ञानसिद्धये ।
स विद्यामदगर्वेण पुराणं कर्तुमारभत् ॥

(oṁ). Method and praise of muttering these *mantras* with the performance of bhūtaśuddhi, nyāsa, mudrā etc. in accordance with the directions of the Āgamas (i.e. Tantras). Method and praise of Gaṇeśa-worship and the performance of various *vratas* of Gaṇapati, viz., Vināyaka-caturthīvrata, Saṅkaṣṭa-caturthī-vrata, Aṅgāraka-caturthī-vrata etc. Praise of offering Dūrvā grass, Śamī-leaves etc. to Gaṇapati. Description of Gaṇeśa in his *saguṇa* and *nirguṇa* aspects. Gaṇeśa's existence as *nāda-brahma*. Origin and praise of (i) the holy places sacred to Gaṇeśa, viz., Siddhakṣetra, Gaṇeśa-pura, Mayūreśvara etc; (ii) the image of Gaṇeśa called Cintāmaṇi at Kadambapura (also called Cintāmaṇipura or Cintāmaṇi-kṣetra) in Vidarbha; (iii) the Gaṇeśa-kuṇḍa at Kadambapura; (iv) the image of Gaṇeśa called Varada at Puṣpakapura; and so on.

In connection with these topics many myths and legends have been introduced in this Parāṇa. Some of these are the following :

Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa's search for the Supreme Being after *pralaya*; Gaṇeśa's consequent appearance before these gods by assuming a visible form,[7] and Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśa's eulogy of Gaṇeśa by applying to him all the attributes of Parama Brahma. Gaṇeśa's allotment of duties to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva (of whom the first was entrusted with the Vedas and the Purāṇas, and the last with the one-syllabled and six-syllabled *mantras* of Gaṇeśa as well as with the Āgamas). Brahmā's experience after entering Gaṇeśa's body, his muttering of the one-syllabled *mantra* which Gaṇeśa himself had instructed to Brahmā in a dream by assuming the form of a child lying on a leaf of a banyan tree, and his creation of the universe through Gaṇeśa's favour. Viṣṇu's killing of Madhu and Kaiṭabha after pleasing Gaṇeśa by duly repeating his six-syllabled *mantra*. Mental depression of king Bhīma of Kauṇḍinyanagara in Vidarbha for his childlessness; his approach to Viśvāmitra for remedy; his worship of Gaṇeśa by repeating the one-syllabled *mantra*; and the consequent birth of a son who was named Rukmāṅgada. Attainment of the royal fortune and construction of a Gaṇeśa-temple at Kauṇḍinyanagara by Dakṣa (son of Vallabha, king of Bhānunagara in Karṇāṭa), who, after being discarded by his father for his inborn physical defects,

7. For description of this form see *Gaṇ.* I. 12. 33-38.

regained his natural form by coming in contact with the air approaching from the body of a Gaṇeśa-worshipping saint named Mudgala and was able to win Gaṇeśa's favour by worshipping him first with the eight-syllabled *mantra* and then with the one-syllabled one in accordance with Mudgala's instructions. Constant worship of Gaṇeśa by Vallāla (son of a Vaiśya named Kalyāṇa of Pallī in Sindhu-deśa), as a result of whose curse Kalyāṇa was reborn as Dakṣa mentioned above. Indra's worship of Gaṇeśa with the six-syllabled *mantra*, and his consequent immunity from Gautma's curse which was enjoined on him for enjoying Ahalyā's person during Gautama's absence. Rukmāṅgada's bath and Gaṇeśa-worship at Cintāmaṇi-kṣetra in accordance with Nārada's instructions, and his consequent recovery from leprosy caused to him by the curse of Mukundā (the wife of a sage) who was offended with Rukmāṅgada because the latter did not enjoy her person in spite of repeated request. Indra's assumption of the form of Rukmāṅgada and union with Mukundā, and the consequent birth of Gṛtsamada,[8] whom other sages did not recognise as a Brāhmaṇa and who, therefore, cursed his mother to turn into a Badarī (jujube) tree and attained Brāhmaṇattva by practising severe penance and worshipping Gaṇeśa with the Ṛgvedic *mantra* 'gaṇānāṁ tvā etc.' Birth and exploits of Tripura, son of Gṛtsamada, his practice of severe austerities and worship of Gaṇeśa with the *Ṛgvedic* mantra 'gaṇānāṁ tvā etc.', his receipt of boons as well as of a city called Tripura (also known as Gaṇeśapura) from this deity, and his occupation of heaven and Kailāśa. Śiva's worship of Gaṇeśa with the mention of his one thousand names (Gaṇeśa-sahasra-nāma),[9] and his destruction of the city of Tripura, which was situated in Baṅgāla,[10] by means of a single arrow. Pārvatī's

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8. For complete analysis of the legend of Gṛtsamada see Dr. Stevenson's article in *JRAS*, VIII, pp. 319-329.

9. For the Gaṇeśa-sahasra-nāma-stotra enunciated by Śiva see *Gaṇ*. I. 46. Many of the names have been arranged alphabetically from अ to क्ष.

10. *Gaṇ*. I. ·6—
तत्तस्तदभवत् स्थानं बंगाले त्रिपुरस्य ह ।
गणेशपुरमित्येवं सर्वेषां सर्वसिद्धिदम् ॥
See JGJRI, Vol. VIII, pt. iv.

performance of the Vināyaka-caturthī-vrata[11] in accordance with the instructions of Himavat and her consequent marriage with Śiva. King Kardama's living a life of pomp and pleasure and passing to the region of Gaṇeśvara as a result of performing this *vrata* in accordance with Saubhari's instructions. Nala's attainment of royal fortune by performing the Vināyaka-caturthī-vrata in his previous birth as a Kṣatriya 'in the city of Pippala situated in a land lying beyond Gauḍa-deśa (gauḍa-deśāt pare deśe pure pippala-saṁjñake—*Gaṇ*. I. 52. 21).

Besides these there are several other stories meant for glorifying the caturthī-vratas of Gaṇeśa, viz., those of queen Indumatī (who rescued her husband Candrāṅgada, king of Mālava, from the Nāga damsels by performing the Gaṇeśa-caturthī-vrata in accordance with Nārada's advice), king Śūrasena of Madhyadeśa (who heard from Indra about the glory of Gaṇeśa and attained the region of this deity by worshipping him duly), a sinning fisherman of Daṇḍakāraṇya (who became known as sage Bhrūśuṇḍi by worshipping Gaṇanātha), the Earth's son Maṅgala by sage Bharadvāja of Avantīnagara, king Kṛtavīrya and his son Kārtavīryārjuna, Sundarā (the daughter of a Kṣatriya named Sāraṅgadhara) of Baṅgālaviṣaya, Rāma Jāmadagnya (who received the six-syllabled Gaṇeśa-mantra from Śiva), the demon Tāraka(whom Skanda[12] was able to kill by duly observing the Vināyaka-caturthī-vrata), and so on.

The second part of the *Gaṇeśa-p.* deals with the exploits of Gaṇeśa (often mentioned as 'Vināyaka') in his different incarnations, and contains the following stories :

Gaṇeśa's birth in the Satya-yuga as Aditi's ten-handed (daśabhuja) son named Mahotkaṭa (and Vināyaka) for bringing about the destruction of the demons Narāntaka and Devāntaka (who were the sons of a twice-born named Raudraketu of Aṅga and became invincible by worshipping Śiva); his assumption of a two-handed form at the request of his mother; his exploits in his infancy,

11. For description of this *vrata*, which is to be observed for one month from Śrāvaṇa-śukla-caturthī to Bhādra-śukla-caturthī, see *Gaṇ*. I. 49–51.

12. The story of the birth of Skanda as given in *Gaṇ*. 1.83ff, has innovations on some points.

viz., his killing of (i) Virajā, a Rākṣasī who swallowed him up, (ii) the Rākṣasas Uddhata and Dhundhura who came to kill him by assuming the forms of parrots, and (iii) a crocodile which threatened to kill him together with his mother in a lake; his stealing of the images of the five deities (*pañcāyatana*, viz., Śarvāṇī, Śarva, Viṣṇu, Vināyaka and Ravi) when these were being worshipped by the Gandharvas Hāhā, Hūhū and Tumburu in Kaśyapa's house, his showing of the universe in his mouth in order to dissuade his father from punishing him, and his assumption of the forms of the five deities to the great astonishment of the Gandharvas; his investiture with the sacred thread, during which Brahmā named him Brahmaṇaspati and gave him a lotus, Bṛhaspati named him Bhārabhūti, Kuvera gave him a garland of gems (*ratna-mālā*) and named him Surānanda. Varuṇa (*apām patiḥ*) gave him a noose (*pāśa*) and named him Sarvapriya, Śaṅkara gave him a trident (*triśūla*), a *ḍamaru* and a digit of the moon (*candrakalā*) and name him Virūpākṣa and Bhālacandra, ( Jāmadagnya) Rāma's mother gave him an axe (*paraśu*) and a lion and named him Paraśu-hasta and Siṁha-vāhana, the Sea(*Sāgara*) gave him a garland of pearls and named him Mālādhara, the serpent Śeṣa became his seat and named him Phaṇirājāsana, Fire gave him the power of burning as well as the name 'Dhanañjaya', and so on; Vināyaka's killing of the five Rākṣasas Vighāta, Piṅgākṣa, Viśāla, Piṅgala and Capala who approached him during his *upanayana* by assuming the forms of Brāhmaṇas; his baffling the attempts of Vāyu and Agni, who, being sent by Indra, tried to overpower him; Indra's entrance into Vināyaka's body and viewing in it innumerable universes; Vināyaka's killing of the Rākṣasa Dhūmrākṣa and his sons Jaghana and Manu, when he was being taken to Kaśī by Kāśī-rāja for attending the marriage ceremony of his son; Vināyaka's entrance into Kāśī and killing of numerous demons including Narāntaka and Devāntaka; his worship by Kāśī-rāja; his feasting at every house; his previous appearance as Pārvatī's ten-handed son named Vakra-tuṇḍa, his going to Benares and killing of the demon Durāsada who had taken his residence at Bhasmakapura (also called Mukundapura) in the land of the Kaivartas,[13] his reputation under the name of Ḍhuṇḍhi-

13. *Gaṇ*. II. 39. 16—

कैवर्तकानां विषये न्यवसद् भस्मके पुरे ।
मुकुन्दपुरमित्येव ख्यातं लोकेषु सर्वतः ॥

rāja and residence at Benares by assuming fifty-six different forms, and his re-establishing of Śiva at Benares after ousting the pious king Divodāsa with the help of Viṣṇu who assumed the form of a Buddha and misled people by preaching anti-Vedic ideas,[14] and so on. (Chapt. 1-72). Vināyaka's birth in the Tretā-yuga as Pārvatī's son named Mayūreśvara (also called Gaṇeśa and Heramba for killing the demon Sindhu whose tyranny became unbearable to all; Mayūreśvara's exploits from his childhood, viz., his killing of Gṛdhrāsura, Bālāsura, Vyomāsura, Kamaṭhāsura, and numerous other demons including Sindhu; his showing to his mother and others the universe as lying in his mouth; his riding on the peacock which was born of the egg brought forth by Vinatā; his showing of his viśvarūpa to Brahmā; his destruction of the sacrifice instituted by Indra; his marriage; and so on. (Chaps. 73-126). Vināyaka's birth in the Dvāpara-yuga as Pārvatī's elephant-headed son named Gajānana for bringing about the destruction of the extremely red demon Sindūra born of Brahmā's yawning; Śiva's consolation to Pārvatī who felt very much dejected at the sight of the ugly face of her son; Vāmadeva's curse on a Gandharva named Krauñca, and the latter's consequent birth as a rat; Gajānana's chastisement of this rat and making it his mount (*vāhana*); his turning red after killing Sindūra; and so on Besides these, there are stories in praise of (i) the use Śamī-leaves in Vināyaka-worship, (ii) the construction of images of Vināyaka with Mandāra-wood, (iii) the images of Vināyaka established at different places, and so on. In chaps. 138-148, which constitute the 'Upaniṣad-arthagarbhā Gaṇeśa-gītā', Gajānana speaks to king Vareṇya on jñāna-yoga, karma-yoga, kṣetra-viveka etc. ; in chap. 149 Brahmā gives a description of the evils of the Kali age and says that Vināyaka would manifest himself as Dhūmaketu at the end of this age for exterminating the Mlecchas and re-establishing *dharma*; and in chap. 154 the names of fifty-six Gaṇeśas who attend upon Vināyaka and reside at Benares have been given.

The above contents of the *Gaṇeśa-p.* clearly shows that this work deals exclusively with the praise and worship of Gaṇeśa (also called Vināyaka, Gajānana, Varada, Vighnanāśa etc.) Although

14. *Gaṇ.* II. 47. 3ff.

it preaches the unity of all gods,[15] it regards Gaṇeśa as the supreme deity and says that it is only Gaṇeśa who is able to create and avert obstacles and to confer his worshippers *bhakti*, *jñāna* and *mukti*. It looks upon Gaṇeśa from two aspects, *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa*. In his *nirguṇa* aspect Gaṇeśa is the same as Parama Brahma, and all the attributes of the latter are conveniently attached to him. Thus, he is said to be *anādi*, *nitya*, *nirvikāra*, *avyaya*, *aprameya*, *kāraṇātīta*, *kevalānandarūpin* and so on. He is *oṁkāra-rūpin*, *brahma-vidyā-pradāyin* and *vighna-sāgara-śoṣaṇa* and is the original source of the universe (including gods and others). In creation he takes to *guṇas* and appears as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and others; and it is Gaṇeśa who manifests himself in different forms for establishing law and order in the world. Thus, the *Gaṇeśa-p.* says, Gaṇeśa incarnated himself as '*tejorūpī*,' '*daśa-bhuja*' and '*siṁhārūḍha*' *Vināyaka* in the Satya-yuga, as '*barhirūḍha*,' '*ṣaḍ-bhuja*' and '*śaśi-varṇa*' *Mayūreśvara* in the Tretā-yuga, and as '*rakta-varṇa*,' '*ākhu-rūḍha*' and '*catur-bhuja*' *Gajānana* in the Dvāpara, and would appear as '*dhūmra-varṇa*', '*nīlāśvārūḍha*' and '*dvi-hastavān*' *Dhūmaketu* in the Kali-yuga.[16] According to *Gaṇ.* II. 130. Vināyaka was born to Pārvatī in the Dvāpara age with the normal head of a human being, but after being eulogised by his mother he changed his form into that furnished with the head of an elephant. In chap. 134 of its Krīḍā-khaṇḍa the *Gaṇeśa-p.* says that the Gandharva named Krauñca was transformed into a rat by Vāmadeva's curse and that Gajānana overpowered it and made it his *vāhana*, because it used to eat up the rice kept in earthen pots, damaged books, clothes etc., and created various other troubles in Parāśara's hermitage. Besides the forms of Gaṇeśa mentioned above, the *Gaṇeśa-p.* knows many more, viz., those having two, three, five, eight, twelve or eighteen hands,[17] and two, five or six faces;[18] one of the forms of Gaṇeśa has four tusks[19] and another has a dark complexion (*meghābha*)[20];

15. See especially *Gaṇ.* II. 138. 20f.—
    शिवे विष्णौ च शक्तौ च सूर्ये मयि नराधिप ।
    योऽभेदबुद्धिर्योगः स सम्यग्योगो मतो मम ॥
    etc.
16. *Gaṇ.* II. 1. 17–21, 78. 41–43, and 130. 28ff.
17. *Gaṇ.* I. 46. 137–141, and 91. 38–41; and II. 149. 7-8.
18. *Gaṇ.* I. 46. 137, 141 and 144; I. 44. 26; II. 149. 7.
19. *Gaṇ.* I. 46. 139.
20. *Gaṇ.* I. 91. 38.

Heramba-Gaṇapati has been mentioned in several places; and in *Gaṇ*. I. 46. 137 Gaṇeśa has been described as 'dvi-rūpa'.[21]

Of the different forms of Gaṇeśa mentioned in the *Gaṇeśa-p.* it is the four-handed one which is the most popular. In this form[22] Gaṇapati has a single tusk and a huge serpent coiling round his belly. He wears a crown (*mukuṭa*), earrings (*kuṇḍala*), armlets (*aṅgada*), a waist-band (*kaṭisūtra*) generally made of gold (*kāñcanīya*), and garland made of pearls (which may be interspersed with gems) or of red flowers. The things, which he carries in hands, are not always the same. Sometimes he bears the '*khaḍga*', '*kheṭa*', '*dhanus*' and '*śakti*', sometimes he holds a "*paraśu* (axe), a '*kamala*' (lotus), a '*mālā*' and either sweetmeats (*modaka*), or a tusk (*danta*); and sometimes he wields a '*pāśa*' (noose) and an '*aṅkuśa*' (goad) instead of the axe and the lotus. On some occasions he has three eyes[23] or a crescent moon on his forehead,[24] or wears the gem called Cintāmaṇi on his bosom,[25] or is attended by Siddhi and Buddhi.[26] Although he is generally red and is clad in red garments, on one occasion he is described as being 'śaśi-varṇa'[27] and, on another, as being dressed in yellow silk (pīta-kauśeya-vasana').[28]

Next in popularity is Gaṇeśa's ten-handed form[29] which carries different kinds of weapons in its ten hands, has the moon on its forehead, wears a garland made of pearls or lotuses, has a

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21. We do not know whether this 'dvi-rūpa' Gaṇapati is the same as the double-formed Gaṇeśa (called Kangi-ten) whose images are found in Japan. For information about these images see Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa—A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God*, pp. 78ff. and Plate No. 38.

22. For description of the four-handed form of Gaṇapati see *Gan.* I. 12. 33–38, 15. 4–6, 20. 31–34, 21. 32–34, 49. 21–23, 66. 17–19, 87. 31–35, 82. 26–29, and 91. 8–9; II. 130. 1–5 and 21–22.

23. *Gaṇ*. I. 21. 11, and 23. 11.

24. *Gaṇ*. I. 15. 5, and 87. 33; II. 130. 5.

25-26. *Gaṇ*. II. 130. 22.

27. *Gaṇ*. I. 91. 29.

28. *Gaṇ*. I. 20. 31.

29. For description of this form see *Gaṇ*. I. 37. 10–13, 44. 26–28, 88. 32–35, and 90. 14–15, and II. 6. 22–25, and 17. 25–28.

white complexion, rides a lion, and is attended by Siddhi and Buddhi. In this form Gaṇeśa sometimes wears a garland of skulls and has five faces; or he may also have the gem called Cintāmaṇi on his bosom, or ride a peacock, or have a vermillion-red complexion.

Gaṇeśa, as described in the *Gaṇeśa-p.*, is a compsite god[30] having many of the characteristics of Rudra Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Indra, Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Kuvera, Kārttikeya, Durgā and others. This is evidenced not only by Gaṇeśa's paraphernalia (viz., the crescent moon, the serpent, the yellow garment, the goad, the lotus, the noose, the axe,[31] the missile Śakti, the mounts peacock and lion, and so on), but also by the following names which are applied to him in his *Sahasra-nāma-stotra* : Śambhu, Virūpākṣa, Khaṇḍendu-kṛta-śekhara, Bhāla-candra, - Śūlin, Khaṭvāṅgin, Paśupati, Paśu-pāśa-vimocaka, Śārṅgin, Gadādhara, Vanamālin, Cakrapāṇi, Mahālakṣmī-priyatama, Bhāratī-sundarī-nātha, Sarasvatyāśraya, Vāgīśvarīpati, Sarojabhṛt, Vajrādyastra-parīvāra, Pāśin, Brahmaṇaspati, Bṛhaspati, Nidhipati, Dhanapati, Dhanada, Sūryamaṇḍala- madhyaga, and so on.[32] Various other aspects of Gaṇeśa's character are indicated by the following names which also occur in the *Gaṇeśa-sahasra-nāma-stotra* : Śavara, Buddhi-priya, Siddhi-priya, Siddhi-pati, Mohinī-pati, Jyeṣṭharāja, Sadyojāta, Gajapati, Cintāmaṇi-dvīpa-pati, Śāli-mañjarī-bhṛt, Kalpa-valli-dhara, Mudgarāyudha, Mātuliṅga-dhara, Cūta-kalikā-bhṛt, Gadya-padya-sudhārṇava, Gadya-gāna-priya, Cintāmaṇi, Arṇava-lālasa, Phala-hasta, Phāṇita-priya, Mantra-pati, Hasti-piśācīśa, Kṣetrādhipa, Parābhicāra-śamana, Supta-mātṛ-niṣevita, Aṣṭa-patrāmbujāsana, Aṣṭa-mātṛ-samāvṛta, Nava-nāgāsanādhyāsin, and Nava-durgā-niṣevita. Gaṇapati's names 'Bhāratī-sundarī-nātha' 'Sarasvatyā-śraya' and 'Vidyāprada' and his description as a

30. We have already said that the idea of the later Gaṇeśa is originally based on the identification of the Vināyakas with the Gaṇeśvaras. According to the *Gaṇeśa*-p., 'Vināyaka' and 'Gajānana', which differ in forms, are the distinct incarnation of the same god.

31. According to *Ṛgveda* X. 53. 9 Brahmaṇaspati carried an iron axe.

32. *Gaṇ.* I. 46. 8-9, 14-15, 17, 19-20, 46-52, 61, 65, 87, 99, 102, 105 and so on.

'vidyādhipa-deva[33] show that he was also looked upon as a god of learning.

A study of the *Gaṇeśa-p.* shows that Gaṇeśa was zealously worshipped by the Tantriks, both Hindu and Buddhist,[34] and that many Āgamas were written on the praise and worship of this god.[35] These Tantriks furnished Gaṇeśa with Śaktis,[36] evolved a large number of *mantras*[37] and used these for accomplishing various ends.[38] They regarded Gaṇeśa as the 'mantra-pati' (I. 46. 108) and sometimes worshipped him for saving themselves from black magic (*abhicāra*) practised against them by others (I. 46. 124). Gaṇeśa was no less popular with the Vāmācāra Tantriks than with the others. This is amply evidenced by his names 'Ucchiṣṭa-gaṇeśa', 'Ucchiṣṭa-gaṇa', 'Guhyācāra-rata', 'Guhyāgama-nirūpita' and 'Madaghūrṇita-locana' as occurring in the *Gaṇeśa-sahasra-nāma-stotra*. As Gaṇeśa's association with Tantricism was not favourable to the varṇāśrama-dharma, the *Gaṇeśa-p.* was written to infuse Gāṇapatyaism with Vedic ideas. This work describes Gaṇeśa as '*trayīmaya*' (I. 61. 43) and '*ṛgyajuḥ-sāma-sambhūti*' (I. 46. 78), regards him as the source of the Vedas (I. 51. 73), identifies him with the Vedic sacrifice (I. 46. 110), calls him '*yajña-pati*' (I. 46. 110), and preaches that Gaṇeśa incarnated

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33. *Gaṇ.* I. 90. 30.

34. By analysing the legend of Gṛtsamada as occurring in the Upāsanā-khaṇḍa of the *Gaṇeśa-p.* Dr. Stevenson has shown that this legend as well as that of Narāntaka and Devāntaka in the Krīḍā-khaṇḍa is 'an allegorical representation of the conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism'. See *JRAS*, VIII, pp. 319-329. According to Gaṇ. II. 47. 3ff. Viṣṇu appeared as a Buddha and preached anti-Vedic ideas.

35. *Cf.* *Gaṇ.* I. 13. 8 (*anekāgamaiḥ svaṁ janaṁ bodhayantaṁ sadāsarva-rūpaṁ Gaṇeśaṁ namāmaḥ*) and I. 13. 27 (*ekākṣaraṁ ṣaḍarṇaṁ ca mantraṁ sarvāgamāṁs tathā|harāya bhagavān prādāt............||* ).

36. In *Gaṇ.* I. 46. 144 and 150 Gaṇapati is called '*ṣaṭ-śakti-parivārita*' and '*aṣṭa-śakti-samṛddha-śrī*'.

37. According to *Gaṇ.* I. 11. 3, seven crores of *mantras* are to be found in the Āgamas (*sapta-koṭi-mahāmantrā gaṇeśasyāgame sthitāḥ|tad rahasyaṁ śivo veda........||* ).

38. *Gaṇ.* I. 50. 2—*mantrā nānā-vidhā devi nānā-siddhi-pradāyakāḥ.*

himself for establishing the Vedic rites and customs.[39] But in spite of his high regard for the Vedas, the author of the *Gaṇeśa-p.* could not ignore 'Āgamas' (i. e. Tantras) totally. He repeatedly refers to these works as sources of the Gāṇapatya *mantras*,[40] prescribes the performances of nyāsas, mudrās etc. in Gaṇeśa-worship,[41] recognises the Tantric *yantra* as a medium of worship,[42] and advises the Gaṇeśa-worshippers to follow the directions of the Āgamas in the performance of *mantra-sandhyā*, *nyāsa*, etc. and the drawing of *yantras*.[43] He speaks of 'seven crores' of Āgamic *mantras* of Gaṇeśa (I. 11. 3), actually mentions those having one, two, four, five, six, eight, ten, twelve, sixteen, eighteen or twenty-eight syllables,[44] and admits of Tantric symbolism in these, but he says that the Ṛgvedic *mahāmantra* 'gaṇānāṁ tvā etc.' is superior to all the Āgamic ones.[45] He also prescribes the use of the different verses of the Ṛgvedic Puruṣasūkta in summoning Gaṇeśa during his worship and in offering seat and other things to him.[46]

Although the *Gaṇeśa-p.* aims at infusing Gāṇapatyaism with Vedic ideas, it does not overlook its sectarian interest. It mentions various sectaries, viz., Vaikhānasas, Bhāgavatas, Sāttvatas, Pāñcarātras, Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Kālamukhas, Bhairavas, Śāktas, Sauras, Jainas and Ārhatas,[47] but adds special importance to the Vaiṣṇavas, Sauras, Śāktas and Śaivas, whom it mentions at several places as worshipping Gaṇeśa in their Vedic and popular (*laukika*)

39. In *Gaṇ*. II. 41. 3 Gaṇeśa says to Pārvatī" "*mātas tvāṁ sevituṁ dharmaṁ kartuṁ karma ca vaidikam/avatīrṇo 'smi........//*." In *Gaṇ*. II. 43. 3 Dhuṇḍhirāja is said to have established the '*śrutismṛti-kṛta mārga*' by killing the demon Durāsada. According to *Gaṇ*. I. 9. 37—39ᵢ and 10. 2 Vyāsa wrote the eighteen Purāṇas and the eighteen Upapurāṇas for saving the Vedic *dharma* and elucidating the meanings of the Vedas.
40. *Gaṇ*. I. II. 3, 12. 9, and 69. 8.
41. *Gaṇ*. I. II, 18, 49 and so on.
42. Cf. *Gaṇ*. I. 69 14.
43. *Gaṇ*. I. 11. 14, 49. 20, and 69. 14.
44. *Gaṇ*. I. 11. 4ff., 20. 29, 46. 155, 50. 2ff., 51. 28, 91. 32-33, and so on.
45. *Gaṇ*. I. 36. 19-20— *gaṇānāṁ tveti............mahāmantraḥ............ āgamokteṣu mantreṣu........śreṣṭhaḥ........*
46. *Gaṇ*. I. 69. 17ff.
47. *Gaṇ*. I. 46. 32-33.

rites.[48] The way in which Viṣṇu, Śiva, Pārvatī and other deities have been subordinated to Gaṇeśa, shows that the members of these four sects were the most powerful rivals of the Gaṇeśa-worshippers. It is most probably for this reason that in the *Gaṇeśa-p.* many of the exploits of infant Vināyaka have been conceived in imitation of those chiefly infant Kṛṣṇa of Vṛndāvana, that Vināyaka has been said on more occasions than one to have possessed, like Sūrya, the power of curing diseases, especially leprosy,[49] and that in one of his incarnations Vināyaka is said to have, like Durgā, ten hands and a lion as his *vāhana*.

We have already said that *Gaṇeśa-p.* is not mentioned in any of the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas. So, the late origin of this work is quite obvious. It is familiar with term '*horā*', knows the names of rāśis and week-days, and utilises, in its *Gaṇeśa-gītā*, the language and contents of the Bhagavad-gītā. It testifies to the widespread popularity of the Pañcāyatana-pūjā[50] and has very late ideas regarding the images of Gaṇeśa. It repeatedly mentions the Āgamas (i. e. Tantras) as authoritative works, remarkably imbibes Tantric influence, refers to the various stories regarding the origin of Gajānana,[51] knows various Āgamas, and other works describing the different forms of this deity,[52] speaks of the 'eighteen Purāṇas[53] and the 'eighteen Upapurāṇas',[54] and names the

48. *Gaṇ.* I. 45. 10-11, and 92. 44-45. See also *Gaṇ.* II. 138. 11ff. and 20-21.

49. *Gaṇ.* I. 46. 189–192; II. 46. 18 and 151. 9. In *Gaṇ.* I, king Somakānta is said to have become free from leprosy by listening to the *Gaṇeśa-p.*, and king Rukmāṅgada by worshipping Gaṇeśa at Cintāmaṇikṣetra.

50. *Caṇ.* II. 9. 11, 13, 37–38 and 47.

51. *Gaṇ.* II. 149. 6–7a—

शम्भुवक्त्राच्च क्रोधाच्च प्रादुर्भूतो गजाननः ।
गौर्याश्च तेजसो जात उदराच्च क्वचिन्मुने ॥
क्वचिद् गौरीमलाच्चापि .... .... ........ ।

Cf. also the names 'शम्भुवक्त्रोद्भव', 'शम्भुहास्यभू', 'उमाङ्गमलज', and 'स्वर्धुनीभव' given to Gaṇeśa in his सहस्रनामस्स्तोत्र (verses 23–24).

52. *Gaṇ.* I. 13. 8, and II. 149. 6–8.

53. *Gaṇ.* I. 1. 4, 9. 38, and 46. 160; II. 150. 11 and 14 and 155, 48.

54. *Gaṇ.* I. 1. 8 and 9. 39; II. 150. 15.

'*Nāradīya*' and the '*Nṛsiṁha*' Upapurāṇa.[55] It knows the '*Laiṅga*[56] and the '*Skānda*[57] and refers to some of their contents. That it is later than the *Mudgala-p.* and the *Śāradā-tilaka* is shown by the fact that these two works speak of thirty-two and fifty-one forms of Gaṇapati respectively, whereas the *Gaṇeśa-p.* catalogues fifty-six forms.[58] By its statement that Dakṣa, who was mortified at the destruction of his sacrifice, heard from Mudgala the Purāṇa on the praise of Gaṇeśa,[59] and by its mention of Mudgala as a great devotee of Gaṇapati in many places, the *Gaṇeśa-p.* refers unmistakably to the *Mudgala-p.*[60] Hence this work cannot be dated earlier than 1100 A. D. Again, the *Gaṇeśa-p.* has been drawn upon in Tryambaka Oka's *Ācāra-bhūṣaṇa*[61] which was written in 1741 Śaka

55. For the relevant verse see footnote 2 above.

56. *Gaṇ.* II. 149. 9b—

*śivād brahmā ca viṣṇuś ca laiṅge jātau nirūpitau.*

This line refers to the present *Liṅga-p.*, in which Śiva has been described as the original source of Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

57. *Gaṇ.* II. 149. 10a—

*skānde vidhātur netrāc ca śivotpattir nirūpitā*

The story of Ḍhuṇḍhirāja and Divodāsa in *Gaṇ.* II. 38–48 must have been based on *Skanda-p.* IV (Kāśī-khaṇḍa), chaps. 39–58. According to *Gaṇ.* II. 38. 20-21 this story was originally narrated by 'Skanda' to 'Agastya'. In the above-mentioned chapters of the *Skanda-p.* (Kāśī-khaṇḍa) also, Skanda speaks to Agastya.

58. *Gaṇ.* II. 42. 11 (*vināyakaḥ .... .... / ṣaṭ-pañcāśanmita mūrtiś cakārāsau sva-tejasā //*), and 33b (*evaṁ vināyakasyātha kāśyāṁ ṣaṭ-pañcamūrtayaḥ*); II. 43. 10 (*sthitā vārāṇasīṁ trātuṁ ṣaṭ-pañcāśad vināyakāḥ*). For the names of these 'fifty-six' forms of Vināyaka at Benares see *Gaṇ.* II. 154.

59. *Gaṇ.* I. 9. 63—*yajña-vidhvaṁsa-śokārto dakṣaḥ śuśrāva mudgalāt.*

60. J. N. Farquhar thinks that the *Mudgala-p.* was written later than *Gaṇeśa-p.*—See Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 270.

61. P. 187—

गणेशपुराणे पूजायां—

न्यूनातिरिक्तपूजायाः संपूर्णफलहेतवे ।

दक्षिणां काञ्चनीं देव स्थापयामि तवाग्रतः ॥

and p. 189—

(*Continued on the next page*)

(=1819 A. D.); there is a Ms of the *Gaṇeśa-p.* which is dated 1685 Śaka (=1763 A. D.);[62] in his *ASB Cat.*, V, pp. 789-91 H. P. Shastri describes a Ms of the *Gaṇeśa-gītā* (belonging to the *Gaṇeśa-p.*) which is dated 1616 Śaka (=1694 A. D.) and is furnished with the commentary *Gaṇapati-bhāva-dīpikā* of Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Govinda-sūri; and in his *Notices*, IV, p. 32 R. L. Mitra describes a Ms of the *Gaṇeśa-sahasra-nāma-stotra* which bears the date Śaka 1549 (=1627 A. D.) and contains the commentary of Gopālabhaṭṭa, surnamed Ḍāva. So *the date of the Gaṇeśa-p. falls between* 1100 *and* 1400 A. D. J. N. Farquhar also places it between 900 and 1350 A. D.[63] But Dr. Stevenson is inclined to assign this work to a much later date. He says : "The former, called the Upāsanā Khaṇḍa of the Purāṇa, could scarcely have been written before the seventeenth century of our era, as Moreśvara (Sans. Mayūreśvara) is mentioned as a great Tīrtha of Gaṇeśa; but still Morabhaṭṭa, who flourished in the former half of that century, gave it celebrity, and originated the Chinchore (Chinchvad) incarnate Gaṇapatis, it was a place altogether unknown to fame. * * * * *

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* * The second Khaṇḍa of the Purāṇa refers to the first, and therefore must have been written after it."[64] However, it is due to this late origin of the *Gaṇeśa-p.* that it is not referred to or drawn upon in any of the comparatively early Smṛti Nibandhas and commentaries.

Mss of the *Gaṇeśa-p.* are extremely rare in Bengal. As a matter of fact, we do not know of even one Ms of this work which has been discovered in this province or is written in Bengali characters. That the author of the *Gaṇeśa-p.* had no sympathy for, and knowledge

(*Continued from the previous page*)

गणेशप्रियाणि—

हरिताः श्वेतवर्णा वा पञ्चत्रिपत्रसंयुताः ।

दूर्वाङ्कुरा मया दत्ता एकविंशतिसम्मिताः ॥

इति गणेशपुराणे ।

These quoted verses are the same as *Gaṇ.* I. 49. 60b-61a and 62b—63a respectively.

62. Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sans. College Cat.*, IV, pp. 18-19.

63. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, pp. 226 and 270.

64. *JRAS*, VIII, p. 319.

about, Bengal, is shown by his statements that the city of Tripura (which *Ś*iva destroyed with a single arrow) was situated in "Baṅgāla"[65] and that there was a 'Baṅgāla-nagara' in Baṅgāla-viṣaya.'[66] On the other hand, Benares figures prominently in this work, and many of the exploits of Vināyaka are located in this city. Hence it is highly probable that this work was written at Benares. Burnell informs us that the *Gaṇeśa-p.* 'is not recognised in South India either as a Purāṇa or Upapurāṇa'.[67]

Before concluding this section we should refer to a few interesting points mentioned in the *Gaṇeśa-p.* According to *Gaṇ.* I. 50. 32–33 the immersion of the image of Gaṇeśa at the end of the Vināyaka-caturthī-vrata is to be performed in the following way. The image is to be decorated with umbrellas, flags etc., placed in a car drawn by men, and taken to a big pool in a procession which is to be led by boys (*kiśoraiḥ*) fighting among themselves with sticks; and after immersion, all are to return to their respective houses with songs and beat of drums.[68] In *Gaṇ.* I. 54. 20 and II. 1. 34 there is mention of the custom of sending sweets (*śarkarā*) and betel-leaves to the houses of neighbours on special occasions such as the birth of a son. *Gaṇ.* I. 4.2-3 refer to the various kinds of coloured clothes made in Kashmir;[69] and in *Gaṇ.* I. 39. 2 and II. 31. 21 there is mention of the construction of images of Gaṇeśa with Kashmir stone. By its directions that in Gaṇeśa-worship the 'twenty-one' names of this deity are to be recited,[70] that 'twenty-one' fruits[71] and 'twenty-one' twigs of Dūrvā grass[72] are to be

65. For the relevant verse see footnote 10 above.
66. *Gaṇ.* I. 74. 9 and 13.
67. Burnell, *Classified Index*, p. 187.
68. अपरस्मिन् दिने मूर्ति नृयाने स्थापयेन्मुदा ।
छत्रध्वजपताकाभिश्चामरैरुपशोभिताम् ॥
किशोरैर्दण्डयुद्धेन युद्ध्यद्भिश्च पुरःसराम् ।
महाजलाशयं गत्वा विसृज्य निनयेज् जले ।
वाद्यगीतध्वनियुतो निजमन्दिरमाव्रजेत् ॥
69. वासांसि........नानावर्णानि काश्मीरदेशजानि........
70. *Gaṇ.* I. 46. 215—7, and 69. 46f.
71. *Gaṇ.* I. 69. 55.
72. *Gaṇ.* I. 49. 62, 69. 46, and 87. 8.

offered to Gaṇeśa, that the worshipper is to go round the images of the deity 'twenty-one' times,[73] that at least 'twenty-one' Brāhmaṇas are to be honoured and fed on this occasion,[74] that 'twenty-one' kinds of gifts are to be made to these Brāhmaṇas,[75] and that 'twenty-one' coins (*mudrāḥ*) are to be given to the priest as his honorarium (*dakṣiṇā*),[76] the *Gaṇeśa-p.* seems to regard the number 'twenty-one' as a sacred one.

73. *Gaṇ*. I. 49. 62.
74. *Gaṇ*. I. 51. 45, and 87. 9-10.
75. *Gaṇ*. I. 87. 10.
76. *Gaṇ*. I. 87. 7.

## GAṆAPATI-WORSHIP, AND THE UPAPURĀṆAS DEALING WITH IT*

Isolated chapters or verses on Gaṇapati-worship are to be found in many of the extant Purāṇic works,[1] but there are only two Upapurāṇas which belong exclusively to the sect of the Gāṇapatyas. These are the *Mudgala-purāṇa* and the *Gaṇeśa-purāṇa*. Of these, the former work is preserved in manuscripts not available to us at present, and the latter has been published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay, 1892.

Though both these Upapurāṇas are comparatively late works, the worship of Gaṇapati Vināyaka can be traced back to a fairly early period.[2] The earliest mention of 'Vināyaka' is found in the

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* *J. G. N. Jha R. I.* vol. v, Part 4, pp. 263–276.

1. Viz., *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*, *Vārāha-purāṇa*, *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Agni-purāṇa*, *Garuḍa-purāṇa*. *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*, *Vāmana-purāṇa*, *Bhaviṣyottara*, *Devī-purāṇa*, *Viṣṇudharmottara* etc.

2. Nagendranath Vasu is of opinion that the cult of Gaṇapati 'must have existed before the rise of Buddhism'. He refers to a tradition, recorded in Oldfield's *Sket cber of Nipal*, Vol. II p. 198, that the ancient temple of Gaṇeśa, which stands on the north of the famous temple of Paśupatinātha in Nepal, was built in the third century B. C. by Cārumati, a daughter of the Maurya king Aśoka. (see Nagendranath Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja*, I, pp. xxiii. See also H. Krishna Sastri, *South-Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 168, footnote 3). But Alice Getty rightly says that there is no reason to put faith in the tradition mentioned above. See Getty, *Gaṇeśa—A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God*, p. 10.

   For information about Gaṇapati-worship see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems* (pp. 157–150); Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa, A Monograph on the Elephant-faced God*; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra* (II. pp. 213-6 and 725); H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses* (pp. 165-176); Nagendranath Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja* (I, pp. xxii-xxiii); Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (II, p. 807, and VI, pp. 175-176); *Viśvakoṣa* (a Bengali encyclopaedia edited by Nagendranath Vasu, Vol. V, pp. 202ff.) T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (especially I. i pp. 35–67).

*Mānava-gṛhyasūtra* (2. 14) as well as in the extracts quoted from the '*Baijavāpa-gṛhya*' in *Aparārka* and Śūlapāṇi's commentaries on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*.[3] According to these two Sūtra works the Vināyakas are malevolent demons four in number. The *Mānava-gṛhyasūtra* gives their names as Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa, Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Usmita and Devayajana, and says, "The following are the symptoms of those who are possessed by these (Vināyakas). (Such a person) pounds clods, tears grass, writes on his limbs, and have various inauspicious dreams, in which he sees waters, men with shaved heads, men with matted hair, persons wearing red clothes, camels, pigs, asses, Cāṇḍālas and so on. (He feels that) he is moving through the air; and, when walking along the road, (he) thinks that somebody is pursuing him from behind. When possessed by these Vināyakas princes do not get their kingdoms although they are ( otherwise ) qualified, girls cannot secure husbands although they are eager to do so and possess auspicious signs, women do not get any issue although they are anxious to have offspring and are otherwise qualified, children of virtuous women die, a learned teacher fails to attain the position of an Ācārya, students face great interruptions in the course of their study, merchants' trade fails, and agriculture of husbandmen yields poor crops. The *Mānava-gṛhyasūtra* next prescribes a rite which is both expiatory[4] and propitiatory in nature and in which various things including meat and fish (both raw and cooked) and wine and cakes are to be offered and a strange variety of beings, both divine and otherwise, is to be invoked, viz., Vimukha, Śyena, Baka, Yakṣa, Kalaha, Bhīru, Vināyaka, Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra, Yajñavikṣepī, Kulangāpamāra Yūpakeśī, Sūparakroḍi, Haimavata, Jambhaka, Virūpākṣa, Lohitākṣa, Vaiśravaṇa, Mahāsena, Mahādeva and Mahārāja. The '*Baijavāpa-gṛhya*', on the other hand, names the 'four Vināyakas' as Mita, Sammita, Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra but agrees with the *Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra* in describing the symptoms of

3. Aparārka's commentary on the *Yajñavalkya-smṛti* (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series edition), pp. 563 and 565. Sūlapāṇi's *Dīpakalikā* (Dacca University manuscript No. 602), fol. 43b.

4. Cf. *Mānava-gṛhyasūtra* 2. 14. 22—*teṣām prāyaścittam*. (It is to be noted that with this sūtra the author of the *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* begins to describe the rite).

those who are possessed by these Vināyakas.[5] That originally the Vināyakas were four in number, is further indicated by the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*[6] (NSP ed.) and the *Viṣṇudharmottara*[7] (Venkaṭ. ed.). The *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.) also speaks of the Vināyakas in the plural number.[8] On the top of the pillar established at Ghāṭiyāla in Saṁvat 918 by the Pratihāra king Kakkuka there are

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5. Aparārka's commentary (=com.), p. 563— *atra baijavāpa-gṛhyam—"atha vināyakāḥ catvāraḥ khalu vināyakā bhavanti mitraś ca sammitaś ca śālakaṭaṅkaṭas ca kūṣmāṇḍarājaputras' ceti etair vināyakair upasṛṣṭalakṣaṇā brāhmaṇāḥ svādhyāya-vanto'py ācāryatvaṁ na labhante* etc. etc."

   See also p. 565 for another extract from thə '*Baijavāpa-gṛhya*'.

   Śūlapāṇi's *Dīpakalikā*, fol. 43b—catvāro vināyakā bhavanti mitaḥ sammitaḥ śālakaṭaṅkaṭaḥ kūṣmāṇḍarāja-putras ceti baijavāpagṛhyavacanāt.

6. Mitras ca sammitas caiva tathā śālakaṭaṅkaṭaḥ
   kūṣmāṇḍarājaputras cety ante svāhā-samanvitaiḥ

   This verse of the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti* (=*Yāj.*) occurs in Aparārka's com., p. 566, Śūlapāṇi's *Dipakalikā*, fol. 43b, and Viśvarūpa's com., p. 177. (Viśvarūpa reads *śālakaṭaṅkaṭaḥ* for *śālākaṭāṅkaṭaḥ*' and *japet svāhāsamanvitān* for '*ity ante svāhāsamanvitaiḥ*')

   But Vijñāneśvara gives the text of this verse as follows :—
   mitaś ca sammitaś caiva tathā śāla-kaṭaṅkaṭau
   kūṣmāṇḍo rājaputraś cety ante svāhā-samanvitaiḥ

   It is to be noted that in this verse Vijñāneśvara breaks up the four names of the Vināyakas into six without any authority. Although Vijñāneśvara's text of this verse is found to occur, with slight change, in *Garuḍa-p.* (=*Gd.*) I. 100. 10b-11a, *Bhaviṣya-p.* (=*Bhav.*) IV. 32.22 and 44.16, and *Devī-purāṇa* (Vanga. ed.) 69.15, it is certainly wrong. For mention of the names of the 'four' Vināyakas in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (=*Viṣṇudh.*) see the following footnote.

7. See *Viṣṇudh.* II. 105, which, though consisting mostly of verses taken from the *Yāj*, lacks the verse '*mitaś ca sammitaś caiva*' (given in the immediately preceding footnote) but names the four Vināyakas as Mita, Sammita, Śālaṅkaṭakaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍarājaputra (mitāya sammitāyātha śālaṅkaṭakaṭāya ca kūṣmaṇḍarājaputrāya tathaiva ca mahātmane. *Viṣṇdh.* II. 105.19).

8. *Mahābhārata* (=*Mbh.*) III. 65.23, XIII. 284.131, XIII. 150.25.

four images of 'Vināyaka' facing the four quarters;[9] in *Gaṇeśa-p.* I. 46.139 Gaṇapati-Vināyaka is called 'four-faced' (*caturmukha*); in Nepal the four headed Ganeśa was not unknown;[10] and in Indo-China there is a small bronze image of Gaṇeśa with four heads.[11] According to the Sūtra works mentioned above, the offerings to be made to these Vināyakas are to be placed at a crossway (*catuṣpatha*) most probably for the convenience of the Vināyakas. It is highly probable that the four Vināyakas originally presided over the four cardinal directions and created various kinds of obstacles (*vighna*) to the people. It should be noted that in *Mānava-gṛhyasūtra* 2.14 and in the above-mentioned extracts of the *Baijavāpa-gṛhya* the Vināyakas are neither connected with Rudra-Śiva nor called leaders of Gaṇas, they are not described as being elephant-headed. Bṛhaspati is regarded as a distinct deity like Agni, Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Vāyu and Viṣṇu[12] and there is no mention of the use of the Ṛgvedic *mantra* 'gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatiṁ' which is addressed to Bṛhaspati in the *Ṛgveda* (II. 23.1).

The next stage in the development of the idea of Gaṇapati is exhibited by the comparatively early portions of the *Mahābhārata;* in some of which the Vināyakas are looked upon as unfriendly, malignant demons like Bhūtas, Rākṣasas and Piśācas,[13] and their number is taken to be more than two.[14] It is further indicated in these portions that these Vināyakas are always bent on creating obstructions in the actions of men and that they can be made favourable by means of propitiating rites.[15] In one place of the

9. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1907, pp. 34-35. *Epigraphia Indica* IX, pp. 277ff.
10. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, p. 15.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 15 and 50, and Plate No. 27 (c).
    This 'representation of Gaṇeśa with four heads is in a private collection at Spean Thmar, Kendal.'
12. See *Mānava-gṛhyasūtra* 2. 14. 26.
13. *Mbh.* XII. 284.131—
    न राक्षसा न पिशाचा न भूता न विनायकाः ।
    विघ्नं कुर्युर्गृहे तस्य यत्रायं पठ्यते स्तवः ॥
14. See footnote 8 above.
15. Cf. *Mbh.* III, 65.23—na pūjā vighna-kartṛṇām athavā prathamaṁ kṛtā,

*Mahābhārata* the Vināyakas are characterised with the epithet 'gaṇeśvara' and it is said thad these 'Gaṇeśvara-Vināyakas' control all the worlds.[16] Thus the *Mahābhārata*, though believing in many Vināyakas and looking upon them as no better than malevolent demons, identifies them with the Gaṇeśvaras (i.e. Gaṇapatis) who are followers of Rudra. It should be mentioned here that in *Ṛgveda* II. 23. I[17] the term 'gaṇapati' (which is synonymous with 'gaṇeṣvara') is applied to Bṛhaspti, who is the 'Lord and Leader of the heavenly hosts' according to *Ṛgveda* IV. 50.5[18], accompanied by a band of singers, and in *Ṛgveda* X. 112.9[19] this term is applied to Indra; but in the *Yajurveda* the word 'gaṇapati' is used as an attribute of Rudra (the lord of beasts)[20] as well as of the 'chiefs'

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16. *Mbh.* XIII. 150.25—Īśvarāḥ sarva-lokānāṁ gaṇeśvara-vināyakāḥ.

17. गणानां त्वा गणपतिं हवामहे कविं कवीनामुपमश्रवस्तमम् ।
ज्येष्ठराजं ब्रह्मणां ब्रह्मणस्पत आ नः शृण्वन्नूतिभिः सीद सादनम् ॥
(According to Sāyaṇācārya the word 'gaṇānāṁ' means 'devādi-gaṇānāṁ').

That the verse is addressed to Brāhmanaspati (i. e. Bṛhaspati) is pointed out clearly by the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* (IV. 4) which says : gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatiṁ havāmahe iti brāhmaṇaspatyaṁ brahma vai bṛhaspatir brahmaṇaivainaṁ tad bhiṣajyati".

18. स सुष्टुभा स ऋक्वता गणेन वलं रुरोज फलिगं रवेण ।
बृहस्पतिरुस्रिया हव्यसूदः कनिक्रदद् वावशतिरुदाजत् ॥
Sāyaṇācārya takes the word 'gaṇa' to mean the band of Aṅgirasas.

19. नि षु सीद गणपते गणेषु त्वामाहुर्विप्रतमं कवीनाम् ।
न ऋते त्वत् क्रियते किञ्चनारे महमार्कं मघवञ्चित्रमर्च ॥
Sāyaṇa explains 'gaṇeṣu' as 'stotṛ-gaṇeṣu'.

20. *Taittiriya-saṁhitā* IV. 1.2.2 (=(*Vājasaneyi Soṁhitā* II. 15) *pratūrvann ehy avakrāmann aśastī rūdrasya gāṇapatyān mayobhūr ehi.*

According to Sāyaṇa the word 'gāṇapatyaṁ' means paśusamūhapatitvaṁ.

See also *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* 22.30—*gaṇapataye svāhā.*

of his hosts, who,[21] as the *Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra* (IV. 19) tells us, are maleficent spirits attacking man and beasts with disease and death and receiving the bloody entrails of the victims. It is to be noted that the *Yajurveda* speaks of many leaders of Rudra's Gaṇas and not of only one, and that the Gaṇapatis, unlike the Vināyakas,[22] can claim to have a Vedic origin.

We have already seen how, in the *Mahābhārata*, the Vināyakas have been identified with the Gaṇeśvaras (or Gaṇapatis), but we do not know definitely when the idea of a single Gaṇapati-Vināyaka was first introduced and how he came to have the elephant's head. The *Yājñavalkya-smṛti*, which should not be dated later than 300 A. D.[23], tells us, perhaps following the doctrine of monism of the Vedānta, that there is one single Vināyaka known by the four names Mita, Sammita, Śālakaṭaṅkaṭa and Kūṣmāṇḍa-rājaputra.[24] It further states that Rudra and Brahmā appointed this Vināyaka

21. *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* IV. 5.4.1—*namo gaṇebhyo gaṇapatibhyaś ca vo namaḥ.*

    Commenting on this line Sāyaṇa says : devasyānucarā bhūta-viśesā gaṇās teṣām pālakā gaṇapatayas tebhyo namaḥ.

    See also *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* 16.25, where the above mentioned line (*namo gaṇebhyo gaṇapatibhyas ca* etc.) occurs. Mahīdhara explains this line thus : *devānucarā bhūta-viseṣā gaṇās tebhyo namah gaṇānāṁ pālakā gaṇapatayas tebhyo vo namaḥ.*

22. These must have been aboriginal deities, probably Dravidian in origin. (See Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, p. l). In the verse

    विप्राणां दैवतं शम्भुः क्षत्रियाणां तु माधवः ।

    वैश्यानां तु भवेद् ब्रह्मा शूद्राणां गणनायकः ॥

    which is ascribed to Manu, Gaṇanāyaka is called the deity of the Śūdras. (For mention of this verse see Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 212, footnote, and Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 487). It should be mentioned here, that this verse is 'quite a modern forgery and does not occur in the present text of the *Manu-smṛti*.

23. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* I, pp. 183-4.

24. We have already said (in footnote 6 above) that Vijñāneśvara wrongly breaks up the four names Mita, Sammita etc. into six. As 'Śāla', 'Kaṭaṅkaṭa', 'Kūṣmāṇḍa and 'Rājaputra' are given as distinct names in the *Gaṇeśa-p.* (I. 46,12-13) and other late works, it seems that Vijñāneśvara's text of the verse '*mitaś ca sammitaś caiva*' was adapted to a later tradition about the names of Vināyaka.

to create obstacles in the actions of people, to help them in attaining success, and to act as the leader of the Gaṇas, that his mother is Ambikā, and that he is also known as Mahāgaṇapati.[25] Among the things to be offered to Vināyaka it includes fish and meat (both raw and cooked), wine, radish (*mūlaka*), cakes and sweetmeats (*modaka*).[26] Thus, the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* records an appreciable advance in the conception of Gaṇapati-vināyaka but does not appear to know the peculiar form and most of the attributes of the later Gaṇeśa.

That Gaṇapati-Vināyaka came to have the elephant's head earlier than the sixth century A. D. can be shown by a large number of evidences, sculptural, epigraphic and literary. On the Kantaka Cetinga *stūpa* near Mihintale in Ceylon, there is a frieze of Gaṇas, one of which 'has the face of an elephant, complete with trunk and tusk'. According to S. Paranavitane, this image is to be ascribed to the first centuries of the Cristian era.[27] In his *Ancient India* (Plate No. 39) Codrington gives the photograph of an elephant-faced image of Gaṇeśa which is assigned to about 500 A. D. A statue of elephant-headed Gaṇeśa, found at Bhumāra, is attributed to the fifth century A. D.[28] Outside the Śaiva grotto-temple at Bādāmī there is a small image of elephant-faced Gaṇeśa which must have been executed before 700 A.D.[29] The images of this deity, as found in the cave-temples at Ellora, are all furnished with the elephant's head. In the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarman (middle of the seventh century) there is mention of Gaṇapati who must have had the elephant's head.[30] In the *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad*[31] (Anuvāka I) there

25. *Yāj*. I. 271,290 and 294.
26. *Yāj*. I. 287-289.
27. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, p. 25 and plate No. 22 (c).
28. *Ibid.*, p. 26 and Plate No. 3 (b).
29. *Ibid.*, p. 28 and Plate No. 8 (b).
30. *Epigraphia Indica* XII, p. 73.
    गन्धर्ववती तस्माद् गणपतिमिव दानवर्षणमजस्रम् ।
    गणपतिमगणितगुणगमसूत कल्हिायने तनयम् ॥
    The word '*dāna*' (meaning 'ichor') as applied to Gaṇapati (the god), suggests that he has the head of an elephant.
31. According to J. N. Farquhar this Upaniṣad probably belongs to the period from 550 to 900 A. D. See Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*. p. 188.

is the Gaṇapati-gāyatrī "tatpuruṣāya vidmahe vakra-tuṇḍāya dhīmahi, tanno dantiḥ pracodayāt" in which Gaṇapati Vinṅyaka has been called 'vakra-tuṇḍa' and 'danti'. In his *Gāthā-saptaśatī* (NSP ed.) IV. 72 and V. 3 Hāla Sātavāhana refers to an image of Gaṇapati and the trunk of this deity. Daṇḍin mentions the 'elephant-faced god' (*hastivaktro bhagavān*) in his *Daśakumāra-carita*, Ucchvāsa III. In verse 2 of Ucchvāsa IV of his *Harṣa-carita* Bāṇabhaṭṭa speaks of a single large tusk of 'Gaṇādhipa'; and in Ucchvāsa III he associates 'Vināyaka' with obstacles and also indicates that this deity had the head of an elephant.[32] The *Amara-koṣa* gives the following synonyms for 'vināyakā';— Vighnarāja, Dvaimātura, Gaṇādhipa, Ekadanta, Heramba, Lambodara and Gajānana. In his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* 57-57 (p. 785) Utpalabhaṭṭa quotes from 'Kāśyapa' a verse which runs as follows :—

> eka-daṁṣṭro gaja-mukhaś caturbāhur vināyakaḥ/
> lambodaraḥ sthūla-deho netra-traya-vibhūṣiitaḥ//

In *Baudhāyana-gṛhyaśeṣasūtra* III.10[33] and *Baudhāyana-dharmasūtra* II. 5.83-90[34] the rite called 'deva-tarpaṇa' includes the propitiation of Vighna, Vināyaka, Vira, Sthūla (or 'Śūra', according to the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series edition of the *Baudhāyana-dharma-sūtra*) Varada, Hastimukha, Vakratuṇḍa, Ekadanta, Lambodara, (Gaṇapati, according to the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series edition), the Vighna-pārṣadas and the Vighna-pārṣadiṣ. According to *Viṣṇudh.* III. 71.13-16 Vināyaka is elephant-headed (*gaja-vaktra*), four-armed (*caturbhuja*) and big-bellied (*lambodara*) wears a tiger-skin, has a serpent as his sacred thread, lacks the left tusk and holds a trident (*śūlaka*) and a rosary of beads (*akṣa-mālā*) in his right hands and a pot of sweetmeats (*modaka*) and an axe in his left, *Bhav.* I. 29 describes Vināyaka as *caturbhuja*, *trinetra*, *nāgayajñopavitāñga*, *śaśāṅkakṛta-śekhara*, *hasti-mukha*, *eka-daṁṣṭra*, *dant-ākṣasūtra-paraśu modaka-hasta* and so on; and in *Bhav.* I. 30 he is called *vakra-tuṇḍa*, *gaja-danta*, *muśala-vajra-hasta* etc. According to

32. शिखरनिखातकुब्जकालायसकण्टकेन वैणवेन । विशाखिकादण्डेन सर्वविद्यासिद्धि-विघ्नविनायकापनयनाङ्कुशेनेव सततपार्श्ववर्तिना विराजमानं····भैरवाचार्यं ददर्श *Harṣa-carita*, Ucchvāsa III.

33-34. These portions of the two works are of doubtful authenticity.

*Liṅga*-p. I 104-105 he is *gaja-vaktra* and *śriśūla-pāśadhārin.* In the opening stanza of his *Mālatī-mādhava* Bhavabhūti describes 'Vināyaka' as possessed of the elephant's head. See also *Mahāvīra-carita* II. 38 (heramba-danta-musalollikhit-aika-bhitti-vakṣo....me) and Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* I. 60 (na jātu vaināyakam ekam uddhṛtaṁ viṣāṇam adyāpi punaḥ prarohati). It is needless to multiply examples. Though in the above-mentioned Gaṇapati-Vināyaka is regarded as a widely worshipped deity capable of creating obstacles and yielding success[35], he is not given the position of a supreme god but is subordinated to Śiva. His elephant-head, which must have been added to him at a comparatively late date,[36] may be due either to the mediaeval idea about the queer forms of Śiva's Gaṇas or to his identification with some popular deity conceived and worshipped for immunity from the havoc created by wild elephants.[37] But it is remarkable that in none of the above-mentioned sources there is any reference to Gaṇapati-Vināyaka's having a rat as his mount (*vāhana*) or to his reputation for wisdom. Some of the sculptures of Gaṇeśa found in

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35. According to *Liṅga-p.* (Jivānanda's ed.) I. 103-79 Vināyaka created obstaclss to demons and yielded success to gods.

36. The *Mānava-gṛhyasūtra*, the *Baijavāpa-gṛhya* and the *Mahābhārata* do not mention Gaṇapati's elephant-head. According to most of the stories about Gaṇapati's birth this deity originally lacked such a head.

37. In the *Gaṇeśa-p.* (I. 46. 48 and 72-73) Gaṇapati-Vināyaka is called *'ikṣu-cāpa-dhara'*, *ikṣu-sāgara-madhyastha'*, *'ikṣu-bhakṣaṇa lālasa'*, *'ikṣu-cāpātireka-śri'* and *'ikṣu-cāpāni-ṣevita'*. From these expressions it appears that Gaṇapati Vināyaka absorbed in himself some deity which was conceived and originally worshipped by the cultivators for protection of their fields of sugarcanes from elephants. The names 'Gajapati' and 'Hasti-piśācīśa', given to Gaṇeśa in Gaṇeśa-p. (*Gaṇ.*) I. 46. 21 and 119, tend to support this view.

It may be mentioned in this connection that in southern Bengal a deity called Dakshiṇarai (दक्षिणराय— Lord of the South) or Dakshindar is still worshipped by the villagers as a preventive against the troubles created by the royal Bengal tigers of the Sundarbans. For description of the image of this deity, the method of its worship, and diverse accounts of its origin, see *JASB*, XI, 1915, pp. 175-177.

and outside India, lack this animal; and of the Javanese statues there are very few which are furnished with this vāhana.[38]

The position of Gaṇapati as a supreme deity, however, began to be recognised by a section of people even earlier than the seventh century A. D. We have already mentioned that in the *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad* there is the Gaṇapati-gāyatri "*tatpuruṣāya vidmahe vakra-tuṇḍāya dhīmahi* etc." The *Devī-p.* (chaps. 112-114) looks upon Vināyaka as superior to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and others. The *Varada-tāpanīya-*(or *Gaṇapati-tāpanīya*) *upaniśad*, which betrays Tantric infiuence and cannot, therefore, be dated earlier than the seventh century A. D.,[39] applies to Gaṇapati the terms *vināyaka*, *gaṇeśa*, *vighna-hartṛ*, *caturbhuja*, *gaja-rūpa-dhara*, *vakra-tuṇḍa* and *śivomā-tanaya*, and regards him not only as the lord of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others[40] but also as supreme Brahma. It knows at least fourteen Vināyakas[41] belonging to Gaṇapati's entourage, and applies to Gaṇapati the *mantra* 'gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatiṁ' which, as we have already seen, is addressed to Bṛhaspati in the *Ṛgveda*. According to the *Gaṇapati-upaniṣad* (which forms a part of the *Atharvaśiras-upaniṣad* of the Smārtas and is certainly not an early work), Gaṇapati is Śiva's son (*śiva-suta*) and is *eka-danta*, *caturhasta*, *pāśāṅkuśadhārin*, *vighna-vināśin* and *mūṣaka-dhvaja*; he is *jñānamaya* and *vijīānamaya*; and he is the source, the stay and the final goal of the universe and is identical with Parama Brahma. In the *Gaṇeśa-p.* Gaṇapati is called 'Bṛhaspati' and 'Brahmaṇaspati',[42] and the Ṛgvedic *mantra* '*gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatiṁ*' is applied to him.[43] It is probable that as Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, being a non-Vedic *deity*, has no Vedic verse addressed to him, his devotees of the Vedic fold applied the *mantra* gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatiṁ' to him and there-

38. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, pp. 47-48 and 61.

39. J. N. Faaquhar is inclined to assign this Upaniṣad to the period ranging from 550 to 900 A. D. See Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 202.

40. Cf. *Varada-tāpanīya-upaniṣad* II. 3 brahmā-viṣṇv-ādi-gaṇānām īśabhūtam ity āha tad gaṇeśa iti.

41. Cf. *ibid.*, I. 2. 4—....ṣaṭ-koṇe sumukhādayaḥ ṣaḍ-vināyakāḥ, vasudale vakratuṇḍādyaṣṭa-vināyakāḥ.

43. *Gaṇ.* I, 46. 14b (kaviḥ kavīnām ṛṣabho brahmaṇyo brahmaṇaspatiḥ) and 109b (brahma brahmācritapado brahmacārī bṛhaspatiḥ).

43. *Gaṇ.* I. 36. 19; 37-37 38. 18-19 and so on.

by connected him with the *Ṛgveda*.[44] It may be due to the application of this *matra* that Gaṇapati came to be known as Bṛhaspati and attained fame as a god of learning and wisdom.

The application of the term *gaṇapati* to Indra in the *Ṛgveda* and to Rudra in the *Yajurveda* must have been the cause of Gaṇapati's having some of the characteristics of these two deities. Thus, in a large number of works Gaṇapati is described as carrying, like Indra, a goad (*aṅkuśa*) a thunderbolt (*vajra*) and a lotus (*padma*, *utpala*) in his hands[45] and as wearing' like Rudra-Śiva, a tiger-skin and having a crescent moon on his head and a snake as his sacred thread.[46] In the *Varada-tāpanīya-upaniṣad*, *Gaṇeśa-p.* etc. the names 'Śiva' 'Paśupati' and 'Mahādeva' are applied to him.[47] Gaṇapati's noose (*pāśa*), mentioned in some works,[48] shows that he had the characteristics of Varuṇa also. The *Devī-p.* (114. 2-4) states that before Vināyaka started for killing the demon Vighna, Śiva had given him his crescent moon, Brahmā his white girdle, the Sun a piece of coral, Viṣṇu his conch-shell[49] and bow, Indra his thunderbolt, Yama his staff (*daṇḍa*), Varuṇa his noose, and so on. This shows how the different gods

44. Cf. *Gaṇ.* 1. I. 14a *-omkāra-rūpī bhagavān yo vedādou pratiṣṭhitaḥ*. In *Gaṇ.* 1. 46. 78 Gaṇeśa is called '*ṛg-yajuḥ-sāma-sambhūti* and in *Gaṇ.* I. 61-43 he is called '*trayīmaya*'. According to *Gaṇ.* I. 36-37 Gṛtsamada is said to have worshipped Gaṇeśa with the Ṛgvedic *mahāmantra* '*gaṇānāṁ tvā*' in accordance with the instructions of his father. In *Gaṇ.* I. 36. 19-20 this Ṛgvedic *mantra* is said to be superior to the Āgamic ones. For use of this *mantra* in Gaṇapati-worship see also *Gaṇ.* I.38. 18 ff., 51-53, 59.25, and so on.

45. See *Matsya-p.* (*Vanga.* ed.) 260. 52-54 *Bhav.* I. 30. I *Devī-p.* 113.8 and 114.3; *Agni-p.* 50.26; *Gaṇapati-upaniṣad*; so on.

    For description of the image of Indra see *Matsya-p.* 260. 66-70. and *Viṣṇudh.* III. 50.

46. See *Bhav.* I. 29, *Viṣṇudb.* III. 71. 13-16, and so on.

    As regards nature, Gaṇapati is akin more to Rudra-Śiva than to any other god.

47. *Varada-tāpanīya-upaniṣad* I. I. 5, and 2. 2; *Gan.* I. 46. 102.

48. *Bhav.* I. 30.1; *Liṅga-p.* I. 105.9; *Gaṇapati-upaniṣad*; and so on.

49. 'It is interesting to note here that in Indo-China there is an ancient statue of Gaṇeśa holding a conch-shell'.—Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, p. 16 and plate No. 23 (c).

contributed to the growth of Gaṇeśa as a fullfledged deity. We have already mentioned that in the *Gaṇapati-upaniṣad* Gaṇapati is described as '*mūṣaka-dhvaja*'. According to the *Matsya-p.* he is '*ṛddhi-būddhi-yukta*' and rides a rat.[50] In their lexicons Halāyudha, Hemacandra and Jaṭādhara call him *ākhu-ratha*, *ākhuga* and *mūṣihāṅka* respectively. These, and other references to Gaṇapati's rat, show that Ganapati's connection with this animal is one of the latest phases in the development of his character as a god. According to the *Gaṇeśa-p.* Gaṇapati had this *vāhana* in his last incarnation. But we do not know definitely how Gaṇapati came to have this animal as his mount. It is probable that the animal was connected with Gaṇapati bacause of its mischievous character.[51] Or, it may be that either Gaṇapati came to be connected with agriculture and was consequently furnished with a rat as his *vāhana*, or some agricultural deity, riding a rat, was identified with him.[52] The comparatively late age of the connection of the rat with Gaṇapati goes against the belief of some scholars 'that Gaṇeśa was originally a Dravidian deity worshipped by the aboriginal populations of India who were sun-worshippers, and that Gaṇeśa on his *vāhana*, the rat, symbolised a sun-god overcoming the animal, which in ancient mythology, was a symbol of the night'.

From what has been said above it is evident that Gaṇapati passed through a number of stages before attaining the position of a full-fledged god, and that the sect of the Gāṇapatyas came into being at a comparatively late period. Tantric elements in the *Varada-tāpanīya-upaniṣad*, the *Gaṇapati-upaniṣad*, the *Mudgala-p.*, the *Gaṇeśa-p.*, and those portions of the *Bhaviṣya-p.*, *Agni-p.*, *Garuḍa-p.*

50. *Matsya-p.* 260.54 (*yuktaṁ tu ṛddhi-buddhibhyām adhastān mūṣakānvitam*) and 289.7 (*....mūṣakasthaṁ vināyakam*). The latter verse is quoted in Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtya-kalpataru* (Dāna-kāṇḍa, p. 108), Aparārka's com. on the *Yāj.* (p. 343) and Vallālasena's *Dānasāgara* Ms. India office (fol. 77a).

51. Cf. *Gaṇ.* II. 134.6ff., wherein it is said that after being transformed into a rat by Vāmadeva's curse, krauñca, a Gandharva. began to do various kinds of mischief to sage Parāśara, and that Gajānana subdued it and made it his *vāhana*.

52. For Gaṇeśa as a god of harvest see *Indian Antiquary* XXXV, 1906. pp. 62-64.

etc. which describe the method of his worship, indicate that it was chiefly the Tantrics who took up the worship of Gaṇapati in right earnest and became incentive to the growth of the Gāṇapatya sect. Sculptural, epigraphic and literary evidences show that even the Jains[53] and the Tantric Buddhists[54] worshipped this deity. The popularity of this god among the Hindus as well as the Buddhists in and outside[55] India accounts for his inclusion among the 'five deities' (*pañcāyatana*) of the Smārtas.

It has already been said that although Gaṇapati was a highly popular deity, the sect of the Gāṇapatyas came inro being at a comparatively late period. It is most probably for this reason that there is no early Purāṇic work dealing exclusively with the praise and worship of this god. The *Mudgala-p.* and the *Gaṇeśa-p.*, which have Tantric elements and record very late ideas about Gaṇapati, must have been written to infuse Gāṇapatyaism with Vedic ideas. This will be evident from an analysis of the latter work.

53. See Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, p. 29 (for images of Gaṇeśa in Jain grotto-temples such as that at Chandor). The *Ācāra-dinakara* (composed in Saṁvat 1468 and published in the Kharataragaccha-grantha-mālā) describes the method of consecrating an image of Gaṇeśa even for the Jains.—See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* II, p. 725.

54. See Getty, *Gaṇeśa* pp. 8, 31, 36 and 37 ff.

55. For information about the spread of Gaṇeśa-worship in Tibet, Mongolia, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Java, Bali, Borneo, Japan and Chinese Turkistan see Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, pp. 37ff., and Nagendranath Vasu, ***Archaeological Survey*** of ***Mayurabhanja***, I, pp. xxii-xxiii.

## DID VALLĀLASENA USE THE LIṄGA-PURĀṆA IN HIS DĀNA-SĀGARA ?*

In the introductory verses to his *Dāna-sāgara*.[1] Vallālasena distinguishes between to *Liṅga-purāṇas*,—one genuine, and the other spurious and consisting of 6,000 verses (षट्सहस्रमितं लैङ्गं पुराणमपरं तथा —verse 64). Regarding the former he says :

''बृहदपि लिङ्गपुराणं मत्स्यपुराणोदितैर्महादानैः ।
अवधार्य तुल्यसारं दाननिबन्धेऽत्र न निबद्धम् ॥'' (verse 58)

"Though voluminous with the Big Donations treated of in the *Mastya-purāṇa* and *Liṅga-purāṇa*, being taken to be of similar contents, has not been drawn upon in this digest of gifts."

In my *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 94 (footnote 40) I took the word 'अत्र' in the above verse to mean 'अस्मिन्' (qualifying 'दाननिबन्धे' ) and thus to refer to the *entire Dāna-sāgara*. Consequently, I took the entire genuine *Liṅga-purāṇa* to have been left out by Vallālasena in his *Dāna-sāgara* and considered the only two passages, quoted from the '*Liṅga-purāṇa*' in *Dāna-sāgara*, pp. 37 and 72, to be spurious. Śrī Bhabatosh Bhattacharya (the learned editor of the *Dāna-sāgara* published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta), on the other hand, prefers to take the word 'अत्र' to refer only to the *topics of Mahādānas* dealt with in the *Dāna-sāgara* (and not to the entire work) and says in his informative Introduction (pp. xxiii-xxiv) :

"In the....description of works, not consulted, we find the name of the *Liṅga*' and then find that of another *Liṅga*'', consisting of 6,000 verses. The latter mention of 'another *Liṅga*'' etc.' seems to suggest that the former *Liṅga*' is not among the rejected works.

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* *J. O. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 156-158.

1. Edited by Bhabatosh Bhattacharya and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. 1953-56.

As a matter of fact, the *Liṅga*⁰ has not been excluded but twice quoted by our author on pp. 37 and 72 in the topics on *puṇyadeśāḥ* and *tulāpuruṣa-mahādānam.* What our author means to say by the first statement about the *Liṅga*⁰ is that *its mahadāna chapters,* being borrowings from the *Matsya*⁰ *have not been drawn upon* and that *the former Liṅga*⁰ *is not one of his rejected works.* So the statement of Dr. R. C. Hazra that 'the verses quoted from it (*i. e.* the *Liṅga*⁰) in the *Dāna-sāgara* may have been interpolated,[2] seems to be wrong and the words 'a *Liṅga-purāṇa*' should be added after 'a *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*' in the following statement of the same author :

'It is to be noted that though Ballālasena expressly says that he rejected the '*Tārkṣya*', '*Brāhma*', '*Āgneya*', '*Vaiṣṇava*' and '*Liṅga*' as spurious and deceptive, he draws considerably upon a *Brahma-*, an *Agni-* and a *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* in his *Dāna-sāgara* and includes them in the list of the Purāṇas used in writing the digest.[3]

So the further statement of the same author that 'the corrupt verse' bṛhad api .... .... .... avadhārya .... .... .... nibaddham' (intro. v. 58) given on fol. 3b (I. O. MS.) in connection with the names of of the rejected Purāṇas or parts thereof also tends to show that Ballālasena did not use the *Liṅga* in his *Dāna-sāgara*' loses any force whatsoever."

From the above statement of Śrī Bhattacharya it is evident that in his opinion the two extracts quoted from the '*Liṅga-purāṇa*' in *Dāna-sāgara*, pp. 37 and 72 are not spurious, Vallālasena did not reject the genuine *Liṅga-purāṇa* in its entirety, and *it was only the chapters on Mahādānas of this work which were not drawn upon by him.*

But this view of Śrī Bhattacharya is hardly tenable. Even if we set aside the question of interpretation of the word 'अत्र' in the verse quoted above, we cannot overlook the facts that of the two passages quoted from the '*Liṅga-purāṇa*' in his *Dāna-sāgara* the second[4] (consisting of three metrical lines) was derived from *Liṅga-*

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2. R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 94, foot-note 40.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 138, footnote 131.
4. See *Dāna-sāgara*, p. 72—तोरणमिति वक्ष्यमाण सालेङ्गुद्यादीनामन्यतमस्य सारदारुणा कृतं तुलाधारणक्षमार्गलासहितं स्तम्भद्वयं लिङ्गपुराणे तस्यैव तोरणत्वेन प्रतिपादनात् । तथा च तुलातोरणप्रस्तावे लिङ्गपुराणम्—

*purāṇa* (ed. Jīvānand a Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta) ii. 28 which deals with Tulāpuruṣa-mahādāna, and that in the *Dāna-sāgara* also it has been quoted in the section on the same topic (Tulāpuruṣa-mahādāna). So, if the passages quoted from the *Liṅga-purāṇa* in the *Dāna-sāgara* be genuine, as the learned editor thinks, it must be admitted that Vallālasena drew also upon the chapters of the *Liṅga-purāṇa* on Mahādānas and did not reject them on any account. It is hardly necessary to say that this goes very seriously against the view held by the learned editor of the *Dāna-sāgara* as well as against the statement made by Vallālasena himself in verse 58 (बृहदपि लिङ्गपुराणं etc.) quoted above, no matter how we interpret it. Under these circumstances, the conclusion is unavoidable that Vallālasena rejected the genuine *Liṅga-purāṇa* in its entirety and did not refer to or quote a single line from this work in this *Dāna-sāgara*.

As to my suggestion of the reading 'अवधीर्य' (for 'अवधार्य' in verse 58 quoted above) in my *Purāṇic Records*, p. 94, footnote 40, I should like to point out that, being fresh from the University and also too young for maturity of judgement at the time when I wrote my *Purāṇic Records*, I felt confused at the corrupt reading (अवधार्यं लब्धसारदाननिबन्धेतरनिबन्धम्) given in the second line of the said verse in the India Office Ms. (of the *Dāna-sāgara*), to *which only* I had access at that time.

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रश्मिभिस्तोरणाग्रे तु बन्धयेच्च विधानतः ।
सुमेखलायोनियुतानि तानि सुपूर्णकुम्भानि सहासनानि ।
सुताम्रपात्रद्वयसंयुतानि सयज्ञपात्राणि सविष्टराणि ॥

(In this passage all words from 'लिङ्गपुराणे तस्यैव तोरणत्वेन etc.' are later interpolations).

# THE PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE ŚIVA-PURĀṆA*

This work, as we have it now, is found to comprise a varying number of extensive parts called Saṁhitās. In the Vaṅgavāsī Press edition, which was published from Calcutta in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation in 1314 B.S. and which we have chiefly used here[1], this work consist of six Saṁhitās, viz., Jñāna-saṁhitā, Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā, Kailāsa-saṁhitā, Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā, Vāyavīya-saṁhitā and Dharma-saṁhita, but in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition it contains seven,—Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā, Rudra-saṁhitā Śata-rudra-saṁhitā, Koṭi-rudra-saṁhitā, Umā-saṁhitā, Kailāsa-saṁhitā and Vāyavīya-saṁhitā (of which only three, viz., Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā, Kailāsa-saṁhitā, and Vāyavīya-saṁhitā, occur in Vaṅgavāsī Press edition). In both the editions the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā is divided into two parts called Pūrva-bhāga and Uttara-bhāga respectively; and the Rudra-saṁhitā, which is contained in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition only, consists of five Khaṇḍas, viz., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, Satī-khaṇḍa, Pārvatī-khaṇḍa, Kumāra-khaṇḍa and Yuddha-khaṇḍa.

Although the division of the *Śiva-purāṇa* into six Saṁhitās (including the Jñāna-saṁhitā and the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā) was much in vogue[2], it does not seem to be based on any authority. On the other hand, the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā tells us that the *'Saiva'* Purāṇa consists of one lac of verses (*grantha*), divided into twelve Saṁhitās, the names and extents of these Saṁhitās being as follows :

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* *Our Heritage*, Vol I, Part I, pp. 46-68.

1. The texts of the different Saṁhitās, presented by the Vaṅgavāsī edition, are supported by better Ms. evidence. Moreover, these texts seem to represent the earlier versions of these Saṁhitās. Hence we have preferred the Vaṅgavāsī edition to that published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

2. In a commentary on the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā, the following line occurs.
*kiṁ ca sāmpraty upalabhyamāneṣu yāvatsu śiva-purāṇa-pustakeṣu ṣaḍ eva saṁhitā upalabhyante.*
[*See* Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereinafter referred to as 'Shastri' *ASB Cat.*'), V, No. 3546, p. 276.]

| | | Verses |
|---|---|---|
| I | Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā .... .... | 10,000 |
| II | Raudra-saṁhitā .... .... | 8,000 |
| III | Vaināyaka-saṁhitā .... .... | 8,000 |
| IV | Auma-saṁhitā .... .... | 8,000 |
| V | Mātṛ-saṁhitā .... .... | 8,000 |
| VI | Rudraikādaśa-saṁhitā .... .... | 13,000 |
| VII | Kailāsa-saṁhitā .... .... | 6,000 |
| VIII | Śata-rudra-saṁhitā .... .... | 3,000 |
| IX | Koṭi-rudra-saṁhitā .... .... | 9,000 |
| X | Sahasra-koṭi-rudra-saṁhitā .... .... | 11,000 |
| XI | Vāyavīya-saṁhitā .... .... | 4,000 |
| XII | Dharma-saṁhitā .... .... | 12,000[3] |

According to the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā also (as contained in Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition), the '*Śaiva*' Purāṇa consists of twelve Saṁhitās, the names and extents of which are the same as those given in the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā.[4] In the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā contains a few additional verses which state that this extensive '*Śaiva*' Purāṇa of one lac of verses was abridged by Vyāsa into a much shorter work of 24,000 Ślokas and seven Saṁhitās, viz., Vidyeśvara, Rudra, Śata-rudra, Koṭi-rudra, Umā, Kailāsa and Vāyavīya.[5] So, the text of the *Śaiva-purāṇa*, as presen-

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3. Vāyavīya-saṁhitā (Veṅkaṭeśvara ed ) i. 1. 49-57a. These verses are the same as Vāyavīya-saṁhitā i. 1. 44-51 of the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Śiva-purāṇa* The latter edition wrongly reads the last three verses as follows :

   शतरुद्रं दश प्रोक्तं कोटिरुद्रं तथैव च ।
   सहस्रकोटिरुद्राख्यं दशसाहस्रकं तथा ।।
   यदेतद् वायुना प्रोक्तं चतुःसाहस्रमीरितम् ।
   तथा पञ्चसहस्रं तु यदेतद् धर्मनामकम् ।।
   तदेवं लक्षमुद्दिष्टं शैवं शाखाविभेदतः ।

   It should be noted that the extents of the Śata-rudra and other Saṁhitās, as given in these verses, would make the total number of verses of the *Śiva-purāṇa* cxceed one lac by two thousands.

4. See Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā (Veṅkaṭ ed.) 2. 48-55. These verses do not occur in the Vaṅgavāsī Press edition.

5. Vāyavīya-saṁhitā (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) i. 1. 57b-64. *See* alos Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā (Veṅkaṭ. ed.). 2. 56-61.

ted in the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition, is said to be an abridgment of a much more extensive work bearing the same title.

Besides the Saṁhitās mentioned above, there are a few more which are ascribed to the *Śiva-purāṇa*. These are the Īśāna-saṁhitā[6] Īśvara-saṁhitā,[7] Sūrya-saṁhitā[8], Tīrtha-kṣetra-māhātmya-saṁhitā[9] and so on. The Mānavī Saṁhitā,[10] which also claims to belong to the *Śiva-purāṇa*, is most probably a work of Bengal. In addition to these, there is a '*Śiva-purāṇa*' preserved in Bengal Mss. in two Khaṇḍas, of which the second is absolutely a new work. But after we proceed to examine the present *Śiva-purāṇa* and deal with the various problems connected with it, we should decide whether this work is to be regarded as a Mahāpurāṇa or as an Upa-purāṇa.[11]

Of the numerous lists of 'eighteen Upa-purāṇas'[12] occurring in different works there is only one (contained in the *Devī-bhāgavata*[13]) which includes the name of the '*Śiva*'; and in his commentary on the Dharma-saṁhitā of the present *Śiva-purāṇa* Gaṅgādhara quotes from '*Padma-Purāṇa*', chapter 19' a line which includes

6. Shastri, *ABS Cat.*, V, No. 3551, p. 299. P. P. S. Sastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Tanjore Mahāraja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library, Tanjore*, (hereinafter refored to as 'P. P. S. Sastri, *Tanjore Cat.*'), XV, Nos. 9703-4, pp. 6788-92.
7. Shastri, *ABS Cat.*, V, No. 3558, p. 305.
8. P. P. S. Sastri, *Tanjore Cat.*, XV, p. 6813, No. 9733.
9. *Ibid.*, XV, No. 9701, pp. 8785-87; No. 9705, pp. 6793-94.
10. Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. pp. 268-270, No. 3542 (written in Bengali script).
11. For discussion of this question *see* also R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 13-15, and A. D. Pusalkar in the *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. X, pp. 148-155.
12. For a number of such lists see my article on 'The Upa-purāṇas' published in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XXI, 1939-40, pp. 38-62. For a few more lists *see* also Gopāla-dāsa's *Bhakti-ratnākara* (R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, IX, No. 2918, p. 32), the *Vindhya-māhātmya*, chapter 4 (Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. Nos. 4086 and 4087, Mss. Nos. 8091 and 538 respectively, pp. 745-7), the *Kaivalya-ratna* (Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. pp. 539-40, No. 3866, Ms. No. 8870), the *Padma-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama edition) IV (Pātāla khaṇḍa) 111. 95-98.
13. *See Devī-bhāgavata* (ed. Saṁskṛta Pustakālaya Benares), I. 3. 13.

the '*Śaiva*', '*Ādi-purāṇa*' and '*Devi-bhāgavata*' among the Upa-purāṇas[14]. On the other hand, the name of a '*Śaiva*' Purāṇa occurs in place of the '*Vāyavīya*' in the majority of the lists of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas.[15] So, like Mitra Miśra, Śrīdhara Svāmin, Narasiṁha Vājapeyin, Gaṅgādhara, the author of the *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa*, and others,[16] we are liable to be led to the belief that it is the present *Śiva-purāṇa*, and not the *Vāyavīya*, which is a Mahāpurāṇa. But a thorough examination of these two Purāṇic works as well as of a few others makes us give our verdict in favour of the *Vāyavīya* (i.e. *Vāyu-purāṇa*). According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed. 53.18), *Agni-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī ed. 272.4-5), *Skanda-purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa i.2.35-38 and Revā-khaṇḍa 1.33-34), *Nāradīya purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭ. ed. I.95) *Saura-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press ed., 9.7), *Revā-māhātmya*[17], etc., the fourth Mahā-purāṇa is the '*Vāyavīya*'. The *Devī bhāgavata* and the *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa* also include a '*Vāyavīya*' in their lists of eighteen principal Purāṇas. The characteristics of the '*Vāyavīya*'

14. Shatri, *ASB Cat.*, V, p. 289..............*kiṁ tu asyopapurāṇatvam eva pādme ekonaviṁśe' dhyāye upapurāṇeṣu 'śaivam ādipurāṇaṁ ca devī-bhāgavataṁ tathā' iti pariganānād iti cen na/....*

15 For the names of the works containing these lists, *see* Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, p. 13, footnote 13.

16 Mitra Miśra recognises the *Śaiva* as a Mahāpurāṇa, saying : "'*yā' pi viṣṇu-purāṇe brahmāṇḍam ādāya vāyavīya-tyāgena, yā ca brahmavaivarte vāyavīyam upādāya brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa-parityāgena aṣṭādaśa-saṁkhyā uktā, sā kalpa-bhedena vyavasthāpanīyā.*" *See Vīramitrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares), Paribhāṣā-prakāśa, p. 13.

In his commentary on *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* XII.13.4, Śrīdhara Svāmin explains the word *śaivaka* as '*Śiva-purāṇa*'.

Narasiṁha Vājapeyin regards the '*Śaiva*' as a Mahāpurāṇa and includes the '*Vāyu-purāṇa*' among the Upapurāṇas. *See Nityācāra-pradīpa* (ed. Bibliotheca Indica), p. 19—*yac ca vāyu-purāṇa-devī-purāṇ-ādi tad apy eteṣu antargatam. (eteṣu—upapurāṇeṣu).*

For Gangādhara's views expressed in his commentary on the Dharma-saṁhitā of the *Śiva-purāṇa*, *see* Shastri, ASB *Cat.*, V, No. 3550, pp. 288ff.

The *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa* (ed. Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, I.25.20-22) names the '*Śaiva*', '*Vāyavīya*' and '*Brahmāṇḍa*' among the Mahāpurāṇas.

17. Th. Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Sanscriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (hereinafter referred to as 'Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.*'), p. 65.

Mahāpurāṇa, as given in the *Matsya-purāṇa*, *Agni-purāṇa*, *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Saura-purāṇa*, *Nāradīya-purāṇa* and *Revā-māhātmya*[18], are the following : (i) The *'Vāyavīya'* has Vāyu as the original speaker; (ii) it is connected with the Śveta-kalpa; (iii) it deals 'elaborately' with the five Purāṇic topic (*Sarga*, *pratisarga*, etc.) as well as with various other matters, viz., different kinds of *dharma*, glorification of Rudra (Śiva), story of the killing of Gayāsura, praise of the different months especially Māgha, *dāna-dharma*, *rāja-dharma vratas* and so on; (iv) it consists of two parts, of which the second deals with the glorification of the river Revā as well as of the holy places situated on her banks; and (v) it has 24,000 verses[19]. If we apply these characteristic to the present *Śivapurāṇa*, we find that this work can hardly have any claim to the position of the fourth Mahāpurāṇa. Although it deals with the praise of Śiva and has chapters on dāna, *vrata*, etc., does not satisfy the other conditions. None of its Saṁhitās, except the Vāyavīya, is proclaimed by Vāyu, and this Vāyavīya-saṁhitā also does not occupy the first place among its Saṁhitās. So, the entire *Śiva-purāṇa* cannot be called 'Vāyavīya' or 'Vāyu-prokta'. Only a few Saṁhitās (such as the Vāyavīya and the Jñāna) of the present *Śiva-purāṇa* are connected with the Śveta-kalpa[20], and not all. Hence the connection of the entire Purāṇa with Śveta-kalpa is absurd. Although *sarga*, *prati-sarga* and *manvantara* have been treated of rather imperfectly in the *Śiva-purāṇa*, very little has been said on *vaṁśa* and *vaṁśānucarita*; and there is no chapter on the story of Gayāsura or the praise of the different months, especially Māgha. The entire *Śiva-purāṇa*, as we have already seen, is said to consist of twelve or seven Saṁhitās, and it is the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā, and not the entire *Śiva-purāṇa*,

18. *Matsya-p.* 53.18; *Agni-p.* 272.4b-5a; *Skanda-p*, VII (Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa). i. 2.35-36 (the reading *'śruta-kalpa'* is obviously a mistake for *'śveta-kalpa'*); *Skanda-p* V. iii. (Revā-khaṇḍa). 1.33-34a; *Saura-p.* 9. 7b; *Nāradīya-p.* 1.95.1-16; *Revā-māhātmya* (Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.*, p. 65, and Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, p. 312), chap. 1, verses 32-33a.
19. It is only the *Agni-p.* which says that the *'Vāyavīya'* is composed of 14,000 verses.
20. For mention of the Śveta-kalpa *see* *Śiva-p.* I (Jñāna-saṁhitā). 2.74, and V (Vāyavīya-saṁhitā). i. 4.3, and ii. 1.25.

which is divided into two parts. According to some Mss[21], the *Śivapurāṇa* consists of two Khaṇḍas, the first of which has Vyāsa as the hearer and is the same as the present Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā, and the second is called Uttara-khaṇḍa, which is different from the Uttara-bhāga of the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā. But this mode of division is not at all acceptable, because it gives neither Vāyu as the speaker nor '24,000 verses' as the extent of the *Śivapurāṇa*. In the present *Śiva-purāṇa* there is no section on the praise of the Revā, nor do the available Mss. of the Revā-māhātmya attach themselves to the *Śiva-purāṇa*. In giving the names and extents of its different Saṁhitās the *Śiva-purāṇa* expressly says that the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā consists of 4,000 verses only and that the abridged *Śiva-purāṇa* of Seven Saṁhitās is composed of 24,000 verses.

But very different is the case with the present *Vāyu-purāṇa*, which contains almost all the characteristics mentioned above. Thus, it has Vāyu as the original speaker, and its division into four Pādas (viz., Prakriyā, Anuṣaṅga, Upodghāta and Upasaṁhāra) and its detailed and elaborate treatment of the five topics (*sarga*, *pratisarga*, etc.) amply testify to its early origin. It praises Śiva, deals with *dharma* (duties), donation, etc., and has a few chapters on Gayā-māhātmya in which the story of Gayāsura has been narrated. Although it contains no chapter on the praise of the month of Māgha, there are Mss. of a Māgha-māhātmya (of 30

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21. Haraprasad Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, IV, pp. 220-3, Nos. 298-299.

Among the introductory verses of the Pūrva-khaṇḍa, the following lines occur :—

मुनिभिर्नैमिषारण्ये पृष्टः सूतः पुराणवित् ।
पुराणं मुक्तिदं शैवं प्रवक्तुमुपचक्रमे ॥
यः पूर्वभागे श्रोतृत्वं प्राप्य ज्ञाननिधिर्मुनिः ।
उत्तरे वक्तृतां याति पाराशर्यं नतोऽस्मि तम् ॥

That this Pūrva-khaṇḍa is nothing but the present Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā, is shown by its contents as well as its concluding verses given by Shastri.

*See* also Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, No. 3543, pp. 271-5; Dacca University Ms. No. 286; and so on.

chapters) which claims to belong to the '*Vāyu-purāṇa*'.[22] As to the connection of this Purāṇa with the Śveta-kalpa, it can be said that there are several indications in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* itself which tend to show that it is concerned with the Varāha-kalpa[23] which is the same as the Śveta-kalpa.[24] In some of the Mss. of the Gayā-māhātmya also, the *Vāyu-purāṇa* is connected with the Śveta-vārāha-kalpa'.[25] Moreover, the *Nāradīya-purāṇa*, whose list of contents of the '*Vāyavīya*' Purāṇa agrees very much with those of the present *Vāyu-purāṇa* but not in any appreciable degree with those of the *Śiva*, also speaks of the connection of the *Vāyavīya* with the Śveta-kalpa. The statement made by the *Nāradīya-purāṇa* and the *Revā-māhātmya* that the *Vāyavīya* consists of two parts and that the second part deals with the praise of the river Revā, is supported by some of the Mss. of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* in which the Revā-māhātmya is said to form the latter half.[26] The division of

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22. For instance, *see* J. Eggeling, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office* (hereinafter referred to as 'Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat*'), VI, pp. 1304-5, No. 3598; Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, pp. 313-4, No. 3571; P.P.S. Sastri, *Tanjore Cat.*, XV, pp. 6829-30, Nos. 9760-66.

23. *See Vāyu-purāṇa* 6.11 and 13; 7.5; and 21.12 and 23.

24. *Vāyu-p.* 6.13; and 23.63ff and 114ff.

25. *See*, for instance, Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.*, No. 117, p. 67 (*iti śrī-vāyu-purāṇe śrī-śvetavārāha-kalpe gayā-māhātmye........*), Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, pp. 308-310, Nos. 3565-67 (*iti śrī-vāyu-purāṇe śveta-vārāha-kalpe gayā-māhātmye......................*); Hrishikesh Shastri and Śivachandra Gui, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College* (hereinafter referred to as 'Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sanskrit College Cat.*'), IV, pp. 20-21, No. 25; A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office* (hereinafter referred to as 'Keith, *Ind. Off. Cat.*'), II. ii, No. 6819, p. 995; and so on.

26. *See* Ms. No. 41B18 of the *Vayu-p.* preserved in the Adyar Library. The colophon of this Ms. runs as follows :— *iti śrī-mahāpurāṇe vāyu-prokte dvādaśa-sāhasryām saṁhitāyāṁ samāptam brahmāṇḍāvartam........samāptaṁ vāyu-purāṇa-pūrvār-dham|ataḥ paraṁ revā-māhātmyaṁ bhaviṣyati.*

    *See* also Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1302-4, Nos. 3595-96, in the colophons of which the Revā-māhātmya professes to belong to the 'Uttara-khaṇḍa' of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*.

the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, in some of its Mss.[27] as well as in the Bibliotheca Indica and Veṅkaṭeśvara Press editions, into two Khaṇḍas (or Kāṇḍas), the first of which ends with the Anuṣaṅga-pāda, need not be taken seriously, because this division is not universal and is consequently not found in all the Mss. of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*. As a matter of fact, the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, consisting of four Pādas, is divided into two parts in two different ways. According to one, the first part consists of the Prakriyā-pāda and Anuṣaṅga-pāda (i.e. of the first 64 or 65 chapters of the Ānandāśrama edition of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*),[28] and the sccond part, of the rest (including Gayā-māhātmya,[29] Revā-māhātmya, Māgha-māhātmya, etc.). According to the other method of division, the entire *Vāyu-purāṇa*, ending with the chapters on Gayā-Māhātmya (as found in he printed editions), is taken to form the first part, and the Revā-māhātmya and other tracts constitute the second part. It is certainly this second mode of division that is referred to in the *Nāradīya-purāṇa*. As regards the extent of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*, all the above-mentioned sources, except the *Agni-purāṇa*, concur in holding that it consists of 24,000 verses. But in the body of its text[30] as well as in the colophons of many of its Mss. (which exclude the nine chapters on Vyāsasaṁśayāpanodana and Gayā-māhātmya of the Ānandāśrama Press edition), the *Vāyu-purāṇa* claims to have 12,000 verses.[31] So, for the remaining 12,000

27. *See* Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1299-1301, Nos. 3587-89.

28. For instance, in the Ānandāśrama edition the Anuṣaṅga-pāda ends with chap. 6 and the Upodghāta-pāda begins with chap. 65 (which deals with 'prajāpati-vaṁśānukīrtana'), but in the Bibliotheca Indica and Veṅkaṭeśvara Press editions as well as in the India Office Ms. No. 1869 (for which *see* Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.* VI, p. 1299, No. 3587), the Anuṣaṅga-pāda ends with the chapter on Prajāpati-vaṁṣānukīrtana, i.e., with chap. 65 of the Ānandāśrama Press edition.

29. It is for this reason that in some Mss. the Gayā-māhātmya claims to belong to the 'Uttarakhaṇḍa' of the *VāyuPurāṇa*.—*See*, for instance, Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, p. 1301, No. 3592.

30. *Vāyu-p.* 32.66—*evaṁ dvādaśa-sāhasraṁ purāṇaṁ kavayo viduḥ.*

31. *See* Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1299-1301, Nos. 3587-89; Ms. No. 41B18 of the *Vāyu-p.* in the Adyar Library; Keith, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, II. ii, No. 6817, p. 994; and so on.

verses we are to look up to the Gayā-māhātmya, Revā-māhātmya, Māgha-māhātmya, etc. which claim to form parts of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*.

In view of the facts stated above we can safely conclude that it is the *Vāyu-purāṇa* which is the same as the '*Vāyavīya*' Mahāpurāṇa and that the present *Śiva-purāṇa* is merely an Upa-purāṇa. As a matter of fact, the *Śiva* is styled 'Upa-purāṇa' in the colophons of its Mss.[32] The occurrence of the name 'Śaiva' for 'Vāyavīya' in many of the lists of eighteen Mahā-purāṇas is satisfactorily explained by the Revā-māhātmya and the Revā-khaṇḍa saying : "The fourth (Purāṇa), declared by Vāyu, is known as *Vāyavīya*. It is also called *Śaiva* on account of its connection with (i. e. treatment of) Śiva-bhakti"[33] In point of age also the *Vāyu-purāṇa* has a much better claim to the status of a Māhāpuraṇa. It seems to be known to the *Mahābhārata* which speaks of a 'Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu'[34]; the *Hari-vaṁśa* (ed. Vaṅgavāsī Press. Calcutta, 1.7.13 and 25) refers to 'Vāyu' as an authority; Bāṇabhaṭṭa amply testifies to the great popularity of the 'Purāṇa proclaimed by Vāyu' in his time[35], and Alberūnī repeatedly names and draws upon the *Vāyu-purāṇa* in his account

32. For instance, *see* P. P. S. Sastri, *Tanjore Cat.*, XV, No. 9694, p. 6780 (*ity ādi-śivopapurāṇe sanatkumāra-saṁhitāyām* ....................), and Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, No. 3558, p. 305 (*iti śrī-śaivopapurāṇe*...........................).

33. चतुर्थं वायुना प्रोक्तं वायवीयमिति स्मृतम् ।
शिवभक्तिसमायोगाच् शैवं तच्चापराख्यया ॥
*Skanda-p.* iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). 1.33; Revā-māhātmya, chap. 1, verse 32 (Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 65. Also Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, p, 312).

34. Mahābhārata III. 191. 16—
एतत्ते सर्वमाख्यातमतीतानागतं मया ।
वायुप्रोक्तमनुस्मृत्य पुराणमृषिसंस्तुतम् ॥

35. Harṣacarita, Ucchvāsa 3.... पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिः....गीत्या पवमानप्रोक्तं पुराणं पपाठ तस्मिंश्च....पठति सुदृष्टौ नातिदूरवृति बन्दी सूचीवांस्तारमधुरेण गीतिध्वनिम् अनुवर्तमानः स्वरेणेदम् आर्यायुगम् अपठत्—
तदपि मुनिगीतमतिपृथु तदपि जगद्व्यापि पवनं तदपि ।
हर्षचरितादभिन्नं प्रतिभाति हि मे पुराणमिदम् ॥
*Kādambarī* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press ed.) p. 81. *yatra ca mahābhārate śakuni-vadhaḥ, purāṇe vāyu-pralapitam*................

of India[36]. On the other hand, the present *Śiva-purāṇa*, which refers to the *Vāyu-purāṇa* on more occasions than one and has a large number of chapters borrowed from it, is a much later work having very little of the character of a Mahāpurāṇa. It is a sectarian Upa-purāṇa and consists of parts written by different hands in different climes and times. The testimony of the Nibandha-writers also does not go in favour of the identity of the *Śiva-purāṇa* with the *'Vāyavīya'*. None of these authorities, who have drawn upon the *Vāyu* and the *Śiva-purāṇa*, has been found to make any confusion between these two works. The verses ascribed to the *'Vāyavīya'* or *'Vāyu-purāṇa'* in their works are, in the majority of cases, found only in the present *Vāyu* but not in the *Śiva*, and those quoted from the *'Śaiva'* or *'Śiva-purāṇa'* are sometimes traceable in the present *Śiva-purāṇa* but never in the *Vāyu*. That the *Vāyu-purāṇa* was much more important and authoritative in the eyes of at least the Nibandhakāras, is shown by the fact that almost all of them quote verses from it, whereas the *Śiva-purāṇa* is drawn upon by only a few. It should be mentioned here that no Smṛti-writer earlier than Vallālasena is found to refer to or draw upon the present *Śiva-purāṇa*. According to Colonel Vans Kennedy the *Śiva-purāṇa* was considered to be an Upa-purāṇa in the west of India.

It has already been said that the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Śiva-purāṇa* consists of six Saṁhitās including the Jñāna-saṁhitā and the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā. As in the lists of the twelve or seven Saṁhitās of the *Śiva-purāṇa* there is no mention of the Jñāna and the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā, the question naturally arises as to how these two Saṁhitās can belong to the *Śiva-purāṇa*. As a solution, a commentator on the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā indentifies the Jñāna-saṁhitā with the Rudra-saṁhitā saying that it is the Rudra-saṁhitā which has been instructed to the sages in a shorter form under the title 'Jñāna-saṁhita'. As regards the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā he says that this saṁhitā also must be a form of the

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36. *See* Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, I, pp. 41, 168, 194, 230, 231, 232, 234, 239, 241, 248, 251-2, 257, 258 and so on, for references to the *Vāyu-purāṇa*.
Many of these references can be traced in the present *Vāyu-p*. *See*, for instance, *Vāyu-p.* chaps. 34-35.

Bhauma, Mātṛ or some other Saṁhitā under a different title.[37] This view of the commentator seems to be based on the fact that many of the verses of the Jñāna-saṁhitā lie scattered in the much elaborate Rudra-saṁhitā[38]. In one of its Mss, the Jñāna-saṁhitā is called Rudraikādaśa-asaṁhitā[39] but the latter is most probably a different work.

The *Śiva-purāṇa,* as we have it in the printed form, is a voluminous work covering 1325 pages in the Vaṅgavāsī Press edition and 976 pages in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition. As these two editions have only three Saṁhitās (viz., Vidyeśvara, Kailāsa and Vāyavīya) common to them, the *Śiva-purāṇa* practically covers more than 1500 printed pages. In order to explain the origin and growth of this voluminous work we shall briefly examine its Saṁhitās below. It will be interesting to note here that these Saṁhitās invariably call themselves '*Śiva-purāṇa*' in the body of their texts and that it is only in the chapter-colophons that they are styled Saṁhitās of the *Śiva-purāṇa.*

**1. Jnāna-saṁhitā[40]**

This part (consisting of 78 chapters) begins with salutations to Śaṁbhu, Śiva Gaṇādhīśa and Nṛsiṁha, and in it Sūta reproduces to the sages of the Naimiṣa forest what Brahmā said to

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37. Shastri, ASB *Cat.*, V, No. p. 277 .... रुद्रसंहितैव तत्रभगवता ज्ञानसंहितानाम्ना संक्षिप्येह लोके ब्रह्मर्षिभ्य उपदिष्टेति कल्पना युक्ता ···· एवं सनत्कुमारसंहिताया अपि भौमसंहिता-मातृसंहितादेः कस्यचित् संहिताविशेषस्यैव नामान्तरेण ···· शिवमहापुराणे कथनमिति कल्पनायां सर्वं समञ्जसम् ।

38. Compare, for instance, Jñāna-saṁhitā, chaps. I (verses 1, 3, 4a, 4b-6, 7-11a, 11b–12a), 2 (verses 1a, 2, 3a, 3b. 4–7, 10b, 11, 12, 13b, 14), etc. with Rudra-saṁhitā, I, chaps. 1 (verses 4, 5, 7a, 8–10a, 11–16a, 19bā20a, 21a, 26), 2 (verse 1a), 5 (verses 2a, 21–24, 33a 34a, 35), 6 (verses 1a 2a, 3), and so on.

39. Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. pp. 254-7, No. 3533.

40. For Mss. of this Saṁhitā *see.*
    (1) Eggeling. *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1311-12, Nos. 3611-15. [In these Mss. the work consists of 75 (or 76) chapters'. Eggeling suspects this work to correspond to the Uttara-bhāga of the Rudra-saṁhitā].
    (2) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, I, pp. 66-67, No. 123.

Nārada on the glory of Śiva, who, in his supreme state, is the same as Para Brahma. He is one whom neither words can express nor mind can conceive. He is said to be symbolised by the syllable 'om' and is consequently called 'Ekākṣara'. From Śiva's wish (*icchā*) originates Prakṛti, from whom, again, are born Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, Kālī and others who are *saguṇa*. But Rudra is not born of Prakṛti. It is Śiva himself who comes out of Brahmā as Rudra. Although this Rudra is really beyond the guṇas, he is taken to be Tāmasa and unlike Brahmā and others he finally enters into Śiva and is not subjected to annihilation (*laya*). Thus Śiva, though himself *arūpa* and *nirguṇa*, appears to be *saguṇa* and to have various forms by coming in contact with Prakṛti (*prakṛti-saṁyogāt*). But in his apparently formal state he remains undivided and knows no change or bondage.

Although, like other Purāṇic work, this Jñāna saṁhitā also makes a wise compromise between the principles of Sāṁkhya and Vedānta in explaining the nature of the deity and the process of evolution of the universe, it adds special importance to the Advaita philosophy of the Vedānta. It says, "Difference of ideas is found among the different systems of philosophy, but the Vedāntins have always advocated the Advaita system. (They say that) a *jīva*, who is nothing but a part (*aṁśa*) of the Supreme Being, distinguishes between himself and others under the influence of avidyā and becomes Śiva by being freed from it"[41] According to this Saṁhitā, it is *ahaṁkāra* which is the cause of *jīvatva*, and the *jīva* becomes Śiva himself as soon as his *ahaṁkāra* leaves him.

As regards the method of realisation of Śiva, the Jñāna-saṁhitā says that Śiva, being himself *nirguṇa* and *arūpa* and consequently not easily comprehensible, assumes the form of Rudra for the good of the world and for facilitating meditation. This Rudra

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(3) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, p. 248, No. 3529 (containing 76 chapters), and pp. 254-7, No. 3533(called Rudraikādaśa-saṁhitā in this Ms. and containing 73 chapters).

(4) Mitra, *Bikaner Cat.*, p. No. 456.

(5) Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.*, pp. 63-64, No. 113 (containing 75 chapters).

(6) Stein, *Jammu Cat.*, p. 215, 3554.

41. *See* chap. 78, verses 7-9.

is five-faced (*pañcavaktra*), three-eyed (*tri-netra*)[42] and ten-handed (*daśa-bhuja*), has matted hair and a camphor-white complexion, wears a tiger-skin and an elephant-skin as his upper and lower garments respectively, carries a skull, a *ḍamaru* and the *pināka* in his hands, has his body encircled by Vāsuki and other snakes, and is attended by the eight Siddhis.[43] He is the lord of Satī and Pārvatī and lives in Kailāsa, whence he is asked by his devotees to come down and accept their worship.[44] The best way of worshipping this Rudra is in a *liṅga*[45], which may be either *bāhya* (external) or *ābhyantara* (internal). The *bāhya* liṅga, which is *sthūla* (gross or elemental), may be made of gold, silver or gems but preferably of mud, and it is meant for those who are '*karma-yajña-rata*' and require a step to the realisation of the *ābhyāntara liṅga* which is *sūkṣma* (subtle) and which can be realised only by those who are possessed of '*jñāna*'. A person having '*vijñāna*' does not require any image (*pratimā* or *liṅga*), which is meant only for those who are '*vijñāna-hīna*', and latter are to worship images until they attain '*vijñāna*' which makes them realise Śiva as the only reality and the world as unreal.

The Jñāna-saṁhitā lays special stress on '*avyabhicāriṇī bhakti*' (unswerving devotion) and says that association with the good (*sat-saṁgati*) helps one to have a worthy preceptor (*sad-guru*), a good preceptor engages one in the work of worshipping deities, such worship creates unswerving devotion, which, again, leads to *jñāna*, and *jñāna* produces *vijñāna* which removes all sense of difference or duality (*bheda*, *dvandva*).[46] Of *karma-yajña*, *tapo-yajña*, *japa-yajña* and *dhyāna-yajña* the Jñāna-saṁhitā regards the last one as the best and takes it to be creative of jñāna ( *jñānasya sādhanam* ). But one cannot realise Brahma until one has *vijñāna*.

Although this Saṁhitā looks Rudra as the highest god who worships none but is worshipped by Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others, it

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42. Śiva is 'three-eyed' with respect to each of his faces. So he has fifteen eyes in all.
43. For description of Rudra *see* Jñāna-saṁhitā 3.17-19, 7.45 16.72-74, 27.57-60, and 67.25ff.
44. Cf. Jñāna-saṁhitā 68.23.
45. Jñāna-saṁhitā 4.10, 4.63-64, 25.21, and so on.
46. *Ibid.*, 4.33, 8.18, etc.; 26.35-42.

prescribes Pañcāyatanapūjā saying that a devotee is free to worship either the Pañcāyatana with Śiva (i. e., Rudra) as the central deity (*mūla*) or only Śiva who is the source of all. It adds that by such worship one can attain *mukti,* which is of four kinds, viz., *sārūpya, sālokya, sāṁnidhya* and *sāyujya.* It calls the Śiva-worshippers 'Śaivas' and not 'Pāśupatas'; and the name 'Paśupati' for Śiva occurs only four times in chap. 68 and once in chap. 71. Although it speaks of five kinds of *mantra,* it chiefly prescribes the sectarian *mantra 'namaḥ śivāya'*.

Śaivism; as found in the Jñāna-saṁhitā, is highly tolerant of other religious systems except the heresies, and has special inclination towards Vaiṣṇavism (both Pāñcarātra and Bhāgavata), It recognises Viṣṇu as the soul of the universe and prescribes Viṣṇudhyāna as one of the morning duties of the Śiva-worshippers.[47] In this *Saṁhitā* Śiva is made to say, "Viṣṇu resides in my heart and I Viṣṇu's, and I like one who does not distinguish between us'[48], and "I shall throw into the hell (O Viṣṇu), after thoroughly reducing all his merits to ashes, the man who, being a devotee of mine, denounce the (Viṣṇu)".[49] It prescribes to the Śiva-worshippers five kinds of Tilaka marks, viz,, Tripuṇḍra, Ūrdhva-puṇḍra, Ardhacandra, Vaṁśa-patra-sadṛśa and Pārijāta-sadṛśa, expecially the first two and says that the Ūrdhva-paṇḍra and Vaṁśa-patrākṛti Tilakas are specially meant for the Vaiṣṇavas (chap. 27, verses 24ff).

The Jñāna-saṁhitā looks upon the Vedas as the highest authorities in all matters philosophical, ritualistic or otherwise. It claims to be *'caturvedaiḥ saṁmatam,* (78.59), describes Śiva as *ṛgyajuḥ-sāmarūpī'* (4.16), and says that it is Śiva who imparted the Vedas to Viṣṇu (4.2.4). It prescribes the use of Vedic *mantras* in Śiva-worship, directs the citation of the Śatarudrīya section of the *Yajurveda* on particular occasions, and ordains that Śiva is to be worshipped according to the *'Veda-mārga'* (8.5). It recognises the Vedic caste system and urges people to do the duties enjoined on them by their caste (26.7). But in spite of its high regard for the Vedas, it does not ignore the Āgamas (i. e., Tantras). On the

47. Jñāna-saṁhitā 5, 42-55, 6.1-2; 7.29-31, 27. 2-3.
48. *Ibid.*, 4.62, 5.17.
49. *Ibid.*, 5-18-19, 5.32.

other hand, it recognises these works as authorities in ritualistic matter to a certain extent (29.69, 72.33), describes Śiva as '*sakalā-gama--pāraga*' (71.62), imbibe Śākta ideas, and prescibes the use of Āgamic *mantras* in some cases (29.69) and the performance of *bhūta-śuddhi*, *nyāsa*, *mudrā*, etc., during Śiva-worship (chaps 3, 7 and 27). So, the Jñāna-saṁhitā must have been written by those followers of Āgamic Śaivism who recognised the Vedas as the highest authorities in all matters and followed the directions of the Āgamas under certain restrictions. It is to be noted here that in spite of its high regard for the Āgamas, the Jñāna-saṁhitā does not recognise the Tantric '*yantra*' as a medium of worship.

We do not know definitely where the Jñāna-saṁhitā was first composed. That it is a non-Bengal work is certain, because none of its Mss., hitherto discovered, is written in Bengali characters. The mention of the holy places and rivers mostly belonging to Northern India, the reference to the wife's right to share with her sons, the property of her deceased husband[50], the repeated use of the word '*mahārāja*' as a term of address even in those cases where the addressee is not a king (4.7, 5.42, 10.45, 31.29, 46.60), and the praise of Kāśī, Narmadā, Tāptī, etc., tends to suggest that it was written in Northern India, most probably at Benares, by one who originally lived somewhere on the bank of the Narmadā.

We shall now try to determine the date of composition of the Jñāna-saṁhitā.

This Saṁhitā is quite familiar with the names of week-days, knows Marusthalī as the stronghold of the Jains,[51] and has a few lines from the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad*. The story of the birth and exploits of Skanda, as given in chapters 10-19, is clearly based on Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-saṁbhava*. In this story the author of the Jñānasaṁhitā not only follows Kālidāsa's work in many of the details (such as the burning of Madana, lamentation of Rati, Śiva's appearance before Pārvatī in the guise of a Brahmacārin and denouncement of himself, and so on) but imitates Kālidāsa's ideas

50, In chap. 39, verses 4-7 it is said that after the death of a Brahmin, his wife divided his property among his two sons and retained a share for herself.

51. *See* Jñāna-saṁhitā 21.17 and 24.63.

and expressions in many places.[52] In describing the hurry and eagerness of women to have a glance at Śiva who had assumed an extremely beautiful appearance on the eve of his marriage with Pārvatī, the author of the Jñāna-saṁhitā clearly betrays the influence of Kālidāsa's *Raghu-vaṃśa*.[53] In chaps, 63-67 there is a story which is nothing but a Purāṇic reproduction of that given in Bhāravi's *Kīrātārjunīya*. In these chapters we find not only a Bhilla who was sent as a spy by Yudhiṣṭhira, the sage Vyāsa who met the Pāṇḍavas and gave them instructtions, Indra who tested Arjuna's firmness by appearing in the guise of an extremely old man and arguing with him, and the officer of the Kirāta who quarrelled with Arjuna, but also a good number of verses which are based on their parallels in the *Kirātārjunīya*.[54] A comparison

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52. Compare, for instance, Jñāna-saṁhitā 11.7 (*yāvac ca marutāṁ vācaḥ kṣamyatāṁ vai prabho tvayā/bhavanti ca tataḥ pūrvaṁ hato 'sau makara-dhvajaḥ//*with *Kumāra-sambhava* 3.72 etc.); (*krodhaṁ prabho saṁhara saṁhareti*, etc.); Jñāna-saṁhita 11,10. (*kṣaṇa-mātraṁ ratistvatra visaṁjñā hy abhavat tadā* 11 *bhartṛ-janyam ca yad duḥkhaṁ na jñātam ṛṣisattamāḥ//*) with *Kumāra-saṁbhava* 3. 73 (*tīvrābhiṣaṅga-prabhaveṇa vṛttiṁ*, etc.); Jñāna-saṁhitā 11. 33 (........*sā parvatātmajā/ nininda casvakaṁ rūpam*........) with *Kumāra-saṃbhava* 5. 1 (*nininda rūpaṁ hṛdayena pārvatī*............); Jñāna-saṁhitā 12.3-5 (*sāphalyaṁ caiva dehasya rupasya ca tatha punaḥ/*........ *icchati*), 12.14 (*kutra yāsi tapaḥ kartuṁ devāḥ santi gṛhe mama*), 12. 16 (*śarīraṁ komalaṁ vatse tāpas tu kaṭhinaṁ mahat*), 12. 19-20 (*hitvābharaṇāny anekāni vastrāṇi vividhāni ca/ valkalaṁ ca tadā dhūtvā māunjīṁ baddhvā suśobhanamā hitvā hāraṁ* ............), 12. 21 (*jagāma tapase tatra* ............ // *gaurī-śikhara-nāmāsīt* ............), 12.23-24, 12.25, 13.10, 13. 14, 14.5-6, 14.9, 14.58, 14.66-67, etc. with *Kumāra-saṃbhava* 5.2, 5.4, 5.8, 5.7, 5.20-23, 5.14, 5.30, 5.33, 5.60, 5.62, 5.79, 5.83, etc. respectively.

53. Compare, for instance, Jñāna-saṁhitā 18.34-38 with *Raghuvaṁsa* 7, verses 5, 9, 10 and 8 and Jnāna-saṁhitā 19.76 (vyuḍhoraskair vṛṣa-skandhaiḥ, etc., with *Raghu-vaṁśa*, 1.13 व्यूढोरस्को वृषस्कन्धः etc.).

54. Compare, for instance, Jñāna-saṁhitā 63.21, 63.24, 64-1-3a, 64.3b-4a. 64.58-59, 64.62, 64-64, 64-66b-67a. 65.19, etc. with *Kirātārjunīya* 3.6, 3.7, 3-15, 3.11-12, 11.1-15, 11-10, 11.34 and 36, 11.69 and 46, 13.6, etc., respectively.

between the Saṁhitā and the present *Liṅga purāṇa* shows that the former has not only utilised the contents of the latter very extensively but has retained a large number of verses from it.[55] Hence the date of this Saṁhitā cannot be placed earlier than 800 A.D. The mention of the Tulasī plant (28.18), the occurrence of Tantric elements, and the references to the contents of Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā and the Uttara-bhāga of the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā (7.21-23, 26,3.4), show that is is to be dated later than 950 A. D. Regarding the lower limit of its date nothing can be said definitely. We do not know a single author who utilises or refers to this Saṁhitā, nor has any early Ms. of it been discovered up to the present time. So, it seems to be a late work.

**2. Vidyeśvara-Saṁhitā**[56]

Unlike the Jñāna-saṁhitā, this part, which is also named as 'Vighneśa-saṁhitā' and 'Vidyāsāra-saṁhitā' in some of its Mss.[57], deals mainly with the method and praise of Śiva-worship and contains very few stories. It consists of sixteen chapters only and opens with a salutation to the 'five-faced Śaṁkara, lord of Ambikā' and in it Sūta speaks to some sages at Prayāga on a 'Purāṇa containing the essence of the Vedānta' (*vedānta-sāra-sarvasvaṁ purāṇam*). Going to describe .the method of realisation of Śiva, this Saṁhitā says that the best type of *sādhana* is by *śravaṇa*, *kīrtana* and *manana*. But those, who are unable to follow this process, are advised to

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| Jñāna-saṁhitā | *Liṅga-p.* |
|---|---|
| 2.48-51a | =1.17.13-15a and 16a. |
| 2.51a and 52.60a | =1.17.18b and 19.25. |
| 2.62b and 63b-65 | =1.17.33b-36. |
| 2.67a. 66a, and 69b-74a | =1.17.37 and 39-43. |
| etc. | etc. |

56. For Mss. of this *Saṁhitā*, *see*

(1) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss.* I, p. 66, No. 123 (consisting of 16 chapters; named as 'Vighneśa-saṁhitā' by Mitra; and dated Saṁvat 1924).

(2) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, No. 3530, p. 251 (containing 31 chapters and dated Saṁvat 1936);

(3) P. P. S. Sastri, *Tanjore Cat.*, XV, pp. 6777-79, Nos. 9691-23 (containing 16 chapters. and called '*Vidyā-sāra-saṁhitā*').

It is to be noted that none of these Mss. is written in Bengali script.

57. *See* the immediately pereceding foot-note.

worship the deity in a *'vera'* (image) and preferably in a *'liṅga'*. Śiva, as *niṣkala* Brahma, is to be worshipped with devotion (*bhakti*) in a *liṅga* with the use of the monosyllabic mantra (om) by those are *'mumukṣu'*, but in his *'sakala'* state, this deity is to be worshipped in a *'vera'* with the five-syllabled mantra (*namaḥ śivāya*) for the attainment of desired objects in this world and final release at the end.

Although the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā prescribes the *'liṅga' 'vera'* as well as *'yantra'*[58] as mediums of Śiva-worship, it adds special importance to the first and says that a place, which has an image of Śiva but no liṅga, can never be called a Śiva-kṣetra (7.46; 8.37-39). In spite of its imbibing Śākta ideas and recognition of the Tantras (8.26), it looks upon the Vedas with the highest regard and claims to be a Purāṇa containing the essence of these works (*purāṇaṁ veda sārajam*). It recognises the Vedic caste system and urges people to do their duties in accordance with the directions of the Vedas (1.19). So, this Saṁhitā also, like the Jñāna, must be a work of those followers of Āgamic Śaivism who had high regard for everything Vedic. The name 'Paśupati' for Śiva occurs only once in this Saṁhitā (2.5).

A comparison between the Jñāna and the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā shows that these two parts must have been written by different persons. The reasons for such conviction are as follows :

(1) The Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā is written in a style very different from that of the Jñāna-saṁhitā.

(2) The stories of (a) the appearance of the Śiva-liṅga as a result of the quarrel between Brahmā and Viṣṇu for supremacy and (b) Śiva's curse on the Ketaka plant, as given in the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā, have innovations not found in the Jñāna-saṁhitā.

(3) The word *'vera'*, which occurs in a large number of verses in the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā, is totally wanting in the Jñāna-saṁhitā.

(4) The Jñāna-saṁhitā speaks of worshipping Śiva in liṅgas only, but the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā recognises not only the *'liṅga'* but also the *'vera'* and the *'yantra'* as mediums of worship.

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58. Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā 8.26 and 16.35-37.

(5) The Jñāna-saṁhitā prescribes five kinds of *Tilakas* to the Śiva-worshippers, whereas the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā speaks of only one kind (viz., *Tripuṇḍra*[59]).

(6) The Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā distinguishes between five kinds of '*mukti*[60] as against four mentioned in the Jñāna-saṁhitā.

(7) In the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā three Śaiva deities have been recognised, viz., Rudra, Hara (or Maheśa) and Śiva (or Maheśvara), only the last being said to be able to confer '*anugraha*' (i. e. *mukti*); but the Jñāna-saṁhitā distinguishes between two only, viz., Rudra and Śiva.

(8) Unlike the Jñāna-saṁhita, the Vidyeśvara regards Brahmā, Viṣṇu and other gods as 'jīvas'.

As regards its provenance we are in complete darkness. It mentions the names of rivers of both Northern and Southern India with equal zeal.[61] That it is a non.Bengal work, is suggested by the fact that none of its Mss., hitherto discovered, is written in Bengali characters.

This Saṁhitā also, like the previous one, seems to have been writien at a comparatively late date. It has a few verses from the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad*, knows the names of rāśis and week-days, recognises the sanctity of the Tulasī plant (13.2), recommends the Pañcāyatana-pūjā (14.8), and refers to the unpopularity of Brahmā-worship.[62] It has Tāntric elements in its rituals, recognises the *yantra* as a medium of worship, and seems to have known and utilised the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā, with which it has a

59. Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā 11.21, and 16.73ff,
60. *Ibid.*, 7.26-27—
    सालोक्यं चैव सामीप्यं सामीप्यं सार्ष्टिरेव च ।
    सायुज्यमिति पञ्चैते क्रियादीनां फलं मतम् ॥
    For explanation of these terms *see* verses 19-25 of chap. 16.
61. Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā, chap. 10; and 13.4-5.
62. *Ibid.*, 6.9-10. It is stated that Brahmā told a lie that he had seen the upper end of the Śiva-liṅga which had appeared during his quarrel with Viṣṇu. So, Śiva cursed him saying that as he adopted this deceitful means, he would receive no worship and have no festivals.

large number of verses in common.[63] It is, therefore, probable that this Saṁhitā was written later than 950 A. D. This late origin of the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā seems to be supported by the fact that none of the quotations, made in the Smṛti works from the the '*Śiva-purāṇa*' or '*Śaiva*', is found to occur in this Saṁhitā.

The Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā, as printed in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition of the *Śiva-purāṇa*, contains a few additional chapters not occurring in the Vaṅgavāsī edition. These are chaps. 1 (verses 4b to the end), 2, 3 (verses 1-5), and 19-25. It should be mentioned here that all these additional chapters are comparatively late additions.

### 3. Kailāsa-saṁhitā[64]

This part consists of twelve chapters and deals with topics mainly theological, philosophical and ritualistic. It takes its firm stand on the Advaita philosophy of the Vedānta and says, "*advaita-śaiva-vedo' yaṁ dvaitaṁ na sahate kvacit*" (10.66). It claims to be '*vedānta-siddhānta viniścita*' (12.129) and to embody the essence of the eighteen Purāṇas, the Itihāsas, and the Vedas (12.144-5) and says that a spiritual guide is to be '*vedānta-jñāna-pāraga*' and the members of the higher three castes are to practise only that *dharma* which is proclaimed by Śruti and Smṛti (8.21). On the other hand, it looks upon the Āgamas with high regard,[65] exhibits great influence of these works on its theology, philosophy and rituals, recognises the *yantra* as a medium of worship (3.24-26; chaps. 4 and 10), and imbibes Śākta ideas to a very great extent. According to it Śiva is '*pañca-kṛtya-vidhāyaka*' '*kāla-pañca-vigraha*' and '*pañca-mantra-tanu*'; and it speaks of '*Maheśādi-caturvyūha*' (8.18.20; 10.22), perhaps following the doctrine of Vyūha of the

63. For instance, Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā 1.2.11 = Vāyavīya-saṁhitā I. 1.4-6a, 9b-10a, 19b; 2.1, 2b-3a, 4a, 25b, 27a, 28a, 33a, 34.

64. For Mss. of this Saṁhitā, *see*
(1) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, No. 3530, p. 250 (consisting of 23 chapters, and dated Saṁvat 1936); pp. 262-4, No. 3540 (consisting of 23 chapters, and dated Saṁvat 1935).
(2) Stein, *Jammu Cat.*, p. 215, No. 3557 (kailāsa-saṁhitāyā upari-bhāgaḥ).

65 For mention of 'Āgama' see Kailāsa-saṁhitā 3.44. In 7 56, Skanda is called '*guhyā-gamavid*'.

Pāñcarātras, to which it refers on many occasions. It ignores the doctrine of incarnations of Śiva, but betrays the influence of the Pāśupatas on its theology. It calls all creatures '*paśu*' and *Śiva* '*Paśupāti*,' and says on more occasions than one that it is Paśupati who frees all *paśus* from their *pāśa* (bondage).[66] It refers to the views of the 'Śvetāśvatara-śākhins' (10.129), has verses from the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad*, and speaks of eulogising Śiva with the citation of the 'Śatarudrīya' (1.5).

A careful study of the Kailāsa-saṁhitā shows that it is a work of the Purāṇic Vīra Śaivas (who are also called Māheśvaras). The Śiva-worshippers, to whom this Kailāsa-saṁhitā belongs, call their philosophical views 'Śivādvaita' (10.96 and 4) and once mention themselves as Māheśvaras (10.50).

That this Saṁhitā was written in Southern India, can be little doubted. In chaps. 8ff. Skanda has been called Subrahmaṇya; and the only holy places which this Saṁhitā particularly mentions, are Kanyākumārī, the city of Kālahastī (*Śrī-kālahasti-śailākhya-nagara*), the river Suvarṇamukharī (on the bank of which the city of Kālahastī stands), and a few other places situated not very far from Kālahastī. None of its Mss. is written in Bengali characters.

Unlike the two Saṁhitās already examined, the Kailāsa-saṁhitā betrays a spirit of sectarin rivalry. It expresses its strong antagonistic feeling against the followers of the Dvaita philosophy (10.166), refers to sectarian peculiarities in rituals (11.83, 86), designates all scriptures other than Śaiva as '*paśu-śāstra*' (10.3), and regards the philosophical views expressed in this Saṁhitā as *anyadarśana-saṁtrāsa-janaka*' (10.6). This sectarian spirit as well as other peculiarities found in its theology and philosophy shows that it must have been written by a person different from the authors of the Jñāna and the Videśvara-saṁhitā.

As regards the date of this Saṁhitā, we can only say that it cannot be earlier than 950 AD. It mentions the Tulasī plant (11.99, 12.54), refers to the content of the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā (12.

66. Kailāsa-saṁhitā 7.75 *vācyaḥ paśupatir devaḥ paśūnāṁ pāśa-mocakah*); and 7.76 (*vācakena samāhūtaḥ paśūn mocayati kṣaṇāt*). *See* also Kailāsa-saṁhitā 6.88, 8.3, 10.3.

120-121), and betrays the influence of Śaṁkarācārya by its extraordinary zeal shown in establishing the Vaidāntika view. It knows Vasu Gupta's Śiva-sūtras, from which is quotes the first two Sūtras, viz., '*caitanyam ātmā*' and '*jñānaṁ bandhaḥ*'.[67] If verses 6a and 7 of chap. 8 have been taken from Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā, chap 1 (verses 10-11), and if the explanation of the first two Śiva-sūtras, as given in the Kailāsa-saṁhitā,[68] are based on Kṣemarāja's *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī* or Bhāskara's *Śiva-sūtra-vārttika*, then the Kailāsa-saṁhitā must be dated later than the eleventh century A. D.

No writer is found to refer to or draw upon this Saṁhitā.

The Kailāsa-saṁhitā, as found printed in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition of the *Śiva-purāṇa*, does not differ substantially from the Vaṅgavāsī edition. The additional verses occurring in the former edition do not contain anything important for our purpose.

**4. Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā**[69]

This is perhaps the earliest of the extant Saṁhitās of the *Śiva-purāṇa*. Unlike the three Saṁhitās already examined it opens with a salutation to Īśāna only (and not to Śiva and Śiva or Ambā)

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67. Kailāsa-saṁhitā 10-125b (*caitanyam ātmeti śiva-sūtraṁ pravartitam*) and 10. 127b (*jñānaṁ bandha itīdaṁ tu dvitīyaṁ sūtram īśituḥ*)

68. *Ibid*, 10.125b-128. Cf. Kṣemarāja's *Śiva-sūtra-vimarśinī*, pp. 4-10 (on Śiva-sūtra 1).

69. For Mss. of this Saṁhitā, *see*.

(1) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, pp, 271-287, Nos. 3543-46. (All these Mss. are written in *Bengali script*. No. 3543 has the words "*śiva-purāṇe prathama-khaṇḍaḥ*' on the margin of every leaf; and No. 3546 is furnished with a commentary).

(2) Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.*, No. 129 (II), pp. 75-76. (It is written in *Bengali characters* and called 'Jñāna-khaṇḍa'. The number of its chapters is 56).

(3) Haraprasad Shastri, *Notices of Sans.* Mss. II. pp. 210-2 No. 237, and IV, pp. 220-222. No. 298. (The latter Ms., which is deposited at Puri in Orissa, styles itself 'Pūrva-khaṇḍa of *Śiva-p.*').

(4) *Adyar Library Cat.*, I. p. 157.

(5) Stein *Jammu Cat.*, p. 215, No. 3552.

(6) Dacca University Mss. Nos. 286 and 4002 (both of which are written in Bengali characters).

and belongs to the pro-Vedic Pāśupatas (who seem to have distinguished themselves as Māheśvaras). Although it calls itself '*sarvāgama-samāyukta*' (59.72) and professes to follow the Śiva-siddhāntas (58. 10), it contains the slightest trace of Tantric influence in its ideas, rituals and *mantras*. Rudra is very often mentioned as Paśupati and the creatures as '*paśu*', and it is said that Paśupati subjects all creatures (*paśu*) to bondage (*pāśa*). This Saṁhitā repeatedly explains and extols the Pāśupata-vrata, Pāśupata-yoga, Pāśupata-jñāna, recognises the doctrine of incarnations of Rudra, recommends the study of the Śatarudrīya section of the *Yajurveda*, and has a few verses from the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad*. The deity to which it assigns the highest place, is Rudra having five faces and ten hands and living in cemeteries. It regards this Rudra as '*dvaita-varjita*' and '*oṁkāra-svarūpa*' and identifies him with niṣkala Brahma. Śiva of Kailāsa is a visible form of this Rudra, and Śiva's wife Pārvatī is none but Prakṛti born of Rudra-Brahma. This Saṁhitā further says that any one who meditates on Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva as identical, attains Rudra-sāyujya (32.6). It prefers the worship of Rudra in a *liṅga*, but does not seem to ignore the use of the *mūrti* and *sthaṇḍila* as mediums (cf. 23.10). Like the other Saṁhitās, it adds great importance to *bhakti* as a means of attaining salvation.

It has already been said that the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā is perhaps the oldest of the extant Saṁhitās of the *Śiva-purāṇa*. As Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya quotes verses from chap. 22 of this Saṁhitā in his *Dāna-kaumudī*, and Vallālasena from chaps. 10, 20, 22, 25 and 26 in his *Dāna-sāgara*, and as the latter, who was very careful about the suprious Purāṇas and Upa-purāṇas,[70] does not express the least doubt as regards its antiquity and authenticity, this Saṁhitā cannot be dated later than 900 A. D. The remarkable absence of any serious attempt in this Saṁhitā to base its doctrine on the Vedāntic monism, seems to place this Saṁhitā earlier than Śaṁkarācārya. On the other hand, this Saṁhitā refers to the *Vāyu-purāṇa*[71] and incorporates one of its chapters.[72]

70. *See* my article on 'Purāṇa Literature as known to Vallālasena' published in *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, XII, pp. 129ff.

71. Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā 51. 2-3. These lines refer to chap 54 of the *Vāyu-p*.

72. Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā, chap. 51 = *Vāyu-p.*, chap. 54.

It knows the Śaivas (41.19) and their Āgamas (10.41 ; 30.51) and mentions the Śiva-sidhāntas. So, it is probably not to be placed much earlier then 750 A. D. Thus the date of composition of this Saṁhitā falls in the eighth century A. D.

A large number of verses is found common to this Saṁhitā and the *Liṅga-purāṇa*[73]; and the story of the birth, austerities and marriage of Nandin, as found in chaps. 45-50 of this Saṁhitā, is very similar to that given in *Liṅga-purāṇa*. I.37ff. But we do not know whether the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā utilises the *Liṅga-purāṇa*, or *vice versa*. From the nature of some references contained in the Sanatkumāra saṁhitā[74] it seems that it is the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā which has utilised the contents of the present *Liṅga-pnrāṇa* in its earlier form.[75] The Vāyavīya-saṁhitā expressly names the *Liṅga-purāṇa* as its source in some matters.

The Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā, which differs considerably from the other Saṁhitās in theology, philosophy and rituasl, specially praises Benares on more occasions than one and mentions the holy places and rivers mostly belonging to Northern India. That *it was originally a work of Bengal*, is shown by the following facts :

1. Mss. of this Saṁhitā are found much more frequently in Bengal than in other provinces.

2. It is the Smṛti-writers of Bengal who are found to draw upon this Saṁhitā first of all. As a matter of fact, I know of no non-Bengal Smṛti-writer, except Hemādri, who refers to or draws upon this Saṁhitā.

(3) The *Śiva-purāṇa*, as current in Western and Southern India, consists of 12 or 7 Saṁhitās excluding the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā.

So, the connection of the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā with Bengal as the place of its origin can hardly be denied.

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73. For instance,
Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā 42.21-71 = *Liṅga-p*. I. 92. 12ff.
(except a few lines). (except a few lines).
Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā 45-28ff. = *Liṅga-p*. I. 92-71bff.

74. *See* Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā 1.9, 3.67, 3.69, 3.70, 20. 2-5.

75. In the present *Liṅga-p*. there are later additions.—*See* R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 92-96.

Chapter 28 of this Saṁhitā seems to be spurious. The story of Śiva's becoming *'nīla-kaṇṭha'*, as given in this chapter, is peculiar and does not agree with that given in chapter 51.

(For further discussion of the problems connected with this Saṁhitā, *see* below).

### 5. Vāyavīya-saṁhitā[76]

This Saṁhitā consists of two parts called Pūrva-bhāga and Uttara-bhāga each consisting of 30 chapters.[77] It is a purely Śaiva work extolling the worship of Rudra in his different forms. According to this Saṁhitā, Rudra is Para Brahma and the original source of the universe, and Puruṣa and Prakṛti originate from him. It speaks of *pati*, *paśu* and *pāśa* as well as of the different kinds of *mala*, sometimes calls the Śiva-worshippers 'Pāśupatas' (i. 28.16, 29.1, etc.), and recognises the doctrine of *Vyūhas* of Maheśvara and that of Śiva's incarnation as twenty-eight Yogācāryas including

76. For Mss. of this Saṁhitā, *see*

(1) Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*; VI. pp. 1314-16, Nos. 3617-18 (same as in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Śiva-p.*) ;
(2) Shastri, and Gui, *Calcutta Sans. College Cat.*, IV, pp. 183-4, No. 297 (same as in the Vaṅgavāsī edition; written in Bangali characters);

(3) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, I, p. 66, No. 123 (same as in the Vaṅgavāsī edition) ;

(4) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. No. 3530, p. 250 (same as in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition) ; pp. 259-261, Nos. 3535-36 (same as in the Vaṅgavāsī edition) ; p. 261, No. 3537 (same as Vāyavīya-saṁhitā—Pūrva-bhāga in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition); and p. 262, No. 3539 (same as Vāyavīya-saṁhitā--Uttara-bhāga in the Veṅkaṭeṣvara edition) ;

(5) R. L. Mitra, *Bikaner Catalogue of Sans Mss.*, pp. 220-1 No. 470 (same as in the Vaṅgavāsī edition) ;
(6) *Adyar Library Catalogue of Sans. Mss.*, I, p. 156 (written in Uḍiyā and Grantha characters) ;
(7) P. P. S, Sastri, *Tanjore Cat.*, XV, pp. 6780-82, Nos. 9695-98 (same as in the Vaṅgavāsī edition) ;
(8) Stein, *Jammu Cat.*, p. 215, Nos. 3555-56 (pūrva-uttara bhāgau) ;

(9) Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.*, No. 129 (III), p. 76 (Uttara-bhāga; incomplete; written in Bengali script).

77. In the Veṅkat. ed. the Pūrva-bhāga consists of 35 chapters and the Uttara-bhāga, of 41 chapters.

Nakulīśvara. It remarkably imbibes Śākta influence, regards Bhavānī as Śiva's Māyā and Śakti, and adds great importance to *bhakti* as a means of attaining salvation.

The Vāyavīya-saṁhitā calls itself 'a Purāṇa adorned with the meanings of the Āgamas' (i. 1.24) and is a work of those Āgamic Śaivas who looked upon the Vedas as authorities in all matters concerning *dharma* and made a compromise between the Vedic and the Āgamic ideas. According to this Saṁhitā, knowledge about Śiva is the essence of the Vedas (ii.9.1), and 'sadācāra' is that which is prescribed by the Vaidikas to different persons in the Vedas and the Śaiva Śāstras (ii.12.157). It looks down upon the Pāṣaṇḍas (i.29,65) and recognises the Brahmanical caste system saying that the *dharma*, described in the *Śiva-purāṇa*, is meant for the Śaivas of the higher three castes (i. 1.42.43). It repeatedly praises the 'Śrauta Pāśupata-vrata' as found in the *Artharvaśiras-upaniṣad* (i. 29. 9, ii. 9. 20, ii. 30.35), and speaks of virtuous (*ācāravat*) Pāśupata ascetics who, while bathing in a lake, 'stood on pieces of stone lying under water, lest they should be touched by the members of low castes' (*antar-jala-śilā-rūḍhair nīcānāṁ sparśa-śaṅkayā*—ii. 30.58). As regards initiation to Śiva-worship, it places various restrictions on women and Śūdras and does not allow them all the privileges enjoyed by the male members of the higher three castes (ii. 13.65ff). On the other hand, it has high regard for the Āgamas and refers to these works as authorities on many occasions. For instance, this Saṁhitā looks upon the Śivāgamas as authorities on philosophical matters (ii.4.9), and says that the Śivāgamas are those works which are spoken out by Śiva to Śivā, that real knowledge is that which is declared in these Sivāgamas (ii. 8.38-39), and that '*sarvajña*' and '*paripūrṇa*' Śiva is to be known from these works (ii. 12.21). According to it, the Sivāgamas identify the syllable 'om' with Śiva himself (ii.7.25), contain a full description of the best type of *dharma* (i. 28 9-10), the names of the *bhuvanas* constituting the universe (i. 25.14), and the directions about the different ways of repeating the sectarian *mantra* '*oṁ namaḥ śivāya*' (ii. 12. 126), and describe the methods of intiation (ii. 13.6) and the characteristics of the yogāṅgas (ii.29.17). In this Saṁhitā the Sivāgamas have been divided into two classes, viz., (1) Śrauta and (2) Aśrauta, of which the former (i. e. Śrauta Āgamas) are 'replete with the essence of the Vedas' (*veda-sāramayaḥ*

*śrautaḥ*), and the latter (i. e. Aśrauta Āgamas) are *'svatantra'*. It praises the Śrauta Āgamas and says that it is these works which describe the best type of Pāśupata *vrata* and jñāna (i.28.11-13). But in spite of its great inclination towards the Āgamas, it does not allow the Śaivas to read any Āgama they like. It declares that it is the duty of the spiritual guides to prescribe particular suitable Āgamas to their disciples (ii. 17.14) and that a Śaiva must not take up for study, or read, or hear any Āgama at his own instance without the permission of his spiritual preceptor (ii.14 77). It knows various Śaiva sects, viz., Siddhāntamārgastha Śaivas, Pāśupata Śaivas, Mahāvratadhara Śaivas, Kāpālika Śaivas, and Raudras (ii. 24.177 i.27.72, ii.24.175), and distinguishes between the 'Śaivas' and the 'Māheśvaras' saying that the Śaivas are *'jñāna-yajñarata'* and abide in *'śānty-atīta-pada'* whereas the Māheśvaras are *'karma-yajña-rata'* and remain in *'śānti-pada'*, and that 'there is no real distinction between the Śaivas and the Māheśvaras just as Śiva is not absolutely different from Maheśvara' (ii.23.7-10, i.27.71, ii.24.173 ii.20.118). The repeated praise of these *'jñāna-yajña-rata'* Śaivas, the great importance attached to Śiva-jñāna as known from the Śivāgamas, and the recognition of the authority of the Vedas, leave no scope for doubt regarding the connection of this Saṁhitā with those Āgamic Śaivas who were very much inclined towards the Vedas.

A careful study of the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā shows that it is a distinct work written by a person different from the authors of the other Saṁhitās. Hence, its date should be discussed separately. It repeatedly speaks of the 'Śilpa-śāstra, (ii.14.2, and 20.108), knows the *rāśis* (ii.20.74) and the names of the week-days (i.29.64, and ii. 12.167), and has a large extract taken from the present *Vāyu-purāṇa*.[78] It incorporates a few verses of the *Svetāśvatara* and other Upaniṣads[79], conveniently utilises the contents of the *Kena Upaniṣad* (see Vāyavīya-saṁhitā ii. 3.6ff.), and names the *Mahābhārata* (i. 1.32), the *Śiva-dharma* (ii.24.170), the *Śiva-dhārmottara* (ii.24.170), the *'Skānda'* (the contents of which, as referred to in the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā, seem to point to the Māheśvara-khaṇḍa of the present *Skanda-purāṇa*) (i. 26,29ff.), and the *'Liṅga-purāṇa'* (which

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78. Vāyavīya-saṁhitā i. 10 = *Vāyu-p.* 6. 36ff.
79. *See* Vāyavīya-saṁhitā i. 2.33, 4.81ff., 14.9a., and so on.

it names and extensively utilises in its Uttara-bhāga[80]. It mentions the 'Brāhmas' (i. e. the Brahmā-worshippers) along with the Sāṁkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas, Yogins, Naiyāyikas, Sauras, Raudras and Vaiṣṇavas (ii.24.175), knows the twenty-eight Āgamas, and names the *Kāmikāgama* (i.28.12; ii. 24.171). Hence the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā cannot possibly be dated earlier than 800 A.D. As this Saṁhitā is drawn upon in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti*, and Narasiṁha Vājapeyin's *Nityācāra-pradīpa*, it cannot be later than 1000A.D.

It is remarkable that none of the Smṛti-writers of Bengal is found to refer to or quote verses from the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā. On the other hand, this Saṁhitā was drawn upon by the South Indian scholars first of all, and it was much later that it came to be utilised by the Smṛti-writers of Orissa. So, this Saṁhitā seems to have been written in Southern India.

The Vāyavīya-saṁhitā, as occurring in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition of the *Śiva-purāṇa*, does not differ appreciably from that printed in the Vaṅgavāsī editions.

**6. Dharma-saṁhitā**[81]

This Saṁhitā is an extensive one consisting of 65 chapters. It opens with two verses on the praise of Vyāsa and Śiva, and pre-

80. *Ibid.*, ii. 9.51 (which refers to *Liṅga-p.* I. 24 and 7).
Vāyavīya-saṁhitā ii. 1. 10ff =*Liṅga-p.* I. 108 (except a few lines).
,, ii. 2.9ff. = ,, II. 9.10ff.
,, ii. 10.1-7.... =cf. ,, I. 24.
,, ii. 10.8ff. = ,, I. 7.37ff.

81. For Mss. of this Saṁhitā, *see*
(1) Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI, pp. 1312-14, No. 3616 (beginning with verse 32 of chap. 2 and ending with verse 19a of chap. 64 of the Dharma-saṁhitā of the Vaṅgavāsī edition; written in Devanāgarī of 1699 A. D.).
(2) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, pp. 288-98, No. 3550 (furnished with Gaṅgādhara's commentary text same as in the Vaṅgavāsī edition; containing 64 chapters).
(3) Mitra, *Bikaner Cat.*, pp. 209–10, No. 455 (incomplete; same as in the Vaṅgavāsī edition).

It is to be noted that Mss. of the Dharma-saṁhitā are very few in number and that they are all written in Devanāgarī script and not in Bengali.

sents Sūta as reporting to the sages what Sanatkumāra said to Vyāsa on various topics concerning Śiva-worship.

This Saṁhitā also, like the other Saṁhitās of the *Śiva-purāṇa*, is avowedly Śaiva and is most probably a work of the Māheśvaras (cf. 16.31 and 36.56). It prefers worshipping Śiva in a liṅga, extols the six-syllabled *mantra* (oṃ namaḥ śivāya) and the Mahāpāśupata-vrata, and calls Śiva by various names including 'Paśupati' and 'Lakuṭin'. In its opinion, Śiva is the 'twenty-sixth *tattva*' and is the same as Supreme Brahma. Although it speaks of 'five great sacrifices' (*pañca mahāyajña*, viz., *karma-yajña*, *tapo-yajña*, *svādhyāya-yajña*, *dhyāna-yajña* and *jñāna-yajña*) and regards the fifth as the best, it adds great importance to *karma-yajña* as the first step to the realisation of Śiva-Brahma. It preaches the unity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, but often presents the first two as worshipping the third.

A careful study of this Saṁhitā shows that it is a distinct work written by one who was different from the authors of the other Saṁhitās. It is written in a different style; and the stories of Tripura-dāha and the origin of the Śiva-liṅga, as given in this Saṁhitā, are in many respects different from those contained in the Sanatkumāra (chaps. 52ff.) and other Saṁhitās. Although it has high regard for the 'Śivāgama' (17.115; 15.36) and recommends the performance of *nyāsas* and *mudrās* in Śiva-workship, it is much more Purāṇic than Āgamic. It regards the 'Purāṇa Dharma' as the best (49.15), prescribes the use of only the Vedic and the Purāṇic *mantras* in Śiva-worship (36.46), and aims at establishing a Brahmanical society. Among the mediums of worship it mentions the *liṅga*, *sthaṇḍila* and *pratimā* (10.205; 37.38 and 46) but not the Tantric *yantra*.

That the Dharma-saṁhitā is a late work, can be little doubted. It names the great epic '*Bhārata*' (15.68), refers to the *Vāyu-purāṇa* (58.10 and 21), and incorporates some of its chapters.[82] It

82. The chapters common to the Dharma-saṁhitā and the *Vāyu-p.* are the following :—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dharma-saṁhitā, chaps. 56-58 | = | *Vāyu-p*, | 62.106c ff. |
| ,, chap. 59 | = | ,, | 84.32ff. |
| ,, chap. 60 ............ | — cf. | ,, | chap. 88. |
| ,, chap. 61 | = | ,, | 88.91ff. |

is familiar with the 'thirty-six Purāṇas' (49.17), speaks of nine Nāṭya-rasas including the Śānta[83], gives a list of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations including the Buddha (9.1), and names Rādhā (9.68) and the Tulasī plant (16.76). The abrupt appearance of the interlocutors (i) Kṛṣṇa and Upamanyu and (ii) Vyāsa and Sanatkumāra in this Saṁhitā, shows that it was written later than the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā which gives detailed accounts of all these persons. So, the Dharma-saṁhitā cannot possibly be dated earlier than 900 A. D. The late origin of this Saṁhitā is further evidenced by the facts that Mss. of this Saṁhitā are comparatively rare and that none of the numerous Smṛti-writers is found to refer to or draw upon it, although it contains a good number of chapters on Smṛti-topics, especially dāna.

It is difficult to say anything definitely about the provenance of this Saṁhitā. The absence of its Mss. in Bengal, and its mention of holy places and rivers mostly belonging to Northern India, tend to show that it was written neither in Bengal nor in Southern India.

The remaining four Saṁhitās of the *Śiva-purāṇa.*, viz., Rudra-saṁhitā, Śata-rudra-saṁhitā, Koṭi-rudra-saṁhitā and Umā-saṁhitā which occur only in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition, are all late works Mss. of these four Saṁhitās are extremely rare and do not occur in all parts of India. Of the numerous Smṛti-writers known to us, none is found to betray his knowledge of even one of them. However, we shall briefly examine these four Saṁhitās below.

**(1) Rudra-saṁhitā**[84]

It is a voluminous work consisting of 196 chapters divided into five Khaṇḍas, viz., Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, Satī-khaṇḍa, Pārvatī-khaṇḍa, Kumāra-khaṇḍa and Yuddha-khaṇḍa. Of these, the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa is constituted of chapters and verses mostly taken from the Jñāna-saṁhitā; the Satī-khaṇḍa, of those mostly derived from the present

83. Dharma-saṁhitā 10.101-103.

These verses tend to indicate the acquaintance of the author of the Dharma-saṁhitā with Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*.

84. For Mss. of this Saṁhitā, *see* Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. pp. 248.9, No. 3530 (same as in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition), pp. 251.3, No. 353 (containing the Pārvatī-khaṇḍa only), and pp. 253.4, No. 3532 (containing the Yuddha-khaṇḍa only.

*Kālikā-purāṇa* and *Liṅga-purāṇa*; the Pārvatī-khaṇḍa, of those mainly taken from the present *Kālikā-purāṇa* and the Jñāna-saṁhitā; the Kumāra-khaṇḍa, of those mostly borrowed from the Jñāna-saṁhitā and the Yuddha-khaṇḍa, of those mainly taken from the Jñāna-saṁhitā, *Padma-purāṇa* (Uttara-khaṇḍa), *Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa* (Prakṛti-khaṇḍa) and Dharma-saṁhitā. Hence, this Saṁhitā cannot possibly be dated earlier than the fourteenth century A. D. It plagiarises a verse of the *Pañca-tantra*, uses some of the expressions of Kālidāsa's *Raghu-vaṁśa* and *Kumāra-sambhava*, and speaks of the Buddhist Āgamas and the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu including 'Rādhā-vihāra-śīla Kṛṣṇa', 'Jaina Bauddha', and Kalkin. It professes Āgamic Śaivism with Pāśupata inclination and lays special stress on jñāna as the means of attaining liberation.

(2) **Śata-rudra-saṁhitā**[85]

This part, as its title shows, deals with one hundred incarnations of Śiva including the twenty-eight Yogeśvara incarnations and the twelve Jyotir-liṅga incarnations. It betrays the influence of Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhava*, utilises the *Liṅga-purāṇa*, Vāyavīya-saṁhitā and Jñāna-saṁhitā, and refers to the Satī-khaṇḍa of the Rudra-saṁhitā. So it cannot be earlier than the fourteenth century A. D.

(3) **Koṭi-rudra-saṁhitā**[86]

This part consists of chapters mostly taken from the Jñāna-saṁhitā and once refers to the Śata-rudra-saṁhitā which deals with the different incarnations of Śiva. So, this saṁhitā also cannot be earlier than the fourteenth century A. D.

(4) **Umā-saṁhitā**[87]

This Saṁhitā is also called 'Bhauma-saṁhitā' in some places.[88] It mentions the Koṭi-rudra-saṁhitā and is evidently a

85. For Mss. of this Saṁhitā *see* Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. No. 3530, p. 250.
86. For Mss, of this Saṁhitā, *see* Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. No. 3530, p. 250 (same as in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition); No. 3534, pp. 257-8 (same as in the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition).
87. For Mss. of this Saṁhitā, *see* Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. No. 3530, p. 250; No. 3541, pp. 265-8. (Both these Mss. contain 42 chapters and bear the title 'Bhauma-saṁhitā). Also *Adyar Library Cat.*, I. p. 157.
88. *See* the immediately preceding footnote. *See* also Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. pp. 277 and 289: Mitra, *Bikaner Cat.*, p. 209. (*Continued on the next page*)

late work. Most of its chapters are taken from the Dharma-saṁhitā, and some of the verses of chapter 44 appear to have been derived from the *Devī-bhāgavata* (II. 2) and the Uttara-khaṇḍa (chapter 23) of the *Śiva-purāṇa* as preserved in Bengal Mss.

It has already been said that according to the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā and the Veṅkaṭeśvara edition of the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā the *Śiva-purāṇa* consists of twelve Saṁhitās. But unfortunately no Ms. has been found of as many as four Saṁhitās, viz., Vaināyaka-saṁhitā, Mātṛ-saṁhitā. Rudraikādaśa-saṁhitā and Sahasra-koṭi-rudra-saṁhitā, which, consequently, seem to be lost.

Much more interesting is the Bengal tradition regarding the text of the *Śiva-purāṇa*. According to Bengal Mss. this work consists of two Khaṇḍas—Pūrva and Uttara.[89] The Pūrva-khaṇḍa,

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The name 'Bhauma-saṁhitā' may be a mistake for the name 'Auma-saṁhitā' occurring in the Vāyavīya and the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā.

89. For complete Mss. of the '*Śiva-purāṇa* of two Khaṇḍas', *see*

(1) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. pp. 271-5, No. 3543 (written in Bengali characters; the Pūrva-khaṇḍa and the Uttara-khaṇḍa consisting of 56 and 36 chapters respectively).

(2) Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.*, pp. 75-76, No. 129 (I-II, written in Bengali script; part I, styled Uttara-khaṇḍa, consisting of 36 chapters; and part II, called 'Jñāna-khaṇḍa', consisting of 56 chapters and being the same as the printed Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā).

(3) Dacca University Mss. No. 286 (written in Bengali characters; the two parts consisting of 57 and 36 chapters respectively).

For independent Mss. of the Pūrva-khaṇḍa, *see*

(1) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V. pp. 275-6, Nos. 3544-45 (written in Bengali script; and styled 'Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā' in the colophon).

(2) Dacca University Mss. No. 4002 (written in Bengali characters; and consisting of 55 chapters).

(3) Shastri, *Notices of Sans.*, Mss , IV, pp. 220-22, No. 298 (written in Nāgara characters; and consisting of 52 chapters).

(4) *Adyar Library Cat.*, I, p. 156 (incomplete; written in Uḍiyā script).

(*See* also footnote 69 above).

For independent Mss. of the Uttara-khaṇḍa, *see*

*(Continued on the next page)*

though consisting of a varying number of chapters in different Mss,[90] has the same text as that of the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā comprised in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the *Śiva-purāṇa*. The Uttara-khaṇḍa, on the other hand, is a unique work consisting invariably of 36 chapters in the Bengal Mss.[91] and belonging to those Pāśupatas who recognised the authority of the Śaiva Āgamas. It tries to establish the superiority of Śaivism and points to the rivalry which the Śaivas had with the Vaiṣṇavas of Puruṣottamakṣetra (Puri), to which it tries to give the stamp of a Śaiva tīrtha.

Although the Uttara-khaṇḍa attaches itself to the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā to form the complete '*Śiva-purāṇa*', it is certainly not an early work. It betrays Kālidāsa's influence in its ideas and expressions, knows and names the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, *Bṛhannārada-purāṇa* *Devī-purāṇa* and *Yoga-vāśiṣṭha-rāmāyaṇa*, and mentions the Bindu-hrada of Ekāmra-kṣetra. By its statement that Sanatkumāra became the author of the '*Ekāmra-saṁhitā*', it definitely refers to the present

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(*Continued from the previous page*)

(1) Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, pp. 305-6, No. 3559 (written in Uḍiyā characters; and consisting of 45 chapters); p. 306, No. 3560 (written in Bengali script; and consisting of 36 chapters).

(2) Shastri, *Notices of Sans.* Mss. IV, pp. 222-3, No. 299 (written in Uḍiyā script; and consisting of 45 chapters).

(3) Eggeling, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, VI. p. 1357, No. 3665 (written in Bengali script; consisting of 36 chapters).

(4) Keith, *Ind. Off. Cat.*, II, ii, pp. 997-8 (written in Bengali characters; consisting of 36 chapters).

(5) Dacca University Mss. Nos. 623A (incomplete), 626A (dated Śaka 1657), 1312 (dated Śaka 1725), 1344 (incomplete), 1465A (dated Śaka 1751), 1617B (incomplete), 3428, 3432, 3751, 4083, 4188 (incomplete), 4233 (dated Śaka 1676), 4794, and D. H. R. 16.

All the Dacca University Mss. are written in Bengali characters; and those which are complete, consist of 36 chapters each.

(6) *Adyar Library Cat.*, I, p.156 (written in Uḍiyā script).

90. For the numbers of chapters contained in the different Mss. of the Pūrva-khaṇḍa, *see* the immediately preceding foot-note.

91. *See* foot-note 89 above.

In those few Mss. of Uttara-khaṇḍa, which are written in Uḍiyā script, the number of chapters is 45; and of these 45 chapters the last nine (i.e. chaps. 37-45) do not occur in the Bengal Mss.

*Ekāmra-purāṇa* which calls itself a 'Saṁhitā' on many occasions and has Sanatkumāra as the speaker. That the *Ekāmra-purāṇa* was known to the Uttara-khaṇḍa, is also shown by the fact that chaps. 26ff. of the Uttara-khaṇḍa are based on *Ekāmra-purāṇa*, chaps. 34ff. Hence the date of the Uttara-khaṇḍa cannot be earlier than 1100 A.D., the *Ekāmra-purāṇa* being a work of the tenth or eleventh century A.D. As the Uttara-khaṇḍa has been drawn upon in Śūlapāṇi's *Vrata-kāla-viveka* and Gadādhara's *Kāla-sāra*, it cannot be dated later than 1200 A.D. It must, therefore, be a work of the twelfth century A.D.

The Uttara-khaṇḍa devotes a good number of chapters to the praise of Ekāmravana in Orissa; and among the holy places visited by Skanda, the easternmost ones are the following : Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama, Vaitaraṇī Nadī, Brāhmī Nadī, Śikharācala, Virajā-kṣetra, Ekāmra-vana, and Binduhrada. So, the partiality of the author of the Uttara-khaṇḍa for the holy places in Orissa, especially for Ekāmravana, is undeniable. On the other hand, the earliest author to draw upon the Uttara-khaṇḍa is Śūlapāṇi, a Smṛti-writer of Bengal, and it is much later that Gadādhara of Orissa quotes a good number of verses from this Khaṇḍa in his *Kālasāra* Hence the author of this Saṁhitā must have been a Bengali having high regard for Ekāmra-kṣetra. It is highly probable that a Śiva-worshipper of Western Bengal, who looked upon Ekāmra-kṣetra as a great holy place, wrote the Uttarakhaṇḍa in the twelfth century A.D. and that it was much later that this Khaṇḍa became known in Orissa. It is most probably for this reason that Mss. of the Uttara-khaṇḍa are so frequently found in Bengal, that no Smṛti-writer of Orissa earlier than Gadādhara is found to refer to or utilise this Khaṇḍa, that only three isolated Uḍiyā Mss. of the Uttara-khaṇḍa have been discovered up to the present time, and that not even a single complete Ms, of the '*Śiva-purāṇa* of two Khaṇḍas' has been found in Orissa.

From our analysis of the different Saṁhitās and Khaṇḍas of the *Śiva-purāṇa* we have found that most of these were written by different hands in different climes and ages and that there were different traditions regarding the text of the *Śiva-purāṇa*. We shall now try to explain why these Saṁhitās and Khaṇḍas came to be written and how these traditions arose.

We have already seen that the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā is the oldest part of the present *Śiva-purāṇa* and that it was written in Bengal. As Vallālasena and Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya quote a good number of verses from this Saṁhitā under the title '*Śiva-purāṇa*' but are silent about the Uttara-khaṇḍa (which also contains a number of verses on donation), it seems that the *Śiva-purāṇa*, in its ealiest form, consisted of the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā only. This impression is very much strengthened by the facts that the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā styles itself simply'*Śiva-purāṇa*'in the body of its text and also in the colophons of many of its Mss. and that it neither calls itself the Pūrva-knaṇḍa of the *Śiva-purāṇa* anywhere except in the margin of a very few Mss.[92] nor claims to have an Uttara-khaṇḍa. As the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā is a work of those pro-Vedic Pāśupatas who were not much inclined towards the Āgamas, it had no serious rivalry with the *Vāyu-purāṇa* which is free from Āgamic influence. But with the rise of the Āgamas, serious changes came upon Śaivism, and there grew up a section of Śiva-worshippers who differed greatly from the pro-Vedic Pāsupatas in theology, philosophy and rituals and became known as Āgamic Śaivas. In order to popularise these re-formed ideas, an Āgamic Śaiva, most probably of Southern India, wrote a new '*Śiva-purāṇa*', now known as the Vāyayīya-saṁhitā, with Vāyu as the speaker and divided it into two parts in order that it might compete successfully with the widely popular *Vāyu-purāṇa* and occupy its place. The Āgamic Śaivas did not stop here. They went on writing new works, all bearing the title '*Śiva-purāṇa*' in the body of their texts, from different parts of India and tried to popularise their own views through these. The Āgamic Pāśupatas also wrote new works known as '*Śiva-purāṇa*' with the same object. In order that the Pāśupatas might neither remain orthodox followers of the teachings of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* nor become full-fledged Āgamic Śaivas by following the '*Śiva-purāṇa*' now known as the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā a reformed Pāśupata of Bengal, who recognised the authority of the Saiva Āgamas, wrote the Uttara-khaṇḍa in the twelfth century A.D. and attached it to the '*Śiva-purāṇa*' now known as Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā

92. *See* Shastri, *ASB Cat.*, V, pp. 271-3, No. 3543. (The first part of this Ms. has the words '*siva-purāṇe prathama-khaṇḍa*' written in the margin of every leaf).
The Dacca Univerity Ms. No. 4002 has the words **'शिवपुराणेर पूर्वखण्ड' written at the end.**

in order that the 'complete' *Śiva-purāṇa*, thus created, might have as much claim to the position of a Mahāpurāṇa as the *Vāyu-purāṇa* and the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā. As a number of independent '*Śiva-purāṇa*', thus written and circulated among the people, could only be expected to serve adversely the purpose for which they were written, by creating a feeling of doubt as regards their authenticity, they were not allowed to remain separate but were grouped together, most probably by an Āgamic Śaiva, as so many Saṁhitās of the *Śiva-purāṇa*, and the theory was propounded that the *Śiva-purāṇa* consisted of twelve Saṁhītas and one lac of verses. In order to give this theory a garb of authority and antiquity, verses containing the names and extents of the twelve Saṁhitās were interpoplated in the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā and the Vidyeśvara-saṃhitā. In later times an unknown Śaiva scholar collected copies of only seven Saṁhitās, arranged them according to his own sweet will by adding verses containing references to the preceding Saṁhitās, and gave out that the original *Śiva-purāṇa* of twelve Saṁhitās was abridged by Vyāsa into a much shorter work of 24,000 verses and seven Saṁhitās. He composed a few more verses to serve his purpose and inserted them into his copies of the Vāyavīya-saṁhitā and the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā[93]. But curiously enough, the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā, which precedes all the other Saṁhitās in date, was included nither in the list of twelve Saṁhitās nor in that of seven, most probably because of its prominently pro-Vedic character. Its origin in Bengal may also be a reason for its exclusion from the lists. However, this Saṁhitā, with the Uttara-khaṇḍa added to it, still continues to be regarded as the '*Śiva-purāṇa*' in Bengal.

93. It is remarkable that verses on the abridged *Śiva-purāṇa* occur only in the Veṅkaṭeśvara editions of the Vāyavīya and the Vidyeśvara-saṁhitā.

# THE ŚIVA-DHARMA*

This is a short work still preserved in manuscripts.[1] It consists of twelve cnapters only and deals exclusively with the religious rites and duties of Śiva-worshippers. Like the *Viṣṇu-*

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* *J. G. J. R. I.* Vol, X, pt. 1-4, pp. 1-20

1. As this work has not yet been published, our analysis of its contents is based mainly on the palm-leaf manuscript No. G3852 preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. For a description of this manuscript, which is written in Newari script of the twelfth century A. D. and consists of six different works on Śaivism (viz,. *Śiva-dharma*, *Śiva-dharmottara*, *Śiva-dharma-saṁgraha*, *Umā-maheśvara-saṁvāda*, *Śivopaniṣad*, and *Uttarottara-tantra*), see Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 4085, pp. 723-744.

   For other manuscripts of this work see :

(i) Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society af Bengal*, Vol, V, pp. 714-715, No. 4082 (Ms. No. G9967 incomplete, containing the sixth chapter only; written on Nepalese paper in Bengali characters; and dated Śaka 1563); and pp. 718-723, No. 4084 (Ms. No. G4077 written on palm-leaf in Newari script; and containing nine different works on Śaiva Dharma, of which the first six are the same as those in Ms. No G3852 mentioned above, the seventh is the *Vṛṣa-sāra-saṁgraha*, and the eighth and the ninth are both named *Lalitavistara*).

   In Ms. No. G4077 the eighth work, styled *Lalita-vistara*, has a post-colophon statement, according to which one 'Kula-putra-Ratna-siṁha' copied it in 'संवत् अ५म' (i.e., Newari year 156=1036A. D.) during the victorious reign (vijaya-rājye) of 'Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Lakṣmīkāmadeva'.

(ii) *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Libary* Part 1, p. 159, Ms. No. 46 (styled '*Śiva-dharm-opapurāṇa*' and written in Grantha script).

(iii) Haraprasad Shastri, *Catologue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, pp. 128–129, No. 1376 (incomplete, containing the Śānty-adhyāya only; written in Newari script; dated Newari Era 522). See also p. 55.

*dharma* it calls itself a 'Śāstra' or 'Dharma-śāstra'[2] and never a 'Purāṇa', or 'Upapurāṇa', and it has been mentioned as such by the *Bhaviṣya*[3] and the *Saura-purāṇa*,[4] both of which clearly distinguish it from the Purāṇic works. Yet its name has been included in all the lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas except those contained in *Skanda-purāṇa* V. iii (Revā-khaṇḍa). I. 46–52, *Devī-bhāgavata* i. 3. 13–16, *Vindhya-māhātmya*, Chapter 4, and *Ekāmra-purāṇa*, Chap. I. On the other hand, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura of Mithilā takes it to be a 'Smṛti' work,[5] the *Revā-māhātmya* calls it a part of the *Vāyu-purāṇa*

(iv) R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, VI, pp. 272–274, No. 2208 (containing the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*; written in Bengali characters).

(v) A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace at Tanjore*, p. 138 (written in Grantha characters).

2. In most of the chapter-colophons the name '*Śiva-dharma-śāstra*' occurs. See also the line :

'*uktaṁ ca dvādaśādhyāyaṁ dharma-śāstraṁ śivātmakam*' occurring in Chap. 12 (fol. 39a).

3. The relevant verse of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* is as follows :

अष्टादश पुराणानि रामस्य चरितं तथा ।
विष्णुधर्मादि-शास्त्राणि शिवधर्माश्च भारत ॥

(*Bhaviṣya-p.* Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed., i. 4. 87b–88a).

This verse has been quoted in Aparārka's commentary on the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, p. 15, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (Bibl. Ind. ed.) II. i. pp. 19–20, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 30, Narasiṁha Vājapeyin's *Nityācāra-pradipa* (Bibl. Ind. ed.), p. 22, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* (Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed.), I, p. 71, and so on.

The printed edition of the *Bhaviṣya-p.* reads 'viṣṇu dharmādayo dharmāḥ' for 'viṣṇudharmādi-śāstrāṇi'.

4. The relevant verses of the '*Saura-purāṇa*', as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, I, pp. 539–540, are the following :

अन्यान्युपपुराणानि सहिरण्यानि पर्वणि ।
लिखित्वा यः प्रयच्छेत्तु स विद्यापारगो भवेत् ॥
शिवधर्मादिशास्त्राणि यः प्रयच्छति पुण्यधीः ।
सोऽनन्तफलमाप्नोति शिवधर्मप्रकाशनात् ॥

These two verses do not occur in the printed editions of the *Saura-p.*

5. See Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, p. 30.

and thus looks upon it as a Purāṇic work,[6] the Vāyaviyasaṁhitā (ii. 24. 170) of the *Śiva-purāṇa* regards it both as a 'Śāstra' and as a 'Purāṇa',[7] and Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa mentions it as a 'Śāstra' on one occasion and as a 'Purāṇa' on another.[8] From these it is evident that this work began to be recognised as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D., but its original character was not lost sight of at least by a section of people.

That originally the *Śiva-dharma* was not meant for passing as a Purāṇic work, is also shown by its contents, which are given below.

*Chap.* I--Salutation to Śaṁbhu in a verse (which is the same as the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita*)

While Nandikeśvara was sitting at ease on the Mount Meru in the midst of a number of sages, Sanatkumāra, son of Brahmā, rose up from among them and requested Nandikeśvara to speak on that excellent Dharma (*paramaṁ dharmam*), called 'Śiva-dharma', which is eternal, easy to perform, and productive of all the ends of life, because, Sanatkamāra said, the Agniṣṭoma and other Vedic sacrifices, being highly elaborate, expensive and tiresome but of doubtful efficacy, could not be undertaken by people of little resources.[9] Consequently, Nandikeśvara praised 'Śiva-dharma'

6. Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Codicum Manuscrpitorum Sanskriticorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, p. 65—
   चतुर्थं शिबधर्माख्यं पुराणे वायुसंज्ञिते
   (which is one of the lines of the *Revā māhātmya* on the list of eighteen Upapurāṇas).
7. *Śiva p.*, V (Vāyavīya saṁhitā). ii. 24. 170–
   शास्त्रं च शिवधर्माख्यं धर्माख्यं च तदुत्तरम् ।
   शैवाख्यं शिवधर्माख्यं पुराणं श्रुतिसंमतम् ॥
8. See *smṛti candrikā* (Mysore ed.) II, pp. 539 (*śivārcana phalaṃ tu śivadharma śāstre darśitam*, etc.) and 553 (*phalam āha purāṇa dnaśnaairevḥ*)
9. *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 1. (fol. 1b) :
   अग्निष्टोमादयो यज्ञा बहुवित्तक्रियान्विताः ।
   नात्यन्तफलभूयिष्ठा बह्वायाससमन्विताः ॥
   न शक्यन्ते यतः कर्तुमल्पवित्तैर्द्विजातिभिः ।
   सुखोपायमतो ब्रूहि सर्वकामार्थसाधकम् ॥
   हिताय सर्वमर्त्यानां शिवधर्मं सनातनम् ॥

(religious duty to Śiva), which, he said, was originally spoken out by Śiva to Pārvatī, Ṣaṇmukha (the six-faced god Kārttikeya), Nandikeśvara and other gods for the deliverance of those who were steeped in nescience. Nandikeśvara then spoke on the following topics :

Praise of Śiva-worship, by which one may attain heaven (*svarga*) as well as final emancipation (*apavarga*). Mention and praise of eight types (*'aṣṭāṅgī'*, *'aṣṭa-vidhā'*) of Bhakti manifested in the loving devotees of Śiva, encouraging Śiva-worship, personally worshipping the deity, listening to discourses on Śiva, constantly remembering him and so on.

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of honouring them with gifts, etc. Praise of devotion, worship, donation, Homa, knowledge, austerities, etc. meant for the pleasure of Śiva. Devotional service to Śiva always and by all means.

*Chap.* 2—Going to describe the means of attaining immortality Sanatkumāra speaks on the merits of establishing a Liṅga of Śiva, constructing a temple for it, cleansing the temple and besmearing it with cow-dung, lustrating the Liṅga, bathing it with water, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc., offering of *'argha'* to it, making donations of gold, gems, cows, horses, elephants, servants, cultivable land, village, town, etc., and making all kinds of devotional service to Śiva.

*Chap.* 3—Sanatkumāra's narration of the following story of the origin of Liṅga :

When everything was under the waters of the ocean, there was a quarrel between Brahmā and Viṣṇu, both of whom claimed agency and lordship of the universe. In order to settle their dispute there appeared between them a great Liṅga of light (*jyotir liṅga*), the ends of which neither Brahmā nor Viṣṇu could discover. As they eulogised this huge Liṅga, they found in it another small spiritual Liṅga, only a *'prādeśa'* (i. e., the span between the thumb and the forefinger) in length, which was Śiva himself (*śivātmaka*).[10] Śiva (here called Mahādeva) was pleased

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10. *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 3 (fol. 3a) :
लिङ्गमध्ये परं लिङ्गं स्थितं प्रादेशसंमितम् ।
समाधिस्तोत्रसम्पन्नौ दृष्टवन्तौ शिवात्मकम् ॥
नैव तत् काञ्चनं रौप्यं ताम्रं स्फटिकमौक्तिकम् ।
ल''''मात्रं स्थितं शान्तं केवलं तच् छिवात्मकम् ॥

to grant boons to Brahmā and Viṣṇu and disappeared after declaring himself to be the cause of the universe. Thence forward Brahmā, Viṣṇu and others worshipped the Liṅga, which comprises all gods, Brahmā remaining at its right side, Viṣṇu at its left, Gāyatrī in its heart, and the Vedas, together with the Aṅgas, on its head.

Results of disregarding a Liṅga. Construction of Liṅgas with different materials (viz., stone, gems, gold, silver, brass, sapphire, bell-metal, earth, crystal, copper, etc.) and the effects derived by gods, Nāgas, Asuras and others by worshipping them, viz., Brahmā became the creator by worshipping a Liṅga of stone, Indra's position was due to his worship of a Liṅga of gems, Dhanada became the god of wealth by worshipping a golden Liṅga, the Viśvedevas became so by worshipping a Liṅga of silver, Vāyu worshipped a Linga of brass to attain his position, Viṣṇu's status was due to his worship of a Liṅga of sapphire, Buddha attained his supreme knowledge and the state of peace by worshipping a Liṅga of gold[11], Ārhata became a venerable Yogin by worshipping a Liṅga of topazes,[12] and so on.

Effects and praise of worshipping the Tribhuvaneśvara Liṅga; fateful results of doing otherwise. Results of establishing a Liṅga.

*Chap.* 4—Characteristics of Śiva-bhaktas (who should be energetic, pious, disregardful of all opposites such as happiness and sorrow, light and darkness, heat and cold, and so on).

Śiva as the best recipient of gifts. Praise of constructing a Śiva-temple and of sweeping, whitewashing and repairing it annually, of besmearing it with cow-dung, of colouring its pavement, of furnishing it with pictures painted on walls,[13] and so on.

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11. *Ibid:*, Chap. 3 (fol. 3b) :
    बुद्धेनाभ्यर्चितं लिङ्गं जम्बूनदमयं शुभम् ।
    तेन बुद्धत्वमाप्नोति सदा शान्तमवस्थितम् ॥
12. *ārhatas tu sadā-kālaṁ puśpa-liṅgārcanāt param |*
    *ten-ārhattvam avāpnoti yogaṁ cāpi sudurlabham ||*
13. *Ibid.*, Chap. 4 (fol. 6b) :
    *kārayec citra-śāstrajñair yatnāc citraṁ śivālaye.*

Praise of Rudra as the highest god, the best knowledge and the best austerities.

*Chap.* 5—Results and praise of rendering various kinds o service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga; viz; bathing the Liṅga with milk, curd, ghee, honey, sugarcane-juice, etc.; offer of eight kinds of materials of worship (*aṣṭāṅgārgha*) to it in dishes of gold, silver or some other metal; fanning it with fans made of palm-leaf, peacock-feathers, etc.; worshipping the deity with various kinds of flowers; offer of various articles of food, burning lamps, looking glass, etc.; holding a burning lamp on the head or forehead; saluting by lying prostrate before the Liṅga; eulogy of the god.

Results and praise of lighting series of lamps (*dīpa-mālikā*) in the month of Kārttika, decorating the Liṅga as well as the temple with flags and banners, sounding drums and various other musical instruments, arranging song and dance, especially of females, before the Liṅga, spreading a white or coloured canopy[14] over it, constructing with bricks a house for Rudra having the form of the sacred fire, decorating the floor and yard with Svastika, Padma and various other paintings, digging tanks, wells, etc. near Śiva-temples, and so on. Praise of places of Śiva-worship as being equal to Kuru-kṣetra, Naimiṣa and Puṣkara.

*Chap.* 6—Propitiation (*śānti*) of Śiva, Umā, Vināyaka, Mahākāla and many other divine and non-divine beings by eulogising them for averting evils. In this connection the following deities and others have been described :—

Ambikā; Vināyaka (who is said to be a son of Rudra and to have a big belly, a huge body, a bright collyriumdark complexion, a tusk, the head of an elephant, and a snake as his sacred

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14. For description of the canopy see *ibid.*, Chap. 5 (fol. 11b)
*vitānaṁ sita-padmābhaṁ madhye padma-vibhūṣitam |*
*vicitram eka-varṇaṁ vā nava-vastr-opaśobhitam ||*
*kiṅkiṇī-ravak-opetaṁ candrakaiś copasobhitam |*
*lombakaiḥ sūtra-dāmaiś ca ghaṇṭā-ruta-vibhūṣitam ||*
etc. etc.

thread)[15]; Mahākāla; Viṣṇu; Brahmāṇī (who has four faces)[16], Rudrāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Vārāhī, Cāmuṇḍā and others the various mother-goddesses (Mātaraḥ, such as Ākāśa-mātaraḥ, Loka-mātaraḥ, Bhūta-mātaraḥ, etc.,); the Gaṇas living in different directions; the king of gods (i. e., Indra) living in the city of Amarāvatī lying in the east;[17] Agni living in the city of Tejovatī situated in the south-east (*āgneye dig-vibhāge*); Ananta (i. e., Śeṣa Nāga) living in Vaivasvatī Purī in the south; Nirṛti, a Rakṣas, living in the city of Kṛṣṇā in the south-west; Varuṇa[18] living in the city of Śuddhavatī in the west; Pavana[19] (Wind) living in the city of Gandhavatī in the north-west; Kuvera[20] residing in the city of Mahodayā in the north; Īśāna[21] living in the city of Yaśovatī in the north-east; Sarasvatī, who is said to have a body possessing stainless halo and

15. *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 13 b) :
*mahodaro mahākāyaḥ snigdhāñjana-caya-cchaviḥ |*
*eka-daṁṣṭrotkaṭo devo gaja-vaktro mahābalaḥ ||*
*nāga-yajñopavītī ca nāgābharaṇa-bhūṣitaḥ |*
*sarvārtha-saṁpad-ādhāro gaṇādhyakṣo vara-pradaḥ |*
*rudrasya tanayo devo nāyako' tha vināyakaḥ ||*
16. *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 14a) :
*padma-rāga-prabhā devī catur-vadana-paṁkajā |*
*akṣa-mālārpita-karā kamaṇḍalu-dharā śubhā ||*
*brahmāṇī saumya-vadanā śiva-pūjā-parāyaṇā ||*
17. *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15 a) :
*amarāvatī nāma purī pūrva-bhāge vyavasthitā.*
18. For description of Varuṇa see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol, 15b) :
भद्रमौक्तिकसंकाशः परिपिङ्गललोचनः
शुक्लवस्त्रपरीधानः पाशहस्तो महाबलः ॥
19. For description of Pavana see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :
तत्र ताम्रेण देहेन कृष्णपिङ्गललोचनः ।
पटव्याप्तान्तरालीनो ध्वजयष्टयायुधोद्यतः ॥
20. For description of Kuvera see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :
तत्र देवो गदाहस्तश्चित्रस्रग्वस्त्रभूषणः ।
ह्रस्वबाहुर्महातेजाः परिपिङ्गललोचनः ॥
21. For description of Īśāna see *ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 15b) :
तत्र मौक्तिकसंकाशः शशाङ्ककृतभूषणः ।
त्रिनेत्रः शान्तरूपात्मा अक्षमालाधरो धरः ॥

looking as white as the ray of the autumnal moon;[22] Śrī; Jayā Devī; Aparājitā; the Planets; the Nakṣatras (mentioned in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī); the Rāśis (zodiacal signs); the sages Kaśyapa, Gālava, Gārgya, Viśvamitra, Manu, Dakṣa, Vasiṣtha, Mārkaṇḍeya, Pulaha, Kratu, Nārada, Bhṛgu, Ātreya, Bharadvāja, Aṅgiras, Vālmīki, Kauśika, Kaṇṭha, Śākalya, Punarvasu, Śālaṅkāyana, and others; wives of sages; the Daitya kings (such as Śaṅkukarṇa, Mahājambha, Hayagrīva, Prahlāda, Tāraka and others) who are said to worship Hāṭakeśvaradeva regularly; the Nāgas (such as Karkoṭaka, Kulika and others); the Rivers (such as Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā, Gotamī, Kāverī, Varaṇā, Devikā, Chandrabhāgā, Godāvarī, Sarayū, Gaṇḍakī, Kauśikī, Sarasvatī, Nairañjinā, Śoṇa, Mandākinī, etc.); the Yakṣas (such as Vaiśravaṇa, Maṇibhadra, Suviroma, Pāñcika, Vibhāṇḍaka, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa and others); the Mountains (viz., Meru, Mandara, Kailāsa, Malaya, Gandhamādana, Śrīparvata, Mahendra and Himakūṭa); the eight Dvīpas including Gomathyo (?); the Oceans; and the Rākṣasas, Dākinīs, Bhūtas, Piśācas, evil demons (supposed to seize upon children), etc.

Praise of this chapter on propitiation (*śānti*).

*Chap.* 7—Praise of worshipping Śiva in a Liṅga on particular days (viz., full-moon day, new moon day, the eighth day of the bright half of a month, the thirteenth and fourteenth days of the dark half of a month, and other Parvan days) and in different parts of the day. Such worship is said to be more effective than the Agnihotra, Aśvamedha and other sacrifices.

Rudra, Brahmā and Viṣṇu—the three Mātrās of Śiva.[23]

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22. *Ibid.*, Chap. 6 (fol. 16a) :
शरच्चन्द्रांशुगौरेण देहेनामिततेजसा ।
सरस्वती शिवे भक्ता .... .... .... ॥

23. *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fol. 21a-b) :
रुद्रो ब्रह्मा हरिश्चैव मात्रास्तिस्त्र: प्रकीर्तिता: ॥
दक्षिणेऽङ्गेऽभवद् ब्रह्मा हरिर्वामाङ्गसंभव: ।
हृदयान्निर्गतो रुद्रो ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवात्मक: ।
जगत्सृष्टिकरो ब्रह्मा विष्णु[र्]लोकविमोहक: ।
अनुग्रहकरो नित्यलीलो रुद्रशिवात्मक: ॥

Benefits of muttering the sectarian Mantra 'oṁ namaḥ śivāya' said to be the six-syllabled 'Śiva-sūtra', of which the Bhāṣya was later spoken out by the omniscient and self-born Śiva himself.[24]

Praise of devotees of Śiva as being far superior to those who observe celibacy, or regularly study the Vedas, or perform the Agnihotra and other sacrifices, or have mastered all the branches of learning.

Eulogy of Śiva.

*Chap.* 8—Description and praise of various kinds of devotional service to Śiva in the form of a Liṅga, in which all the sacred places and temples of deities are believed to lie hidden.—Bathing of the Liṅga with ghee for a day and night with song, dance, etc., ceremonious Liṅga-worship during Parvan days; performance of the Car-festival of Śiva; giving to Śiva a vessel of ghee, a copper vessel full of gold (in the Soma-vrata during the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha), a sacred thread (during the full-moon day in the month of Āṣāḍha), a milch cow and a bull, a white bull, and a particular kind of cow called Kapilā (the milk of which a Śūdra is not permitted to drink without initation to Śiva-worship).[25]

Praise of cows, which are said to be as sacred as Brahmins and to have emitted the Vedas together with the six ancillary sciences (*gobhir vedāḥ samudgīrṇāh sa-ṣaḍ-aṅga-pada-kramāḥ*), and in which all the deities and holy places are said to dwell permanently.

Performance of Go-śānti, in which Śiva is invoked to save the cows from mortality.

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त्रिभिरेतैर्जगद् व्याप्तं कारणैरात्मकर्मभिः ।
तिस्रो मात्राः शिवस्यैताः सर्वलोकप्रपूजिताः ॥
एता एव त्रयो लोका एता एव त्रयोऽग्नयः ।
त्रयोगुणास्त्रिवर्गाश्च यच्चान्यज्जगति स्थितम् ॥

24. *Ibid.*, Chap. 7 (fol. 21b) :
सर्वार्थसाधकं मन्त्रं शिवसूत्रं षडक्षरम् ।
भाष्यमस्यैव सूत्रस्य सर्वज्ञेन स्वयंभुवा ।
पश्चात् परापराणीह व्यक्तार्थगदितानि तु ॥

25. *Ibid.*, Chap. 8 (fol. 24b) :
कपिलां यः पिबेच् छूद्रः शिवसंस्कारवर्जितः ।
स प्रयाति महाघोरं नरकं नात्र संशयः ॥

Gift of horses, elephants, male and female servants, villages, hamlets, towns, land, etc.

Evil consequences of dispossessing one of landed property given to him previously by the dispossessor himself or by any other person.

Consequences of taking illegal possession of property belonging to a deity or a Brahmin.

*Chap.* 9—Description and praise of the Śivaliṅga-vrata (which is said to have been performed by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Devī, Skanda and other deities, sages, and leaders of Gaṇas, and which consists of bathing the Liṅga with water mixed with white sandal paste, placing it on a faultless lotus, worshipping it with white lotuses, Bilva leaves, etc., giving of fine cloth, various kinds of food and other things to it, and praying to it for forgiveness.

*Chap.* 10—Merits of observing fast and worshipping Śiva with the mention of his different names on the eighth and fourteenth days of both the fortnights during the different months of a year. Such fast is said to yield more merit than that earned by a person performing a long continued sacrific (*Satra*) or speaking the truth or visiting holy places or performing the Agnihotra or any other sacrifice.

Description and praise of Naktabhojana-vrata, Umāmaheśvara-vrata, Kṛṣṇacaturdaśī-vrata, Śūladāna-vrata, Gaṇḍha-vrata, Śaivamahāvrata, Kailāsavrata, and Śivaratha-vrata.

Construction of earthen, wooden, stone or brick temples for Śiva and furnishing them with all requisites. Ten cows and an ox, bed, and other things are to be given to Śiva on these and other occasions.

*Chap.* II—Nandikeśvara's statement that the 'Śiva dharma', declared by Śiva, is meant for yielding all the ends of life (including final emancipation) to those females and members of the four castes, who resort to the '*Śivāśrama*' (stage of life in which Śiva is worshipped with all seriousness).

Construction of an ideal hermitage for Śiva-worship, which is to have a beautiful flower-garden on its north as well as a fire-sanctuary (*agnyāgāra*) and a guest-house for devotees of Śiva (*śivabhaktābhyāgatālaya*).

Absence of *hiṁsā* in plucking flowers for Śiva-worship.

Praise of devotees of Śiva and of rendering service to them when they are tired, ill or otherwise. Praise of making gifts of necessary things to Śiva-bhaktas.

Denouncement of anger, and praise of tolerance (kṣamā), ahiṁsā, truth, non-stealing, etc.

*Chap.* 12—Nandikeśvara's enumeration of the various duties of the devotees of Śiva; praise of worshipping a long-neglected Liṅga without accepting anything: respect to be shown to Śiva-liṅgas, to Śiva-yogins, and to the flowers, garlands, etc. offered to Śiva; praise of gift of clothes, making of gardens, digging of wells, etc.; praise of feeding Śiva-worshipping Brahmins in Śrāddha and other ceremonies for the pleasure of Śiva; praise of Śiva-bhaktas (who are said to be much superior to Veda-knowing Brahmins), Śiva-yogins, Rudrākṣas and Śiva-dharma.

Enumeration of (i) the eight famous places (*sthānāṣṭakam*) called Rudra-kṣetras, viz., Bhastrāpada (Vastrāpatha ?), Rudrakoṭi, Avimukta, Mahodaya, Gokarṇa, Bhadrakarṇa, Suvarṇākṣa and Sthāṇviśvara; (ii) the eight holy places (*pavitrāṣṭakam*), viz., Chagalānta, Durantāśva, Mākoṭa, Maṇḍaleśvara, Kālañjara, Śaṅkukarṇa, Sthaleśvara, and Sthūleśvara; (iii) the eight secret place (*guhyāṣṭakam*), viz,, Gayā, Kurukṣetra, Nakhala, Kanakhala Vimaleśvara, Dahāsa (*?*), Mahendra and Bhīma; (iv) the eight most secret places (*guhyātiguhyam aṣṭakam*), viz., Śrīparvata, Hariścandra, Jalpa, Āmrātikeśvara, Madhyama, Mahākāla Kedāra and Bhairava; and (v) the eight places of religious merit (*puṇyātmikāṣṭakam*), viv., Āmreśvara, Prabhāsa, Naimiṣa, Puṣkara, Āṣāḍhi, Diṇḍi-muṇḍi, Bhārabhūti and Nakuliśvara.

From the summary of contents given above it is evident that the *Śiva.dharma* has nothing of any of the five characteristics of Purāṇas, nor does it name Vyāsa or Suta as a speaker. It is purely a religious manual for the guidance of Śiva-worshippers, and as such it is rightly called a 'Dharma-śāsra' and described as 'an eight-branched tree of religious duties having its origin from Śiva'.[26] Yet it came to be widely recognised as an Upapurāṇa,

26. *Ibid*, Chap. 11, fol. 36b :
एष धर्मद्रुमः श्रीमानष्टशाखः शिवोद्भवः

and this new character of the work was clearly due to the religious purpose for which it was intended like the other Purāṇic works of comparatively late dates.

The *Śiva-dharma*, sometimes called a 'Saṁhitā', in its chapter-colophons,[27] inculcates the worship of Rudra-Śiva in a Liṅga, lays special stress on Bhakti, and says that it is Yoga, proceeding from Jñāna, which puts an end to all sufferings.[28] In its opinion, that Mleccha is the best Brahmin, a sage and an anchorite who has developed the eight types of Bhakti in him.[29] It advocates the maintenance of fire by Śiva-worshippers for the performance of Vedic rites and Śiva-worship, prescribes bath and painting of the sectarian mark Tripuṇḍra with ashes, calls Śiva '*mahāyogin*', '*yogeśvara*', '*nirañjana*', '*nirākāra*', etc., regards him ( sometimes called Rudra ) as the highest deity and the Supreme Brahma, and takes Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the inferior Rudra as his three Mātrās. It is remarkable that Śiva is not called 'Paśupati' anywhere in the whole work, nor is there any mention of the study of the Śatarudrīya section (of the *Yajurveda*) or the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* by the Śiva-worshippers. On the other hand, on one occasion a Śiva-worshipper has been called 'Māheśvara',[30] and on another a 'devotee of Maheśvara' has been praised. The sectarian Mantra of six syllables (viz., oṁ namaḥ śivāya) has been called a six-syllabled Śiva-sūtra, the Bhāṣya of which is said to have been spoken out later by the all-knowing Self-born Being (*Svayaṁbhū*).[31]

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27. See for instance, the colophons(*iti śiva-dharma-śāstre nandikeśvara-proktāyāṁ saṁhitāyām........adhyāyaḥ........*) *of Chaps.* 3 and 4 of the Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Ms. No. G 3852.

28. *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 10, fol. 30a :
तन्निर्वेदाच्च वैराग्यं वैराग्याज् ज्ञानसंभवः ॥
ज्ञानात् प्रवर्तते योगो योगाद् दुःखान्तमाप्नुयात् ॥

29. *Ibid.*, Chap. 1, fol. 2a :
भक्तिरष्टविधा [चै] षा यस्मिन् म्लेच्छेऽपि वर्तते ।
स विप्रेन्द्रो मुनिः श्रीमान् स यतिः स च पण्डितः ॥

30. *Ibid.*, Chap. 11, fol. 34b :
सुदूरमपि गन्तव्यं यत्र माहेश्वरो जनः ।

31. *Ibid.*, Chap. 7, fol. 21b. For the relevant lines see footnote 24 above.

The word 'vāmācāra', used twice with respect to Śiva,[32] need not be taken to connect the Śaivism professed by the present work with the Left-hand school of the Tantriks. This word simply means 'one of perverse activities', and nothing more.

We have already adduced reasons to show that *Śiva-dharma*, originally a 'Śāstra', began to be looked upon as an Upapurāṇa much earlier than 1000 A. D. This early date of the work can be supported by various other evidences, some of which are noted below. There are inscriptional evidences which show that in South India the *Śiva-dharma* was often recited for popular instruction during the reign of the Colas from 1070 to 1279 A.D.[33] In the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, there is a Newari Ms. containing six different works including the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*, and this Ms. is dated by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri in 'the twelfth century' A. D. from the nature of its script. In the same Library there is another Newari Ms. containing nine different works (including the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara*), the eighth of which, called *Lalita-vistara*, has a post-colophon statement which informs us that it was copied in the Nepali Saṁvat 156 (= 1036 A. D.) during the reign of Lakṣmīkāma-deva.[34] The *Śiva-dharma* has been mentioned in Caṇḍeśvara's *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (p. 30) as well as in the *Śiva-purāṇa* (Vāyavīya-saṁhitā ii 24. 170)[35]

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32. *Ibid.*, Chap. 4, fol 6b :
    वामाय वामरूपाय वामाचाराय भाविने ।
    वामकण्ठार्धदेहाय अनन्ताय नमोऽस्तु ते ॥
    Also Chap 10, fol. 28a :
    सर्ववेलामतिक्रम्य नक्तमुत्तमभोजनम् ।
    वामाचारो महादेवो नक्तेनोद्धरते नरान् ॥
33. See K, A, Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, II. i. p. 481.
34. See foot-note 1 above.
35. The Vāyavīya-saṁhitā of the *Śiva-purāṇa* has also incorporated verses of the *Śiva-dharma*. For instance, the verse 'liṅga-vedī bhaved devī', which is ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma* in Raghunandana's *Smṛtitattva* I p. 132 and which occurs in Chap. 5 of the present text of the *Śiva-dharma*, is the same as *Śiva-purāṇa*, Vāyavīa-Saṁhita, ii. 27. 13.

and the '*Saura-purāṇa*' as known to Hemādri[36]; and its name has been included in the lists of Upapurāṇas contained in the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa* *Parāśara-upapurāṇa*, etc.[37] A good number of verses of this work has been quoted in Nīlakaṇṭha's *Ācāra-Mayūkha*, Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's *Tantra-sāra*, Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva*, Narasiṁha Vājapeyin's *Nityācārapradīpa*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Kṛtyā-cintāmaṇi*, Rudradhara's *Varṣa-kṛtya*, Vidyāpati Upādhyāya's *Gaṅgā-vākyāvalī*, Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśars-smṛtī*, Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi*, Devaṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā*, and so on; and most of these quoted verses are found in the present text of the *Śiva-dharma* (see Appendix I). So the *Śiva-dharma*, must be dated earlier than 800 A. D. We shall show on another occasion that the *Śiva-dharmottara* was composed later than the *Śiva-dharma* but earlier than 800 A. D. So, the *Śiva-dharma* can by no means be dated later than 700 A. D. The facts that the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*[38] mentions the *Śiva-dharma* in one of its original chapters and that the Nakṣatras have been mentioned in the latter work in the order from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī[39] tend to indicate that the *Śiva-dharma* was composed earlier than 550 A. D. From the mention of the Buddha and the Ārhata as worshipping Śiva-

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36. For the relevant verses of the *Saura-purāṇa*, as quoted in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 539-540, see footnote 4 above.
37. For these lists see my article in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*. XXI, 1940, pp. 38ff.
38. For the date of the original chapters of the Brāhma Parvan of the printed *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* see R. C. Hazra, *Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, pp. 170-172.
39. See *Śiva-dharma*, Chap. 6, fols. 16b-17a.
It is to be noted that the old arrangement of the Nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī was in vogue at least some time after the beginning of the third century A. D. When this order of the Nakṣatras was changed we do not know definitely. It is only as late as about 550 A. D. that we find in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira the new order of the Nakṣatras from Aśvinī to Revatī to be an established fact in all parts of India. So, it is highly probable that the old order of the Nakṣatras held ground at best down to the latter half of the fifth century A. D.

liṅgas[40] and of the namcs of the zodiacal signs[41] (rāśi) it appears that the *Śiva-dharma* was written later than the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti.* So, this work is to be dated between 200 and 500 A. D.; and this early origin of the work explains why it is totally free from Tāntric influence.

The opening verse (*namas tuṅga-śiraś-cumbi*°, etc.) of our Ms., which is the same as the the first introductory verse of Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣa-carita,* need not be taken to go against the above date of the *Śiva-dharma.* This verse, which does not occur in all Mss. of the *Śiva-dharma,* might have been added to sometime between 650 and 1000 A. D.

It is difficult to say anything definitely about the provenance of the *Śiva-dharma.* From the mention of the names of mountains, rivers and holy places mostly belonging to Northern India it appears that this work was composed somewhere in that part of the country. The occurrence of the text of the *Śiva-dharma* mostly in Newari Mss. or on Nepalese paper and the mention of the Devikā, a small river in Southern Kashmir, and of the Candrabhāgā as a highly sacred fiver,[42] seem to point to Southern Kashmir or the Northern Punjab as the place of origin of the *Śiva-dharma.*[43]

The similarity between the names of the *Śiva-dharma* and the *Śiva-dharmottara* has sometimes confused the Smṛti-writers in quoting verses from the one or the other. In his *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, p. 467, II. ii, p. 396 and II. ii, pp. 887-889 Hemādri wrongly

40. For the relevant verses of the *Śiva-dharma* see foot-notes 11-12 above.

41. See *Śiva-dharma,* Chap. 6 (fol. 17a).
The familiarity of ancient people with the Tithis, Nakṣatras and planets but the total absence of the term 'rāśi' in all early works down to the time of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti,* tends to show that the Indians were not familiar with the Rāśis earlier than the second century A. D.

42. *Ibid.,* Chap. 6. (fol. 18a).

43. In my article on the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara,* published in *Journal of the University of Gauhati,* III, 1952, pp. 39-64, I have shown that this work was composed either in Southern Kashmir or in the northernmost part of the Punjab.

ascribes to the *Śiva-dharmottara*, three extracts of 3, 6 and 37 verses on 'vṛṣabhādhika-gośata-dāna', Umā-maheśvara-vrata and Śiva-liṅga-vrata respectively which really occur in *Śiva-dharma*, Chaps. 10 and 9. The verse

> *"saṁskṛtaiḥ prākṛtair vākyair yaḥ śiṣyam anurūpataḥ/*
> *deśa-bhāṣādy-upāyaiś ca bodhayet sa guruḥ smṛtaḥ"//*

which really belongs to *Śiva-dharmottara*, Chap. 2, has been wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* III. i, p. 353 and Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 657.

An examination of the extracts and verses quoted in different works from the *Śiva-dharma*, shows that there has not been any serious change in the text of this work at least for a long time. Besides a few isolated verses mostly on Liṅga-worship, there is a long extract of 69 metrical lines on Mauna-vrata (Vow of Silence), which, though spoken out by Nandikeśvara and ascribed to the *Śiva-dharma* in Hemādri's *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* II. ii. pp. 879-883, is not found in the present *Śiva-dharma*. But the number of such untraceable verses is rather small in comparison with that of the traceable ones.

**Appendix I**

VERSES ASCRIBED TO THE *ŚIVA-DHARMA* *OR ŚIVA-DHARMA-ŚĀSTRA*

1. In *Smṛti-candrikā* (of Devaṇabhaṭṭa) — In *Śiva-dharma*
   - ii, p. 539 ....Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b).
   - p. 553 ....Chap. 7 (same 2 verses as mentioned above).
   - pp. 553-561 ....Chap. 5 (74 verses on fols. 7a-11a).
2. In *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* (of Hemādri) — In *Śiva-dharma*
   - I, p. 467 ....Chap. 10 (2 verses on fol. 33a).
   - pp. 508-9 ....Chap. 8 (17 metrical lines on fol. 26a).
   - p. 593 ....Chap. 8 (I verse on fol. 26a).
   - pp. 637-8 ....Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 26a).
   - p. 915 ....Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 32b).

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|---|---|
| II. i. p. 235 | ....Chap. 5 (5 verses on fol. 7b). Of the 7 verses quoted by Hemādri, the last two (from 'payo-dadhi-ghṛta etc.'), are not found in the *Śiva-dharma*. |
| pp. 235-6 | ....Chap. 5 (I verse on fol. 8a). |
| II. li, p. 154 | ....Chap. 10 (4 verses on fol. 30b). |
| pp. 240-241 | ....Chap. 8 (9 metrical lines on fol. 24a). |
| p. 241 | ....Chap. 10 (3 verses on fol. 30b). |
| pp. 252-3 | ....Chap. 10 (5 verses on fol. 30b). |
| p. 395 | ....Chap. 10 (10 verses on fols. 29b-30a). |
| p. 843 | ....Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b) |
| pp. 848-853 | ....Chap. 10 (105 metrical lines on fols. 30b-32b). |
| pp. 887-9 (wrongly ascribed to the *Śiva-dharmottara*) | ....Chap. 9 (37 lines on Śiva-liṅga-vrata on fols. 26b-27a). |
| pp. 911-912 | ....Chap. 8 (6 verses on fol. 23a-b). |
| pp. 1030-31 | ....Chap. 8 (12 verses on fol. 25b). |
| III. ii, pp. 881-2 | ....Chap. 8 (4 verses on fol. 24a-b) |
| 3. In Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti* (ed. V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay) | In *Śiva-dharma* |
| I i, pp. 375-6 | ....Chap. 7 (I verse on fol. 20b). The second quoted verse (sakṛt pūjayate yas tu) is not found in the *Śiva-dharma*. |
| 4. In *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* (of Vidyāpati Upadhāya, Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms. No. Smṛti-117) | In *Śiva-dharma* |
| fol. 25a-bcf. | ....Chap. 5 (1 verse on fol. 12b). |
| fol. 47a | ....Chap. 8 (2 verses on fol. 24b). |
| 5. In *Varṣa-kṛtya* (of Rudradhara) | In *Śiva-dhama* |
| p. 151 | ....Chap. 7 (2 verses on fol. 20b). |

6. In *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana) — In *Śiva-dharma*
   I. p. 132 ....Chap. 5 (I verse on fol. 10a).

7. In *Ācāra-mayūkha* (of Nīlakaṇtha, ed. Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay) — In *Śiva-dharma*
   p. 96 ....Chap. 5 (I verse 'liṅgānulepanaṁ, etc.' on fol. 8b).
   The other two quoted verses are not found in the *Śiva-dharma*.
   p. 97 ....Chap. 5 (I verse on fol. 10a).

Verses from the *Śiva-dharma* have also been quoted in the following works :

Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya* (ed. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares), Paribhāṣa-prakāśa, p. 114.

Anantabhaṭṭa's *Vidhāna-pārijāta* (ed. Bibl. Ind.), II, p. 543; III, pp. 188, 236, 386, 440-2, 446.

**Appendix II**

The verses ascribed to the '*Śiva-dharma*' in the following works are not found in the present *Śiva-dharma* :

(1) *Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi* I, pp. 44, 109; II. i, p. 44; II. ii, pp. 879-883 (on Mauna-vrata).

(2) Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśarasmṛti*, I. i, p. 190.

(3) *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* (of Vidyāpati Upādhyāya), fols. 25b, 47a, 47b.

(4) *Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi* (of Vācaspati Miśra), p. 46.

(5) *Nityācāra-pradīpa* (of Narasiṁha Vājapeyin), p. 138.

(6) *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana), I, pp. 129-130, 131, 407.

(7) *Tantra-sāra* (of Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa) I, p. 46.

(8) *Ācāra-mayūkha* (of Nīlakaṇṭha), p. 94.

# PURĀṆAS IN THE HISTORY OF SMṚTI*

From very ancient times the Purāṇas have been held in high esteem and called the fifth Veda which every one was allowed to hear for the true knowledge of 'Dharma'. Hence naturally the Purāṇas became more popular than the Vedas which were restricted only among the twice-born. At the time of the revival of Brahmanism in the new form of sectarian Hinduism in the first centuries of the Christian era these popular Purāṇas were taken up and recast for successful propagation of the cults; at least a comparison of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism of the pre-Christian era with those of the post-Christian era with their rites and rituals tends to create such an impression. Consequently many chapters concerning religion and the different cults and the glories of sectarian gods and their worship were inserted, while others dealt with the rules of Ācāra, Śrāddha, Prāyaścitta, etc. for the guidance of Hindu societies. This explains the abundance of chapters dealing with social rules, while the Vyavahāra sections are conspicuously rare. Perhaps from this time, the original five characteristics of the Purāṇas began to be added to by others, viz. :—Dāna, Pratiṣṭhā, etc. (cf. Matsya-Purāṇa, 2, 22-24a).

उत्पत्तिं प्रलयञ्चैव वंशान् मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितञ्चैव भुवनस्य च विस्तरम् ॥
दानधर्मविधिञ्चैव श्राद्धकल्पञ्च शाश्वतम् ।
वर्णाश्रमविभागञ्च तथेष्टापूर्तसंज्ञितम् ॥
देवतानां प्रतिष्ठादि यच्चान्यद् विद्यते भुवि ॥

The earliest work in which quotations from the Purāṇas occur is the Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra. No other work dating earlier than the Gupta period contains any such quotations. The Āp. Dh. S. II, 24, 5-6 quotes the Bhaviṣyat-Purāṇa and Āp. Dh. S. II, 23, 3-5 quotes from a Purāṇa stanzas which describe the path of the Fathers. These quotations are not concerned with Smṛti.

* *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 587-614.

The Āp. Dh. S. I, 19.13[1] quotes from a Purāṇa two stanzas which come within the description of 'Dharma', but are not traceable in any Purāṇa. They are, however, found in the Manu-Saṁhitā (IV, 248-9). The Śloka in Āp. Dh. S., I, 19, 14

चिकित्सकस्य मृगयोः शल्यकृन्तस्य पाशिनः ।
कुलटायाः षण्डकस्य च तेषामन्नमनाद्यम् ॥,

which follows the previous sūtra, is said by the commentator Haradatta Miśra to be also from a Purāṇa (cf. अयं तु पुराणश्लोक इत्यपौनरुक्त्यम्). The Āp. Dh. S. I. 19, 15 also seems from the occurrence of the word 'api' and the similarity of metre, to be a Purāṇa passage (cf. इतरत् पुराणश्लोके पठ्यमानेऽपि पठितम्—Haradatta). The Ap. Dh. S. I. 29, 8 (यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तम्, etc.), though smacking of Dharma, seems more to be a general maxim. It is perhaps a summary of Baudh. Dh. S., I, I0, 12 and Vaś. Dh. S., III, 18. On the basis of these quoted passages only we should not like Mr. Pargiter,[2] veuture to infer that the authors of the Purāṇas had begun to introduce Smṛti-matter in Purāṇas in Āpastamba's time. These quoted stanzas might have possibly been gāthās which were current among the people in ancient times and received admission, in course of time, into the Purāṇas like many others in connection with the Pitṛs. That at least some of the ancient gāthās were concerned with Smṛti-matter is evidenced not only by those found in the Purāṇas[3] and Mahābhārata but also by the Manu-Saṁhitā, IX, 42, which refers to one sung by Vāyu:

1. अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति—
उद्यतामाहृतां भिक्षां पुरस्तादप्रवेदिताम् ।
भोज्यां मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतकारिणः ॥
न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति दशवर्षाणि पञ्च च ।
न च हव्यं वहत्यग्निर्यस्तामभ्यधिमन्यते ॥ इति ॥
2. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 54.
3. Cf. Mārk., pp. 29, 43ff.
गाथाश्चात्र महाभाग स्वयमत्रिरगायत ।
ताः, शृणुष्व महाभाग गृहस्थाश्रमसंस्थिताः ॥
देवान् पितृंश्चातिथींश्च तद्वत् सम्पूज्य बान्धवान् ।
ज्ञातींस्तथा गुरूंश्चैव गृहस्थो विभवे सति ॥

अत्र गाथा वायुगीताः कीर्तयन्ति पुराविदः ।
यथा बीजं न वप्तव्यं पुंसा परपरिग्रहे ॥

The fact that Manu incorporates the stanzas found in Āp. Dh. S. I, 19, 13 without calling them gāthās is not very important because in several other cases Manu is found to insert stanzas, not of his own composition, without naming the sources. For instance, Manu, II, 94 (न जातु कामः कामानाम्, etc.) occurs in the Purāṇas (cf. Matsya, 34, 10) as spoken by Yayāti who became tired of enjoyment, and Manu, III,274a (अपि नः स कुले जायाद् यो नो दद्यात् त्रयोदशीम् ।) is found in some of the Purāṇas as a part of a gāthā sung by the Pitṛs (cf. Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Veṅkaṭ, ed., III, 19, 9b ff.).

अत्र गाथाः पितृगीताः कीर्तयन्ति पुराविदः ।
तास्तेऽहं कीर्तयिष्यामि यथावत् सन्निबोध मे ।
अपि नः स कुले जायाद् यो नो दद्यात् त्रयोदशीम् ॥ etc. etc.

There are numerous references to Purāṇas in the works dating earlier than the Christan era, but nowhere there is any reference to their Smṛti contents. All these considered together tend to create the impression that in Āpastamba's time the Purāṇas did not contain any Smṛti-chapter.

On the other hand, from the Gupta period onward there are evidences to show that the Purāṇas began to incorporate Smṛti-topics not very long after Yājñavalkya's time. The earliest citations from Smṛti materials of the Purāṇas occur in the Gupta Inscriptions. F. E. Pargiter has shown that some verses relating to gifts of land cited in the Gupta Inscriptions dating between 475 and 511 A. D. are traceable in the Padma-Purāṇa, the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, and the Brahma-Purāṇa but not in the Mahābhārata.[4] This shows that the Purāṇas contain sections on Smṛti-matter which can be taken as dating long before 475 A.D., for these passages became so highly popular that the people did not often know precisely the sources wherein these passages occurred but attributed them to Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Purāṇas and assigned them often to the Mahābhārata. Haraprasād Śāstrī discovered a MS. of the Skanda-Purāṇa written in Gupta script and assigned it to the Gupta period. It contains several sections on Naraka and

4. Pargiter, *JRAS.*, 1912, pp. 248-255.

one on Īśvarārcana-vidhi.[5] The Nārada-Smṛti quotes two ślokas[6] from a Purāṇa in Chap. IV, which deals with debts. These ślokas, though quoted in connection with debts, might not have occurred in the original in the same connection, because they smack more of common maxim than of anything else. Vijñāneśvara tells us of Hārīta's reference to the opinion of the Purāṇas in prescribing penance, in normal circumstances, to those who eat up the food dedicated to the Manes (पित्राद्युद्देशेन त्यक्तान्नभोजने).[7] The date of the Hārīta-Smṛti used by Vijñāneśvara cannot be later than the sixth century A. D. (*vide History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I. pp. 75 and 246) The Smṛti work, printed under the titles Hārīta-Saṁhitā in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the Ūnaviṁśa-saṁhitā and Laghu-Hārīta-in Jīvānanda's collection of Dharma-śāstras (Vol. I. pp. 177-193) says that the 'anadhyāya' days should be known from the Smṛti works as well as from the Purāṇas.

शिष्यानध्यापयेच्चापि अनध्याये विसर्जयेत् ।
स्मृत्युक्तानखिलांश्चापि पुराणोक्तानपि द्विजः ॥ IV, 70.

This shows that from before the time of composition of this Smṛti work, Purāṇas contained topics which treated of at least 'anadhyāya'. Important also is the evidence of Kumārilabhaṭṭa who looked upon the Purāṇas as authoritative works on Dharma and named them along with the Dharma-śāstras.[8] The Purāṇas he referred to are not the ancient ones on which the extant Purāṇa

5. H. P. Śāstrī, *Cat. of Palm-leaf and selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library*, Nepal, pp. 141ff.

6. पुराणोक्तौ द्वौ श्लोकौ भवतः ।
यः परार्थे प्रहिणुयात् स्वां वाचं पुरुषाधमः ।
आत्मार्थे किं न कुर्य्यात् स पापो नरकनिर्भयः ॥
वाच्यर्था नियताः सर्वे वाङ्मला वाग्विनिश्रिताः ।
यो हि तां स्तेनयेद् वाचं स सर्वस्तेयकृन्नरः ॥

7. ....अनापदि तु—'चान्द्रायणं नवश्राद्धे प्राजापत्यं तु मिश्रके ((another reading—'मासिके') ।
एकाहस्तु पुराणेषु प्राजापत्यं विधीयते ॥' इति हारीतोक्तं द्रष्टव्यम् ।
Vijñ, under Yāj., III, 289,

8. 'पुराणमानवेतिहासव्यतिरिक्त-गौतम-वसिष्ठ-शङ्खलिखित- हारीतापस्तम्ब-बौधायनादिप्रणीतधर्मशास्त्राणां गृह्यग्रन्थानां च प्रातिशाख्यलक्षणवत् प्रतिचरणं पाठव्यवस्थोपलभ्यते ।'

were modelled but his enumeration (cf. Tantravārtika, p. 79) of some of the topics of the Purāṇas (viz. :—the divisions of the earth, lineage of royal and other families, the measures of time and distance and future history), his quotation of a verse (cf. Tantrav., p. 126) occurring both in the Viṣṇu-P. (Vaṅga, ed., I, 5, 64) and the Mārkaṇḍeya-P. (Viṅga. ed. 48, 44), his reference to the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas regarding the identification of Svarga with the top of Meru (cf. Tantrav., p. 255) and his mention of the Purāṇas as speaking of the Bauddhas and others who would have caused confusion of Dharma in the Kali age, clearly prove that he knew the extant Purāṇas and recognized their authority in the field of Dharma.[9] Kumārila's immediate successor Śaṅkara also, as Professor Deussen says, quotes the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa and calls it simply *smṛti*. He also repeatedly draws upon a Purāṇa. In the commentary of Asahāya on the Nārada-Smṛti, as revised by Kalyāṇabhaṭṭa, there is no quotation from any Purāṇa. But this is not important, for no quotation from any other work occurs therein. Viśvarūpācārya, in his commentary Bālakrīḍā on Yājñavalkya, quotes passages from both Sūtra and Saṁhitā works of numerous Smṛti-writers (viz. :—Aṅgiras, Atri, Āpastamba, Uśanas, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Vṛddha-Gārgya, Gautama, Jātukarṇa, Dakṣa, Nārada, Pāraskara, Parāśara, Pitāmaha, Pulastya, Paiṭhīnasi, Bṛhaspati, Baudhāyana, Bharadvāja, Bhṛgu, Manu, Vṛddha-Manu, Yama, Yāj., Vṛddha-Yāj., Vaśiṣṭha, Vṛddha-Vaś., Viṣṇu, Vyāsa, Śaṅkha, Śātātapa Śaunaka, Sambarta, Sumantu, Svayambhū, i.e. Manu and Hārīta). He also refers to Asahāya under Yāj., III, 263-4. But nowhere there is a single quotation from any Purāṇa. The fallacies in the view of T. Gaṇapatiśāstrin that Viśvarūpācārya quoted only those works which were considered by him as preceding that of Yāj. (cf. Introduction, pp. IVff., to the Yāj-Smṛti edited by T. Gaṇapatiśāstrin with the com. Bālakrīḍā of Viśvarūpa) have been rightly pointed out by Mr. Kāne (cf. P. V. Kāne, *Hist.* of *Dharmaśāstra*, p. 254). So the total absence of quotations from, or even a single reference to the Dharmaśāstra materials of the Purāṇas cannot be explained away so easily. It might be that Viśvarūpa, on account of his high regard for the Vedas, looked only, upon the Smṛti

9. Cf. Kāne, *JBBRAS*., Vol. I, 1925, p. 102. Tantravārtika, p. 179.

works as authoritative in the field of 'Dharma' because these constituted a branch of the Vedic literature, and intentionally avoided quoting the Purāṇas. Medhātithi in his Bhāṣya on the Manu-Smṛti repeatedly quotes the Purāṇas without naming them. The majority of these quotations are concerned with non-Smṛti topics, viz. :—Creation, Philosophy, etc. (cf. Purāṇa quotations under Manu, I, 5; I, 7; I, 21; I, 55; I, 69; I, 74; I, 78; II, 244; III, 277; etc. etc.). There are also a few quotations which testify to the fact that at least some of the Purāṇas in Medhātithi's time contained chapters on Tīrtha, Śrāddha, etc. For example, under under Manu, II, 24, the Bhāṣya has 'तत्र कल्प्याधिकारत्वे, यदि वा गङ्गादि-तीर्थस्नानवदेतद्देशनिवासविधिः पावनत्वेन कल्प्यते । यथैव काश्चिदापः पवित्रतरा एवं भूमिभागा अपि केचिदेव पवित्राः, यथोक्तं पुराणे ।' Under Manu, III, 134, Medhātithi says 'According to this explanation, the persons whose feeding is prohibited are those that are outside the pale of the four "stages"; say the Paurāṇikas "the Śrāddha should not be offered to persons outside the pale of the four stages."[10] 'In a thirth place (under Manu, III, 272) the Bhāṣya has "says the Purāṇa—the red goat, the black one, serve for endless time."[11] Under Manu, VIII, 179 Medhātithi explains the word '*dharmajña*' as 'one who has become acquainted with the true meaning of Smṛtis, Purāṇas, and Itihāsas by repeatedly studying them.'[12] The Arabian traveller Alberuni (about 1030 A. D.) has referred to the Purāṇas several times in his Indica. He has not only given a list of the 18 Purāṇas but also quoted the Āditya-, Vāyu-, Matsya-, and Viṣṇu- Purāṇas. In Indica, II, 191, he has awkwardly rendered the statements of the Viṣṇudharmottara, I, 60, 14b–16a.[13] The Viṣṇudharmottara, I, 60 deals with श्रवणद्वादशीत्र्यहस्पृक्तिथि-महापूर्णमासीषूपवासादिफल and is a part of the Śaṅkara-gītā which contains several other sections on Dharma-matter. Alberuni's renderings of other passages, which have been traced by Buhler in the Viṣṇudharmottara and which are concerned mainly with astronomy, are not of much importance here. There are three other quotations in the Indica which are not traced in our Viṣṇudharmottara but are met with in another

10. Gaṅgānāth Jhā's translation of the Manusmṛti with the com. of Medhātithi, Vol. II, part I, p. 159.
11. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, part I, p. 285.
12. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, part I, p. 229.
13. Bühler in *Indian Antiquary*, XIX, 1890, p. 402.

work called both Viṣṇudharma and Viṣṇudharmottara[14] and which has nothing to do with our well-known Viṣṇudharmottara. The first quotation from the Viṣṇudharma in the Indica, II, 175 resembles, as Bühler says, Viṣṇudharma, Chap. 10, stanzas 1-4 the second quotation (Indica, II, 174) has been taken from Viṣṇudharma, Chap. 13, and the third quotation (Indica, I, 77) can be traced in Viṣṇudharma. Chap. 1. It is to be noted that the Viṣṇudharma, Chap. 10 deals with Upavāsa, etc., Chap. 13 seems to deal, among othtr things, wich Vrata, and Chap. 1 proposes to describe Vrata, Upavāsa, etc.

शौनक उवाच ।

यत् पृच्छसि महीपाल कृष्णस्याराधनं प्रति ।
व्रतोपवासजप्यादि तदिहैकमनाः शृणु ॥ Stanza 33.

The most important check on the Smṛti contents of the Purāṇas is given by the quotations made in the Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa of Bhavadeva (1050-1150 A.D.), the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara (1070-1100 A. D.), the Kāla-viveka of Jimūtavāhana (1090–1130 A. D.), the Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana of Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana Bhāskara Miśra (before 1100 A. D.), the Yājñavalkya-ṭikā of Aparārka (about 1125 A. D.), the Dāna-sāgara of Ballāla-sena (about 1150 A. D.), the Hāralatā of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa (about 1150 A. D.), the commentary on the Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra by Haradatta (1100–1300 A. D.), the Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa (1150–1225 A. D.). the commentary on the Manu-Smṛti by Kullūka-bhaṭṭa (1150-1300 A. D.), the Smṛtyartha-sāra of Śrīdhara (1150–1200 A. D.), the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri (about 1270 A. D.), the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (1100.1150),[15] etc. etc. These works quote from or refer

14. Cf. Weber's *Cat. of the Skt. and Pkt. MSS. of the Berlin State Library*, Vol. II, part I, pp. 338ff., for a description of the work.

15. Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtyakalpataru and Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi are full of Purāṇa passages. A part of the MS. of the former has been carefully preserved in the library of the Mahārāṇā of Udaipur, and is not lent to any outsider. There is no second MS. of the work which consequently has not been utilized. Hemādri's encyclopaedic works is being published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. For certain reasons the use of this work also is reserved for the future.

to about forty Purāṇas, viz. :—*Ādi-P.* (quoted in Smṛticandrikā, Hāra-latā, Dāna-sāgara, Kullūka, and Aparārka), *Saura-P.* (mentioned in the Smṛtyartha-sāra), *Viṣṇudharmottara* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kālaviveka, Dāna-sāgara, and Aparārka), *Skanda-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Mitākṣarā, Dāna-s., and Apar), *Viṣṇu-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Hāra., Mit., Dāna-s, Kullūka, and Apar.), *Brahmāṇḍa-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Mit., and Apar.; mentioned in Dāna-s.), *Brahma-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Hāra., Dāna-s., Kul., Apar., and Haradatta), *Kūrma-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Hāra., Dāna-s., Apar., and Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana), *Padma-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Hāra., Dāna-s., and Apar.), *Matsya-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Prāyścitta-prakaraṇa, Kāla., Hāra, Mit., Dāna-s., Kul., Apar., Trik., and Hāra.), *Bhaviṣyat-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Prāyaś., Kāla., Mit., Dāna-s., Kul., and Apar.), *Bhāgavata-P.* (mentioned in the Dāna-s.), *Devī-P.* (quoted in Kāla., Smṛtyar., and Apar.; mentioned in the Dāna-s.), *Bhagavatī-P.* ( quoted in Kāla.), *Mahā-P.* (quoted in Kāla.), *Viṣṇu-dharma* (quoted in Kāla., Dāna-s., and Apar.), *Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta* (quoted in Kāla.), *Bṛhad-Viṣṇudharma* (quoted in Kāla.), *Sāmba-P.* (quoted in Kāla., and Dāna-s.), *Śauradharmottara* (quoted in Kāla.), *Śivarahasya* (mentioned in Dāna-s.), *Śiva-P.* (quoted in Dāna-s.), *Śivadharmottara* (quoted in Apar.), *Kālikā-P.* (quoted in Dāna-s. and Apar.), *Vāyu-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Dāna-s., Kul., and Apar.) *Nṛsiṁha-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Dāna-s., and Apar.), *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Hāra., Dāna-s., Kul., and Apar.), *Āditya-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Dāna-s., and Apar.), *Tvaṣṭṛ-P.* ( quoted in Smṛti-c. ), *Nāradīya-P.* ( quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla.; mentioned in Dāna-s. ), *Vāmana-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Dāna-s., and Apar.), *Liṅga-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Mit., Dāna-s., and Apar.; mentioned in Smṛtyar.), *Viṣṇurahasya* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., and Apar.; mentioned in Dāna-s.), *Bhaviṣyottara* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Apar.; mentioned in Dāna-s.), *Nandi-P.* (quoted in Dāna-s., and Apar.), *Varāha-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla, Hāra., Dāna-s., Apar., and Trik.), *Nandikeśvara-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c.), *Brahmavaivarta-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c.), *Agni-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., Dāna-s., and Trik.), and *Garuḍa-P.* (quoted in Smṛti-c., mentioned as Tārkṣya-Purāṇa in Dāna-s.). There are also quotations in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Mit., Kul., Smṛtyar., Medhātithi-bhāṣya, Apar., and Hāra. under the titles Purāṇa and Purāṇāntara. The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa have also been frequently drawn upon.

In the majority of cases the Purāṇa quotations are traceable in the extant Purāṇas. (*Vide Appendix I.*)

An additional number of quotations from the above-mentioned Purāṇas also occur in the Smṛti-candrikā, Kāla-viveka, etc. Some of them, though containing Smṛti matter, are either not found at all in the extant Purāṇas or are traceable in chapters not connected with Smṛti, while others deal with non-Smṛti matter. So these quotatioes have been left untraced even in cases where it was possible.

We should note here that quotations occur from a large number of Smṛti-chapters of the extant Purāṇas. For example, the Matsya-Purāṇa contains Smṛti-topics in chapters 16-22 and 141 (Śrāddha); 7, 54-57, 60-66, 68-81, and 95-101 (Vrata); 264-270 (Pratiṣṭhā); 67, 68, 102, and 115 (Snāna); 82-92, 187, 205-207, and 274-289 (Dāna); 7 (Strī-dharma); 11, 22, 103-112, 179, 180-184, 186, and 189-194 (Tīrtha); 23 (Naraka); 24 (Āśrama-dharma); 23 (conjugal life); 93, 94, 228-239 (Graha-yajña and Śānti); 103 and 215-243 (Rāja-dharma); 58 and 59 (Utsarga); 142, 144, 145, and 165 (Yuga-dharma); 227 (Vyavahāra); 227 (Prāyaścitta); 252-257 (Vāstu), and 258-262 (construction of images and their characteristics); and quotations have been made from chaptes 7, 15-19, 22, 53, 58, 59, 61, 82-94, 101, 102, 184, 205-207, 227, 253, 265, 267, and 274-290. The Smṛti-chapters of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa are the following : II, 6 and VI, 5 (Naraka); III, 8 and 9 (Varṇāśrama-dharma) ; III. 10 and 13 (Saṁskāra); III. 11-12 (Ācāra); III. 13 (Aśauca); III. 13-16 (Śrāddha) ; VI, 1 (Yuga-dharma); and VI 2 (Karmavipāka); and quotations have been traced in the following chapters : II, 8; III, 6, 8, 10-15, and 18; and VI, 2, 7, and 10. In the case of the Matsya-Purāṇa, the number of chapters drawn upon appear rather small, but we should remember that the earlier Nibandha-writers, specially those whose works are available, tried to follow in their works the form of the Saṁhitās as far as practicable and consequently paid little attention to such topics as Vrata, Tīrtha, Pratiṣṭhā, etc., which constitute the greater number of the Smṛti-chapters in many of the Purāṇas. It is only the Smṛti-writers like Hemādri and Raghunandana who cared to deal with these topics at considerable length.

Numerous examples of coincidence may be given from the Liṅga, Padma, Varāha, Brahmavaivarta, Garuḍa, Śiva, Skanda, Bhaviṣyat, Viṣṇudharmottara, and other Purāṇas. It is only in the case of the Ādi (Veṅkaṭ. ed.), the Brahma (Ānandāśram ed.), and the Kālikā (Vaṅga. ed.) Purāṇa that none of the numerous quotations is traceable in the originals. The Ādi-Purāṇa, which is really an upa-Purāṇa, is devoted to the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and contains no Smṛti-chapters. The Brahma-Purāṇa contains Smṛti matter in a good number of chapters.[16] But some of these (viz. the Gautamī-māhātmya and the chapters dealing with the worship of the sun in Orissa) are most probably of later origin, while others (viz. the chapters dealing with Ācāra, Śrāddha, etc.) are mainly borrowed from other Purāṇas, such as the Mārkaṇḍeya (cf. Br.-P., Chap. 220 and Mārk.-P., Chaps. 32 and 33, and so on) and the Matsya-P. (cf. the quotations from the Matsya-P. in the Kāla-viveka, pp. 304 and 391, which tally with Br.-p. 220, 14 and 53b-54 respectively).

In the Vaṅga. ed. of the Kālikā-Purāṇa there is no chapter on 'dāna' from which Ballāla-sena and Aparārka quoted passages. Truly speaking, it contains no Smṛti-chapter and none of the quotations are traceable in it. The Bṛhan-nāradīya-Purāṇa (ed. by Pandit Hṛṣīkeśa Śāstrī, Bibl. Ind.) is drawn upon by Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa and Jīmūta-vāhana, but except the quotation in Smṛti-candrikā, Vol. IV, p. 147, which tallies with Bṛh-P., 27, 6, not a second one is traceable in the original. The MSS. of the Agni-Purāṇa, from which quotations were made in the Smṛti-candrikā, the Dānasāgara and the Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana, differ considerably from the Ānandāśram and the Vaṅga. editions which are practically the same. The quotations on 'dāna' in the Dāna-s. show that in the MS. used by Ballāla-sena the 'dānas' were dealt with much more elaborately and that the different kinds of 'dāna', viz. Guḍadhenu-dāna (cf. foll. 96a-97b), Tila dhenu-dāna (cf. foll. 99a-99b), Ghṛta-dhenu-dāna (cf. foll. 100a-100b), Alaṅkṛta-gavī-dāna (cf. foll. 113b-114b),

16. The AnSS. and the Vaṅgavāsī editions of the Br.-P. do not show much difference. The Ānandāśram a and the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press editions are also, almost word for word, the same, the main difference being that in the latter edition the chapters constituting the Gautamī-māhātmya are given at the end, and not in the middle as in the former one.

etc. etc., formed distinctly seperate sections. short or long. There are also numerous quotations on the means of making these different kinds of gifts (cf. foll. 115a, 122b-123a, 123b, 129b, 131a, etc. etc.). For example, on foll. 253a-254a the same explains, in a considerably long lecture, to the king how the gift of a single ox could be equal to that of ten cows.

In the Vaṅgavāsī ed. of the Agni-P. we find a quite different state of things. The topics on 'dāna' are dealt with very concisely in chapters 208-213. The author of these chapters does not deal with the different kinds of gifts at considerable length nor does he dilate upon the merits thereof. In chapter 210 the different kinds of Mahādānas and Dhenu-danas are enumerated but are not all dealt with in details.

Such being the state of things, we should not be astonished to find that the great majority of the quotations, made especially in the Dāna-sāgara, are not traceable in the printed edition. Even in the few cases where the two agree, the readings and arrangement of stanzas differ disappointingly. For example, in the only long passage, quoted on foll. 96*a*-97*b* in relation to 'Guḍa-dhenu-dāna', which agrees approximately with the major portion of Agni-Purāṇa Chap. 210, there are many lines which are not found in the printed cdition. The printed edition also has, in its turn, many lines (viz. 16*a*-18, 22*a*, 23*b*-24*a*, and so on) which are omitted or replaced by others in the MS. The differences in readings are too numerous to be noted here. Sometimes the subject-matter of a good number of stanzas in the MS. are found pressed into a much lesser number of stanzas in the printed edition. The arrangements of stanzas also differ. For example, the enumeration of the ten kinds of 'Dhenudāna' which precedes the stanzas 15-25 in the printed edition is found to follow these stanzas in the MS. Another thing is to be noted in this connection. In the MS. of the Dāna-sāgara we find that it is the sage Vaśiṣṭha who narrates these dāna-topics to king Ambarīṣa :

एतच्छ्रुत्वाम्बरीषोऽपि वसिष्ठं प्रत्यभाषत ।
कथं वृषे च धेनूनां दशानां फलमिष्यते ॥ Dāna-sāgara, fol. 253*a*

whereas in the printed edition of the Agni-Purāṇa Agni is the narrator and there is no mention of king Ambarīṣa.

The Smṛti-chapters of the Purāṇas very often exhibit the influence of Manu, Yāj., and others. Of all, the influence of Manu is the most remarkable. He is not only often referred to by name but lines from the Manu-Smṛti are to be found in almost every Purāṇa. There also occur in the Purānas lines, nay even chapters, from Yāj., Parāśara, and others. For example, almost all the chapters of the Mat.-p. (Vaṅga. ed.) are imbued with lines borrowed form Manu and Yāj. (*Vide Appendix II.*)

Mat.-P., Chap. 16 seems to be an enlarged form of the Śrāddha section in Manu, III. Manu has sometimes been mentioned by name or as Svāyambhuva.[17] Mat.-P., chapters 229-238, dealing with Adbhuta-śānti, are attributed to Vṛddha-garga, who is said to have declared these chapters to the sage Atri :

मत्स्य उवाच ।

अत्र ते वर्णयिष्यामि यदुवाच महातपाः ।
अत्रये वृद्धगर्गस्तु सर्वधर्मभृतां वरः ॥
सरस्वत्यां सुखासीनं गर्गं स्रोतसि पार्थिव ।
पप्रच्छासौ महातेजा अत्रिर्मुनिजनप्रियम् ॥ Mat.-P., 229, 2-3.

The opening stanzas seem to claim Vṛddha-garga as the author of these chapters, but really these were not written by Vṛddha-garga himself. These are merely based on the Utpāta-śānti sections of a work (viz. Vṛddha-garga-saṁhitā ?) of the renowned astrologer, as is evidenced by the Adbhutasāgara[18] of Ballāla-sena which quotes in sections, viz. Ativṛṣṭyadbhutāvartta, Jalaśayādbhutāvartta, Agnyadbhutāvartta, Devapratimādbhutāvartta, Vṛkṣādyadbhutāvartta, Prasavādbhutāvartta, and Nānāmṛga-vihagādbhutāvartta, frequently from both the Matsya-P. and Vṛddha-garga. For example, on p. 416 of the Adbh.-s., Mat., P., 231, I—

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17. Cf. 'एवं ह्यविकलं श्राद्धं श्रद्धादत्तं मनुर्ब्रवीत् ॥" Mat.-P., 141, 76*a*.
'अथ त्रेतायुगस्यादौ मनुः सप्तर्षयश्च ये ।
श्रौतस्मार्त्तं ब्रुवन् धर्मं ब्रह्मणा तु प्रचोदिताः ॥ Mat.-P., 142, 40.
'परम्परागतं धर्मं स्मार्त्तन्त्वाचारलक्षणम् ।
वर्णाश्रमाचारयुतं मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥ Mat.-P., 142, 42.
Also cf. Mat.-P., 142, 47*b*; 227, 28; 227, 33; and 227, 114*a*.

18. Ed. by Muralidhara Jhā and printed and published by Prabhākari & Co., Benares Cantonment.

अनग्निर्दीप्यते यत्र राष्ट्रे भृशमनिन्धनः ।
न दीप्यते वेन्धनवान् सराष्ट्रः पीड्यते नृपः ।।

is quoted as common to the Vṛddha-garga-saṁhitā, the Mat. P., and the Viṣṇudharmottara. On p. 419 of the Adbh.-s. the stanza 'samidbhih kṣīra-vṛkṣāṇām, etc. is quoted under the name of Vṛddha-garga. This stanza tallies, with some variations of reading, with Mat.-P., 231, 10. The stanzas 'Nagarād-apasarpanti, etc.', quoted from Vṛddha-garga on p. 410 of the Adbh -s., have four lines in common with Mat.-P., 234, 1–3*a*. Mat.-P., 230, 1–5*a*, also can be compared with the extract from Vṛddha-garga quoted on p. 426 of the Adbh.-s. Sometimes only the substance of some stanzas of Vṛddha-garga is found in the Mat.-P., viz. the pith of the stanza :

प्रासादादिषु चैत्येषु यदि धूमो विनाग्निना ।
भवन्ति वा विना धूमैरग्नयो वा भयाय ते ।।

of Vṛddha-garga, quoted on Adbh.-s., p. 418, is found in the Mat.-P., 231, 4*b*, धूमश्चानग्निजो यत्र तत्र विद्यान्महाभयम्. Many quotations from Vṛddha-garga on 'abdhuta' are not found in the chapters of the Mat.-P. Another thing to be noted here is that in Mat.–P., p. 229, 13, Atri is wrongly addressed as '*Rājendra*' by Vṛddha-garga. Had Vṛddha-garga been the real author of these chapters, he could have no reason for calling the sage king. It is no doubt the unknown author of these chapters who, forgetting that he himself had attributed these chapters to Vṛddha-garga, wrongly inserted the word '*Rājendra*' as if it was the Matsya that was seaking to Manu as in other chapters of the Mat.-P.

Other Purāṇas also, viz. the Viṣṇu-P.[19] (Vaṅga. ed. which is

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19. Viṣṇu–P., III, 11, 17*a* = Manu, V, 136*a*.
III, 11, 102 (fourth pāda) = M., III, 121 (second pāda).
III, 13, 17 (first pāda) = M.,V. 78 (first pāda).
III, 15, 1*b* = M. III, 185*a*.
III, 15, 6*b* = M., III, 156*a*.
III, 15, 38*a* = M., III, 206*b*.
III, 15, 38*b* = M., III, 207*a*.
III, 16, 19 = M., III, 274.
Cf. III, 11, 68*b* with M., III, 118*a*.

almost the same as the Veṅkat. ed), the Mārkaṇḍeya-P.[20] (Vaṅga. ed.), the Brahmāṇḍa-P.[21] (Veṅkaṭ, ed.), the Bṛhan-nāradīya-P.[22], etc., have drawn upon Manu and rarely upon Yāj., and referred to the opinion of the former[23]. The Kūrma-P. (Vaṅga. ed., which is the same as the Veṅkaṭ, ed. except in a few chapters wherein the readings and the numbers of stanzas slightly vary) is not only full of lines from Manu and in a few cases from Yāj, (viz. —

Kūrma-p., II, 12, 14*a* = Manu, II, 42*a*.
II, 12, 17 (first pādā) = Yāj., 1, 25 (third pāda).
II, 12, 20 21 = M., II, 125-126.
II, 12, 22 = M., II, 72.
II, 12, 25 = M., II, 127.
II, 12, 44 = M., II, 128.
II, 12, 49 = M., II. 136.
II, 12, 50 = M., II, 137.
II, 12, 52*a* = M., II, 51*b*.
II. 12, 53-4 = M., II, 49-50.
II, 12, 56-8 = M., II, 183-5.
Cf. II, 12, 59*a* with M., II, 51*a*.
II, 12, 61 = M., II, 54.
II, 12, 62 = M., II, 57.
etc. etc.)

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20. Mark.-P., 29, 29*a* = Manu, III, 102*b*.
29, 33*a* = M., III, 82*a*.
31, 31*c* = M., III, 250*b*.
31, 64*a* = M., III, 235*a*.
Cf. 34, 24*a* with M., IV, 56*a*.

21. Cf. Bd.-P., III, 10, 101*a* with Manu, III, 202a.
III. 10, 104b-105a = M. III. 203
Cf· III, 15, 33 with M., III, 191*a* and 250*b*.
III, 15, 49*b* = M., III, 156*a*.

22. Brh.-P., 23, 11*a* = Yāj., I, 14*a*.
23, 46*b* = Manu, II, 126*b*.
24, 16 = M., III, 21.

23. Cf. Bd.-P., III, 9, 15*b* and III, 10, 99; Brh.-P., 22, 6*b*. Also cf. Vāmana-P. (Vaṅga. ed., which is practically the same as the Veṅkaṭ. ed.). 12, 48; 14, 59*b*-60, and 14, 96.

but also mentions Manu as the original Dharmaśāstrakāra whom others followed (cf. Kūrma-P., I, 12, 261ff.). It refers to the opinion of Manu in a few cases.[24] In, I, 12, 262 and I, 12, 268,

एवं पैतामहं धर्म्मं मनुव्यासादयः परम् ।
स्थापयन्ति ममादेशाद् यावदाभूतसंप्लवम् ॥

it refers to more authors of Dharmaśāstra than Manu. In I, 2, 37, it says that at first Manu spoke out Dharma which was heard by Bhṛgu and others, and proclaimed.

It is important to note here that almost the whole of the Uśanassmṛti (Vaṅgavāsī ed. of the Ūnaviṁśa-saṁhitā, pp. 226-271 and Jīvānanda's collection of Dharmaśāstras, part 1, pp. 501-554) is found in the Smṛti-chapters of the Kūrma-P.,[25] This Uśanas-

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24. 'सामासिकमिमं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्येऽब्रवीन्मनुः ॥' Kūrma-P., I, 2, 67.
प्रोवाच भगवान् मनुः । Kūrma-P., II, 12, 42.
Also cf. Kūrma-P., II, 13, 29, II, 14, 24 and II, 19, 3.

25.

| | *Uśanas-smṛti* | *Kūrma-P.* |
|---|---|---|
| I. | I, 3*a* | =II, 12, 3*b*. |
| | 4-63 | =II, 12, 4-end. |
| | II, 1-45 | =II, 13, 1-31*a*, 32*b*-end. |
| | III, 1-35 | =II, 14, 1-21; 25*b*-56; 61b-91. |
| | 86 | =II, 15, 1. |
| | 87-88 | =14-15. |
| | 89-90 | =21-22. |
| | 91 | =42. |
| | 93-97*a* | =II, 19, 1-5*a*. |
| | 98*b*-106*a* | =5*b*-13*a*. |
| | 106*b* | =II, 20, 1*a*. |
| | 107-110*a* | =2-5*a*. |
| | 110*b*-113 | =6-9*a*. |
| | 114*a* | =23*a*. |
| | 114*b*-115 | =24-25a. |
| | 126-133*a* | =25*b*-32*a*. |
| | 133*b*-end | =36-end. |
| | IV, 1-6*a* | =II, 21, 1-6*b*. |
| | 6*b* | =8*b*. |
| | 7 | =10. |
| | 8-16 | =14-22. |
| | 17-32 | =24*b*-40*a*. |

| *Uśanas-smṛti* | *Kūrma-P.* |
|---|---|
| IV, 33-35 | =II, 21, 41-43. |
| 36 (i.e. end) | =47. |
| V, 1-7*a* | =II, 22, 1-7*a*. |
| 7*b*-22 | =8-23. |
| 23-28*a* | =24*b*-30*a*. |
| 28*a*-34 | =31-37*a*. |
| 35-41 | =40-46*a*. |
| 42-49 | =47-54*a*. |
| 51-72 | =54*b*-75. |
| 73*a* | =77*a*. |
| 74-97*a* | =77*b*-99. |
| 97*b*-end | =100*b*-end. |
| VI, (except 9*a* and 56*a*) | =II, 23 (except 18*b*-20, 40*b*-41 47, 48, 53, 56*a* and 64*a*). |
| VII, | =II, 23, 72-end (except 92). |
| VIII, (except 11*a*) | =II, 30, 8-14; 18-19*a*, 20-21. II, 32, 1-23*a*. |

smṛti contains some verses which agree closely with the verses found in the Deccan College MSS. (No. 644 of Visrambag (i) and No. 191 of A 1881-1882) of the Uśanas-Dharmasūtra. For example the verse 'दत्वा तु वेदानत्यर्थं....' is the same as Uśanas-smṛti, IV, 21*b*-22*a*, and the verse 'निमन्त्रितस्तु यो विप्रो अध्वानं सम्प्रपद्यते' tallies with Uśanas-smṛti, V, 9. Sometimes there is a close resemblance between the prose passages of the sūtra work and the verses of the Smṛti, viz. the prose passages which describe the duration of satisfaction of the Manes by the offering of flesh of different kinds of animals have their parallel in Uśanas-smṛti, III, 137ff. This resemblance tends to show that the Uśanas-smṛti must have been based on the Uśanas-Dharmasūtra. This supposition is further corroborated by the fact that among numerous verses quoted by Aparārka under the name of Uśanas some are found in the Uśanas-smṛti (e. g. 'कुर्य्यादहरहः श्राद्ध" etc.' quoted by Aparārka in his commentary on the Yāj.-smṛti, p. 418, is the same as Uśanas-smṛti, III, 123) while some others bear a striking resemblance to some verses of the Uśanas-smṛti, viz. the four verses quoted by Aparārka on p.450 resemble Uś.-Sm., IV.21ff.[26] Hence it is highly probable that the Kūrma-P. incorporated the Uśanas-smṛti and not the opposit. A comparison of the contents of the Uśanas-smṛti with the contents of those chapters of the Kūrma-P. which contain passages from the Smṛti creates the impression that the Kūrma-P. is on a more advanced footing than the Uśanas-smṛti. The former introduces many new topics not found in the latter, viz. Kūrma-P., II. 14, 57-61*a*, describe the method of Uddhāra of Gāyatrī much like that of Tantriks, Kūrma-P., II, 15, 2-13, deal with the rules regarding Brahmacarya, Vivāha, and Sahavāsa, and so on. The

| *Uśanas-smṛti* | *Kūrma-P.* | *Uśanas-smṛti* | *Kūrma-P.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| IX, 1-108 (except 51-52, 70-71, and 100-104 | = II, 32, 24-end (except 26-27*a* 30*b*-34*a*, 35-51*a*, 60*b*, and 61*b*). | | II, 33, 1-103 (except 3*b*-4, 8*b*-9, 29*b*-32, 36*b*, 45*a*, 56*b*-57*a*, 60-61, 65*b*-67*a*, 79*a*, 93*b*-97, 101-102). |

26. *Vide* Kāne, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I. sec. 17.

Kūrma-P. lengthens the chapters of the Uśanas-smṛti by repeated additions. The latter refers to the opinion of Bhṛgu (Uś.-Sm., I, 41), Uśanas (Uś.-Sm., II, 30 and III, 95), Manu (Uś.-Sm., IV, 21), Manu-Prajāpati (Uś.-Sm., III, 126), Manu (Uś.-Sm., VI, 54), Bhagavān Aja (Uś.-Sm., IX, 6), and Deva Pitāmaha (Uś.-Sm., IX, 77). In the Kūrma-P. most of these names are replaced by that of Manu, no matter whether the opinions attributed to these authorities are traceable in the Manu-smṛti or not. A collation of the readings, which are too numerous to be noted here, shows the improvement, especially as regards the simplicity of diction, made by the Kūrma-P. over the Uś--Sm.

The Agni-P. (Ānandāśram ed.) has appropriated the Vyavahāra section of the Yāj.-smṛti in chapters 253-258. Kane has compared the text of these chapters with those used by the commentators Viśvarūpa (about 800-850 A. D.) and Vijñāneśvara (1070-1100 A. D.) and comes to the conclusion that the text of the Yāj.-smṛti preserved in the Agni-P. is intermediate between those of the commentators.[27] The first 31 verses, except the first half verse and vers 31, of chapter 253 of the Agni-P. are taken from the extant Nārada-smṛti. The Garuḍa-P, (Venkat. ed.), in chapters 93-106, appropriates a large number of sections from the Ist and 3rd Adhyāyas of the Yāj-smṛti. The text of Yāj. preserved by the Garuḍa-P. is also, according to Kāne, intermediate between those used by Viśvarūpa and Vijñaneśvara. In Chap. 107 the Garuḍa-P. gives a summary of the Parāśara-smṛti in 30 verses which are made up of parts taken from the latter (cf. verses 2-4 in the Garuḍa-P., Chap. 107 with verses 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, and 39 of Parāśara-smṛti, Chap. 1). The sections on Dharma and Rājanīti of the 2nd Khaṇḍa of the Viṣṇudharmottara have numerous verses borrowed from the Manu-smṛti. This Purāṇa also contains verses from Parāśara (dated probably between Ist and 5th centuries A. D.). Chapters 57-61 of the Narasiṁha-P. (ed. by Gopalanarayan & Co., Bombay) which are attributed to Hārīta are found printed word for word under the title Hārīta-saṁhitā in the Ūnaviṁśa-saṁhitā (Vaṅga. ed.). It also appears as Laghu Hārīta-smṛti in Jīvānanda's collection of Dharmaśāstras (Vol. I, pp. 172 ff.). It is doubtless that this Hārīta-saṁhitā originally

27. Kāne, *Hist. of Dh. Śāstra*, Vol. 1, pp. 170 ff,

belonged to the Narasiṁha-P. from which it was taken off in course of time and accepted as an independent Smṛti-work from the name of its expounder Hārita. The Hārita.saṁhitā begins as follows :—

"ये वर्णाश्रमधर्म्मस्थास्ते भक्ताः केशवं प्रति ।
इति पूर्वं त्वया प्रोक्तं भूर्भुवःस्वर्द्विजोत्तमाः ॥
वर्णानामाश्रमानाञ्च धर्म्मान् नो ब्रूहि सत्तम ।
येन सन्तुष्यते देवो नारसिंहः सनातनः ॥

मार्कण्डेय उवाच ।

अत्राहं कथयिष्यामि पुरावृत्तमनुत्तमम् ।
ऋषिभिः सह संवादं हारीतस्य महात्मनः ॥"

The opening stanza shows that something has been said before of which these stanzas form a continuation and in fact the verse I points to the just preceding verses 2-7 of the Narasiṁha P., Chap. 57, wherein Mārkaṇḍeya, being asked by the king Sahasrānīka, enumerates the characteristics of the devotees of Viṣṇu :

विष्णुभक्ता महोत्साहा विष्ण्वर्च्चनविधौ सदा ।
संयता धर्म्मसम्पन्नाः सर्वार्थान् साधयन्ति ते ॥
परोपकारनिरता गुरुशुश्रूषणे रताः ।
वर्णाश्रमाचारयुताः सर्वेषां सुप्रियंवदाः ॥

It is noteworthy that in the Hār.-Sm. it is Mārkaṇḍeya who acts as the reporter. Many of the sections of the Narasiṁha-P. are said to have been addressed by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to the king Sahasrānīka. The occurrence of the words 'Rājendra'

(वर्णाश्चत्वारो राजेन्द्र चत्वारश्चापि चाश्रमाः ।

Hār.-Sm., VII, 18*a*) and 'Sahasrānīka-deveśa'

(अतः कुर्व्वन् निजं कर्म्म यथाकालमतन्द्रितः ।
सहस्रानीकदेवेशं नारसिंहञ्च सालयम् ॥

Hār.-Sm., VII, 20) shows that the Hār.-Sm. originally belonged to the Purāṇa, otherwise there could have occurred no chance of insertion of these epithets. The Narasiṁha-Purāṇa is a Purāṇa of the Narasiṁha sect glorifying the worship of Narasiṁha. This sectarian character is betrayed by the Hār.-Sm. also. In Hār.-

Sm., 2 Mārkaṇḍeya is asked to declare that 'Dharma' which satisfies the God Narasiṁha

वर्णानामाश्रमानाञ्च धर्म्मान् नो ब्रूहि सत्तम ।
येन सन्तुष्यते देवो नारसिंहः सनातनः ॥.

In II, 9 the worship of Narasiṁha is declared as one of the duties of Vaiśyas

(यज्ञाध्ययनदानानि कुर्य्यान्नित्यमतन्द्रितः ।
पितृकार्य्यपरश्चैव नारसिंहार्चनापरः ॥);

in IV, 75-76*a* a householder, who is careful about his duties, is said to attain supreme knowledge through Narasiṁha's favour (*Narasiṁha-prasādataḥ*) and thereby salvation (*mukti*) ; and in VII, 19 the God Narasiṁha is said to be pleased not so much with other acts as with the performance of one's 'Svadharma'

(स्वधर्म्मेण यथा नृणां नारसिंहः प्रसीदति ।
न तुष्यति तथान्येन कर्म्मणा मधुसूदनः ॥).

None of the quotations made in their works by Aparārka, Aniruddha, Jīmūtavāhana, Bhavadeva, Viśvarūpa, and Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa from Hārīta, Vṛddha-Hārīta, Bṛhaddhārīta, and Svalpa-Hārīta is to be met with in our so-called Hārīta-saṁhitā. On the other hand, some of the quotations made by Aparārka from the Narasiṁha-Purāṇa are traceable in the Hār-Sm. For example :—
The verse quoted from the

Nar.-P. on Apar., p. 79 = Hār.-Sm. III, 12 (partly).
........................................ p. 125 = " " IV, 18-20 (partly).
........................................ p. 153 = " " IV, 60-61 (fully).
........................................ p. 189 = " " IV, 71, 72*a*, and 73*a*,
........................................ p. 965 = " " VI, 11*a*-22.

The Hār.-Sm. seems to be based on the Hārita-Dharma-śāstra used by Devaṇa-bhaṭṭa, for the verse :

'अनेन विधिना यो हि आश्रमानुपसेवते ।
स सर्व्वलोकान् निर्जित्य ब्रह्मलोकाय कल्पते ॥'

quoted from Hār.-Dh.-śāstra in the Smṛti-candrikā, Vol, I, p. 174, slightly resembles the Hār-Sm. III, 15 :

'इमं यो विधिमास्थाय त्यजेद् देहमतन्द्रितः ।
नेह भूयोऽपि जायेत ब्रह्मचारी दृढव्रतः ॥'

The remaining Purāṇas also exhibit the influence of Manu and others at every step bnt it is needless to multiply examples.

Sometimes the Purāṇas themselves refer to their own Smṛti-contents. In the Matsya-Purāṇa 93, 3*b* it is said

'ग्रहशान्ति प्रवक्ष्यामि पुराणश्रुतिचोदिताम् ।'

and in Mat. 93, 5*a* we have

'ग्रहयज्ञस्त्रिधा प्रोक्तः पुराणश्रुतिकोविदैः ।'

The Mat. 58, 50 has

'एवमेव पुराणेषु तडागविधिरुच्यते ।
कूपवापीषु सर्वासु तथा पुष्करिणीषु च ॥'

The great age of these chapters can be imagined from the fact that verses from chapter 93 are quoted in Aparārka (pp. 572 and 575) and Smṛti-candrikā (Vol. II, p. 419) and the whole of chapter 58 (except the first three verses) occurs in Aparārka, pp. 409–413. The Kūrma-P., II, 34, 2 runs as follows :—

'शृणुध्वं कथयिष्येऽहं तीर्थानि विविधानि च ।
कथितानि पुराणेषु मुनिभिर्ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥'

Two verses[28] on Śrāddha which refer to the opinions of those versed in the Purāṇas are quoted from the Vāyu-P. These show that from long before these chapters, in which the above verses occur, were written, the Purāṇas had begun to incorporate Smṛti matter so much so that to the authors of at least the above-mentioned chapters the Purāṇas became the traditional store-houses of Smṛti matter.

The contents of the Smṛti-chapters of the Purāṇas, when compared with those of the earlier Saṁhitās, often represent a stage of advancement over Manu, Yāj., Nārada, and even Parāśara. In the Manu-saṁhitā we find three broad divisions of the contents,

28. 'दैवे ह्यनग्निकः कुर्य्याच्छेषं पित्र्ये निवेदयेत् ।
न हि स्मृताः शेषभाजो विश्वेदेवाः पुराणगैः ॥'
'श्राद्धानि षोडशापाद्य विदधीत सपिण्डताम् ।
and
पितुः पुत्रो विधानज्ञ इति पौराणिका विदुः ॥'
The first verse is also quoted in the Smṛti-candrikā, Vol-IV, p. 335

viz. : (*a*) Ācāra, (*b*) Vyavahāra, and (*c*) Prāyaścitta. The Ācāra section includes the following topics :—Sources of the Law, sacraments, initiation, studentship, householder, marriage, daily rites, śrāddhas, mode of subsistence, rules of a Snātaka, Veda-study, lawful and forbidden food, impurity, purification, duties of women, hermits in the forest, and ascetics. The Vyavahāra section deals not only with law proper but also with matters (viz. : Rājadharma) which fall within the scope of Arthaśāstra. Yaj. retains the three divisions of Manu but makes certain improvements over his predecessor. In the Ācāra section he introduces topics on Dāna, Gaṇapati-Kalpa, and Grahaśānti. Though he retains the section on Rājadharma like Manu, he makes various improvements in the section on Vyavahāra. Topics dealt with by Parāśara are :—the dharmas of the four yugas; six daily duties including the worship of God; duties of the householder; impurity due to birth and death; the conduct of women; expiations in various cases; etc. etc. The later Smṛtisaṁhitās refer to Tīrtha, Vrata, Snāna, Dāna, Pūjā, etc. For example, the Saṅkha-saṁhitā (in the Vaṇga. ed. of the Ūnav.-Saṁ,), Chapter XIV, gives a list of the holy places where śrāddha should be performed. The sanctifying effect of 'tīrtha-snāna' is found expressed by the Atri-saṁhitā, verse 50 :—

'प्रतिकृतिं कुशमयीं तीर्थवारिषु मज्जयेत् ।
यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत अष्टभागं लभेत सः ॥

The results of making gifts of different kinds of things are described in Atri-saṁhitā 318ff. Bṛhaspati-Sm. 1ff. and Vyāsa-Sm., IV, 15ff. also deal with gifts. Saṅkha-Sm., chapters VIIIff., describe the method of taking bath. Kātyāyana-Sm., I, 11ff. tells us of the worship of Gaṇesa and the the fourteen Mātṛkās on white images, on pictures or on heaps of 'akṣata' at the beginning of all religious acts. Contributions of the Purāṇas to the variety of Smṛti-topics are remarkably numerous. Innumerable chapters are engaged in dealing with Ācāra, Āhṇika, Aśauca, Āśrama-dharmas, Bhakṣyābhakṣya, Dāna, Dīkṣā, Dravyaśuddhi, Gotra and Pravara, Grahayajña, Homa, Kalisvarūpa, Kalivarjya, Karma-vipāka, Narakas, Nīti, Pātakas, Pratiṣṭhā, Prāyaścitta, Pūjā, Rājadharma, Saṁskāra, Sandhyā, Śānti, Snāna, Śrāddha, Strīdharma, Tīrtha, Tithi, Utsarga, Varṇadharma, Vivāha, Vrata, Vyavahāra, and Yugadharma. In the Saṁhitā works 'dāna' is merely referred to but in the Purāṇas it is divided into scores of varieties, viz. :–Tulāpuruṣa-

mahādāna, Hiraṇyagarbhamahādāna, Brahmāṇḍamahādāna, etc. etc., all of which are dealth with in separate chapters. Dīkṣā, which has been overlooked in the Saṁhitās, is dealt with at length in the Purāṅas such as the Garuḍa, Varāha, Liṅga, etc. There are chapters dealing with the erection of temples and the consecration of images. The Purāṇas emphasize the importance of tithis for the performance of all kinds of religious acts and glorify the fast observed on the eleventh day of the fortnight. There are hundreds of vratas described in the Purāṇas with details about their performance. Numerous chapters have been engaged in dealing with tīrthas. Topics on snāna, sandhyā, etc., have also been dealt with in many chapters. The Purāṇas inculcate the worship of the tulasī plant and describe the method of painting the body with scctarian tilaka marks.

From what has been said above, we can reasonably suppose that the period of instertion of the majority of Smṛti-chapters falls roughly between Yāj. and the Nibandhas, i.e. between the 2nd century (if Yāj. be not placcd earlier) and the 11th century A. D. After the time of Yāj. there were possibly two currents of Smṛti writing, viz.: (i) in the Saṁhitās, and (ii) in the Purāṇas. The more the Purāṇas grew in importance for sectarian causes the less became the zeal of the people in producing original Saṁhitās. The great majority of the later Saṁhitās are merely abridgments of the earlier ones, adapted roughly to the need of the respective ages. On the other hand, from long before the 11th century A. D., not only the mahā-Purāṇas began to grow in bulk due to the addition of Smṛti-chapters but a good number of upa-Purāṇas replete with Smṛti material were written.

There are, of course, a certain number of chapters in the mahā-Purāṇas which must be dated later than the 11th century A.D. For example, those chapters in the Brahma-P. which deal with the worship of the sun in Orissa are taken by scholars, for the mention of the sun-temple of Konarka, to have been written later than the 13th century A. D.; the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa contains chapters dealing with certain vratas which bear the stamp of later ages; and so on. But these later additions cannot lower the position of the Purāṇas in the history of Smṛti.[29]

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29. These investigations were undertaken at the instance of Professor Dr. S. K. De to whom the author makes his grateful acknowledgement.

**Appendix 1**

Quotations from the Matsya-P. in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā* (pub. by the Govt. of Mysore). — *Matsya-P.* (Vaṅga. ed.)

| Smṛti-candrikā | Matsya-P. |
|---|---|
| I. 46 | =7, 37*b*-38*a*;40*b*; 44*b*-45*a*; 46-47. |
| 157 | =17, 6–8. |
| 180 | =18, 30. |
| II. 296 | =102, 13. |
| 322 | =101, 37. |
| 419 | =93, 111. |
| 486 | =102, 2-8. |
| 487 | =102, 9*b*-10*a*. |
| 517 | =102, 14-21 and 23*b*. |
| III. ii, 481 | =227, 146*a*. (The other line differs.) |
| IV. 28 | =17, 4–5*a*. |
| 29 | =17, 6–8. |
| 82 | =22, 84. |
| 83 (twice) | =16, 21; 22, 85. |
| 84 (twice) | =22, 88; 22, 83. |
| 121 | =22, 88. |
| 156 (twice) | =16, 8*b*-10*a*.(The other quoted stanza is not found.) |
| 191 | =16, 19*a*. |
| 194-5 | =16, 19*b*-20. |
| 215 | =15, 39a. (The first line is not found.) |
| 255 | =17, 30. |
| 265 | =15, 37*b*-38*a*. |
| 270-271 | =16, 27*b*-28*a*. |
| 271 | =16, 28*b*-29*a*. |
| 272 | =19, 4*a*. |
| 290-291 | =17, 14*b*-15*a*. |
| 291 | =17, 23. |
| 298 | =19, 4–11*a* (except 4*b* and 5*a*). |
| 340 | =17, 28*b*. |
| 358 | =17, 40*b*-41 |
| 375 | =17, 47*b*. |
| 388 | =17, 49*b*. |
| 389 (twice) | =16, 47*a* and17, 53*a*-55 (except one line after stanza 54). |
| 406 | =17, 61*b*. |
| 409 | =17, 62. |
| 412 | =16, 56–57*a*. |
| 438-439 | =17, 68. |

(2) *Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa* (ed. by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat Calcutta).

| | |
|---|---|
| p. 5 | =227, 118*b*-120*a* |

(3) *Kāla-viveka* (ed. by P. N. Tarkabhūṣana and published by the A. S. B.).

| | |
|---|---|
| p. 101 | =17.9. |
| 292 | =61, 49*a* (the other line is not found). |
| 321 | =274, 19*b*–22*a*. |
| 369 | =22, 83. |

370 =22, 88.
400 =17, 4a (the other line is not found).
418 =17, 9.
520 =17, 5b–8.

(4) *Hāra-latā* (published by the A. S. B.).
p. 98 =18, 30.
162 =18, 5–7.
198 =18, 12b–14a.

(5) *Mitakṣarā*
Under Yāj. I,
297-8a =Chap. 94.

(6) *Dāna-sāgara*
(MS. in India Office, London).
Fol. 15b-16a =22, 27b-28; 30b–36; 49-55a; 57–59; 68; 73b-75a and 71a.
27a–31b =Chap. 274.
39b–41a =Chap. 275.
42b–44a =Chap. 276.
45b–46b =Chap. 277.
48b–50a =Chap. 278.
52a–53a =Chap. 27a. [For 'गुरुणोक्त-मन्त्रैः' in Mat.-P. 279, 10, the Dānasāgara reads 'गुडधेनुमन्त्रैः' and supports this reading by saying 'बहुतर-मत्स्यपुराण-पुस्तकेषु गुडधेनुमन्त्रैरिति पाठ-दर्शनात् ।' f. 52b.]
54a–55a =Chap. 280.
56a–57a =Chap. 281.
58b–59b =Chap. 282.
61a–62a =Chap. 283.
63b–64b =Chap. 284.
66a–67b =Chap. 285.
69a–70a =Chap. 286.
71a–72a =Chap. 287.
73a–74a =Chap. 288.
77a–77b =Chap. 289.
79a–81b =Chap. 83.
87a–87b =Chap. 84.
88a =Chap. 85.
88b–89a =Chap. 86.
89a–89b =Chap. 87.
89b–90a =Chap. 88 (except the first line).
90a–90b =Chap. 89.
91a–91b =Chap. 90.
92a–92b =Chap. 91.
93a–93b =Chap. 92 (except stanzas 17-33).
94a-95a =Chap. 82 (except stanzas I, 20a, 23a, 24 and 26–31).
115a-115b =Chap.205 (except stanza I).
117a-117b =207, 10-12.
191b-193b =53, 3-4 and 11-56.
203a-203b =290, 2-19.
214a-215b =Chap.206 (except the last stanza).

(7) *Kullūka's Com. on the Manu-Smṛti.*
Under Manu
„ III, 265 = 17, 61.
Under Manu
„ V, 60 = 18,30.

(8) *Aparārka's Com. on Yāj.* (Ānandāśram ed.). — *Mat. P.*
Part I—
p. 16 = 265, 1*b*-5.
145 = 16, 5.
301 = Chap. 205(except stanza 1).
303-305 = 82, 2.25 (except stanzas 12 and 24).
313.319 = Chap. 274(except the lines 3*a*, 13*b* and 28*b*).
320-323 = Chap.275 (except the last stanza); and Chap. 276 (except the last stanza). In the second series of quotations, there is a stanza (after stanza 7) which is not found in Chap. 276.
324-326 = Chap. 277(except the last stanza).
328-354 = Chap. 278(except the last stanza); 279, 280 (except the last two stanzas): 281-289; 83-87; 88 (except stanza 1); 89-91; 92 (except the last stanza).
354-356 = Chap. 206(except the first and the last stanzas).
382-383 = 253, 19*b*-32.
392-396 = Chap. 53 (except stanzas 1, 2, 5-10, 21, 25*b*-26*a* and 56*b* to end).
403-404 = Chap. 290(except stanzas 1, 13-17 and 20 to end).
409-413 = Chap. 58 (except stanzas 1-3).
414-415 = Chap. 59 (except stanzas 1 and 19).
441 = 16, 11*b*-12*a*. (The other stanza is not traceable),
443 = 16, 8*b*-10*a*.
456 = 16, 19-20.
466-467 = 22, 88.
475 (twice) = 15, 34*a* and 35*b*-36*a*.
16, 26-29 (except 26*b*).
485 = 17, 26-27*a*.
491 = 15, 52*b*-33*a*.
507 = 18, 30.
511 (twice) = 17, 52*b*-55 and 59.
512 = 17, 60-61.
514 = 16, 56-57*a*.
515 = 17, 65*b*-66.
523 = 18, 8-9*a*.

550 (twice) = 16, 52*b*-54*a*. The first quotation is not traceable in the Mat.-P.
554 = 17, 36.
557-558 = One line tallies with Mat. 17, 4*a*; the substance of another quoted stanza is found in Mat. 17, 2*a*.
564 = 267, 12*b*-13.
569 = Chap. 94. (The quoted passage has two stanzas more than Chap. 94).
572 = 93, 7*b*-9*a* and 11-12.
575 = 93, 59-63*a*.

Part II—
p. 880 = 227, 6.
835 = 227, 8.
856 = 227, 120*b*-121*a* and 126*b*-127*a*.
889 = 18, 5-6.
890 = 18, 7.
954 = 184, 21*b*-23*a*.
1043 = 227, 118*b*-120*a*.

(9) *Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana* (ed. by A.S.B.).
p. 238 = 93, 111.

(10) *Haradatta's Com. on the Gautama Dh. S.*
Under Gautama
II, 5, 12 = 18, 30.

Quotations from the Viṣṇu- Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā*. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (Vaṅga. ed.)
I, 28 = VI, 2, 15.
52 = III, 10, 8*a*.
157 = III, 14, 12.
193 = III, 10, 23-24.
201 = III, 10, 18*b*-23*a*.
214 = III, 10, 16*a*.
II, 242 = III, 11, 15-16.
255 = III, 11, 19.
300 = III, 12, 20.
333-334 = III, 11, 24-25.
366(twice) = III, 11, 101. The other quotation is not traceable.
367 = III, 11, 98.
510-511 = III, 11, 26-28.
525 = III, 11, 31-35.
528 = III, 11, 38-39.
582-583 = III, 11, 49-54.
588 = III, 11, 56.
594 = III, 11, 105.
596 = III, 11, 69.
608 = III, 11, 84-85.
611-612 = III, 11, 88-95.
613 = III, 11, 74*b* and 82*b*.
630 = III, 11, 109.
IV, 8-9 = III, 13, 30-38*a*.
22 = III, 14, 15.
28 = III, 14, 12 and 15*b-c*.
35-36 = III, 14, 7-9 and 16-18.
317 = III, 15, 24. The first quotation is not traceable.

348 = III, 15, 32–34.
433 = III, 10, 4.
436 = III, 10, 5*a*.

(2) *Kāla-viveka*.
p. 14 = II, 8, 64-65.
17 = II, 8, 28–30.
20 = III, 14, 16.
389 = II, 8, 72-73. (Many of the quoted lines are not found.)

(3) *Hāra-latā*.
p. 156 = III, 13, 10.
159 = III, 13, 16 aud 11–12*a*.

(4) *Dāna-sāgara*.
Fol. 21*a* = III, 12, 20.

(5) *Kullūka-bhaṭṭa's Com. on Manu*.
Under Manu
,, II, 32 = III, 10, 9.
,, II, 94 = IV, 10, 10.
,, III, 105 = III, 11, 105.
,, III, 280 = II, 8, 57.
,, IV, 151 = III, 11, 8*b*.

(6) *Aparārka's Com. on Yāj*.
Part I—
p. 6 = III, 6, 28–29.
20-21 = III, 8, 11*b*. (The other quotation is not found.)
50 = III, 11, 98.
79 = III, 10, 13–15*a*.
126 = III, II, 21.
151 = III, 11, 88-95. The last three lines of the quoted passage are not found.
172 = III, 18, 97-102.
173 = III, 12, 2.
174 = III, 13, 38-39.
227 = III, 12. 22.
420-421 = III, 14, 26 to end.
425 = III, 14, 12-13 and 15.
433-434 = III, 13, 30-38 (except 34b and 35*a*).
502 III, 15, 28*b*-34.
514 III, 15, 10.
515 = III, 13, 5-6 and III, 10, 5*a*.
530 = III, 13, 29.

Part II—
p. 892 = III, 11, 98.
986 = VI, 7, 31.
1022 = VI, 7, 40.
1025 = VI, 7, 43-44.
1026 (twice) = VI, 7, 45 and 89.

Quotations from the Kūrma-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā* *Kūrma-P.* (Vaṅga-ed.)
I, 42 = II, 15, 11*a*
II, 234 = II, 18, 3.
261 = II, 13. 4-5*a* and 6*b*-7*a*.
265 = II, 12, 64 and II, 13, 2-3.
273 = II, 16, 77*a*.
274-275 = II, 13, 31-32.
278 = II, 18, 19.
291 = II, 18, 18.

350 =II, 18, 11.
356 =II, 18, 26-28*a*.
357 =II, 18, 9.
363-364=II, 18, 23*b*-28*a* and 33-34.
365 =II, 18, 30.
366 =II, 18, 31.
368 =II, 18, 28*b*.
397 =II, 18, 82.
417 =II, 27, 7 and 10.
432-433=I,3. 14-18 anl 27.
448 =II, 18, 55*b*-56.
454 =II, 25, 7-8.
455 =II, 25, 2, 10*a* and 11-12.
470 =II, 25, 2*c*-3*a*
471 =II, 25, 4.
482 =II, 18, 58*a*.
485 =II, 18, 62.
488-489=II,18, 73.
495-496=II, 18, 58-77*a* (except stanzas 59,60,63*a*,68 and 71-74).
505 =II, 18, 104.
510 =II, 18, 104.
511 —One of the quoted lines occurs after II, 18, 113. The other line missing as is evidenced by the fact that II, 18, 114 consists of three lines.
516 =II, 18, 88*a-b*
519 =II, 18, 87.
534-535=II, 18, 94-99 (except 96 and 99*a*).
539 =II, 18, 121.
563 =II, 18, 111.
565 =II, 18, 112.
566 (twice) =II, 18, 106 and 108.
568 =II, 18, 114.
569 =II, 18, 118*a*.
571 =II, 18, 107.
603 =II, 19, 3.
621 =II, 19, 15-16. (Note reading.)
631 =II, 19, 30-32.
IV. 27 =II. 20, 6-7*a*.
V, 177 =II, 23, 80*b*-82.

(2) *Hāra-latā*. *Kūrma-P.*

p. 8 =II, 23, 1-2.
9 =II, 23, 27.
12 =II, 23, 3-4.
15 =II, 23. 9.
18 =II, 23, 5.
31 =II, 23, 75.76.
32 =II, 23, 25-26
38 =II, 23, 13.
39 =II, 23, 12.
44 =II, 23, 14-17.
50 =II, 23, 33*b*.
53 (twice) =II, 23, 28-29 and 30.
56 =II, 23. 39-41.
57 =II, 23, 42-45.
63 =II, 23, 22-23*a*.
66 =II, 23, 23*b*-24.
72 =II, 23, 19-21.
78 =II, 23, 31-33*a*.
83 (twice) =II, 23, 46-48*a* and 59.
84 (twice) =II, 23, 58 and 60.

86 =II, 23, 53-54.
87 =II, 23, 51.
89 =II, 23, 48*b*-50.
90 =II, 23, 52.
93 =II, 23, 55-57.
98 =II, 23, 63-64.
114 =II, 23, 66-74.
131 =II, 23, 77.

(3) *Dāna-sāgara*.
Fol. 9*b* =II, 26, 57 (cf. reading).
22*a* =II, 18, 53.
25*a* =II, 18, 81-82.
137*a* =II, 26, 13.
149*b* =II, 26, 18.
154*a* =II, 26, 17.
195*a* =II, 44, 123 and 125-127.
242*b*-243*a* =II, 26, 30-31.
246*a* =II, 26, 25-26.
252*b*-253*a* =II, 26, 23.
285*a* =II, 26, 35.

Quotations from the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā* *Mārk.-P.* (Vaṅga. ed.)

II. 263 =34, 67*b*-68*a* and 70*b*-71.
297 =34, 52.
310 =35, 36-37.
564 =29, 33.
567 =29, 29.
582 =29, 22*b*-23*a*.
588 =29, 24*b*-25*a*.
589 (twice) =29, 26*b*-27 and 28.
592 =29, 46.
593 =29, 31.
596 =29, 39.
614 =34, 59.

IV. 2 =31, 3-15 (except stanzas 5 and 14).
3 =31, 16.
8 =30, 19-20 and 22-23.
21-22 =33, 1-8*a* (except 6*a*).
27 =31, 21-22.
97 =33, 4*b*-5*a*.
213 =32, 10.

V. 78 (twice) =35, 39 and 40-41*a*.

(2) *Aparārka's Com. on Yāj.*

Part I—
p. 39 =34, 109.
146 =29, 33.
153 =29, 35-36.
173 =34, 53*b*-54.
279 =34, 63.
434 =30, 19 and 22-23.
541 =30, 17.
554 =32, 10.

Part II—
923 =35, 36-38*a*.

Quotations from the Vāyu-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā*. *Vāyu-P* (An. SS. ed.)

II. 589 = 79, 18.

IV. 25 = 80, 45.

203-204 = (These stanzas tally with Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Chap. 14. 14*b*–15, 16*b* and 17*b*-20.)

208 (twice) = 78, 31*b*-32*a* and 40.

331 = 75, 54*b*-55*a*.

366 = 75, 43.

370-371 = 75, 21.

392-393 80, 2.

393 = 59, 49.

(2) *Dāna-sāgara*

Fol. 187*a* = 80, 59.

(3) *Kullūka's Com. on Manu.*

Under Manu—

III, 267—(Cf. Bḍ. P. III, 14, 11*b*.)

IV, 49 = 78, 60.

(4) *Aparārka's Com on Yaj.*

Part I—

p. 258 (twice) = 78, 51*b*-52*a* and 52*b*-54 (except 53*a*).

387 = 77, 27.

448 = 79, 67.

454-455 = 79, 68 and 78-80. (Three lines, viz. अनाश्रमी तपस्तेपे etc. are not found.)

473 —Of the four lines quoted only one tallies with Vāyu-P. 78, 31*b*; the other three are not found.

475 = 74, 4.

487-488 = 80, 39-40, 4, 37, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 16 and 19-21, 74, 1-2. Stanzas 'श्राद्धेषु-पानहौ दद्यात् etc.,' 'तूलपूर्णं तु यो दद्यात् etc.' and 'व्यजनं तालवृन्तं च etc.' are found in Bḍ.-P. III, 16, 8–10.

490 = 75, 54*b*-55*a*.

493 = 78, 48*b*-49*a*.

502-503 = 74, 20*b*-25*a* and 26–28. (The lines 'स्वर्गापवर्गसोपानं etc.' and 'भ्रातरः सर्वभूतानां etc.' are not found.)

506 = 75, 43.

551 = 76, 31–33*a* aad 34*b*-*c*.

553 —Of the 21 lines quoted, only the first three tally with Vāyu 78, 10 *b*. (These 21 lines are found in Bḍ.-P. III, 14, 8*b*–9,

10*b*–12 and 14*b*–20.)
554 =80, 42*b*–45*a* and 47–48.
559 =81, 18.
560 =82, 2*a*.
Part II—
924 =79, 24*b*-25.

Quotations from the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā*. *Brahmāṇḍa-P.* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.)

II, 237 =III, 14, 70.
243(twice)=III, 14, 72; III, 14, 65*b* and III, 14. 93b.
262 =III, 14, 102*b*–103*a*.
270 =III, 14, 94*b*-95*a*.
287 =III, 11, 75*b*–76*a*. The stanza 'छिन्न-मूला गृहीतव्याः etc.' is not found.
IV, 157 =III, 15, 64*a*.
157-158=III, 9, 73.
159 =III, 15, 63*a*.
205 =III, 14, 58*b*-59*a*.
208(twice)=III, 14, 34 and III, 14, 35*b*–36*a*.
263 =III, 11, 69*b*-70*a*.
264 =III, 11, 70*b*–71*a*.
270 =III, 14, 97*b*. (The line 'उच्चावचाश्श्राद्ध etc.' is not found.)
281 =III, II, 17*b*–18. 20*b* and 19*b*.
353 =III, 11, 80*b*-*c*. (The stanza 'न चाश्रु etc.' is found in Vāyu 83, 77.)
365 (twice) =III, 11, 52 and 56. (The line 'वज्रेण वा कुशैर्वापि etc.' is not found.)
372 =III, 11, 61*b*.
377 =III, 11, 62*b*-63*a*.

(2) *Kālaviveka*

p. 99 =II, 24, 56*b*-57.
347 =II, 28, 41.
351 =II, 28, 41.
354 (twice) =II, 28, 47 and 48.
366 =III, 19, 48*b*-49*a*
390 =II, 21, 144*a* and 147.

(3) *Aparārka's Com on Yāj*

Part I—
p. 42 =III, 14, 94*b*-95*a*.
123 =III, 14, 70.
279 =III, 14, 101-103*a*
416 =III, 19, 14*c*-19.
440-441 =III, 15, 63*a* and 64*a*.
III, 15, 7*b*-10*a*, 19 21, 28-30*a*.
III, 19, 22*b*-26*a*.
III, 9. 73.
The stanza 'प्रत्यासन्नमधीयानं etc.' is not found
459 =III, 14, 26
462 =III, 14, 97*b*-98*a*
472 =III, 14, 32-33
The stanza 'गोगजाश्वादिपृष्ठेषु etc.' is not found.

473 =III, 14, 34, 35*b*-36*a* and 43*b*-44*a*
478 =III, 11, 81-82*a*
The stanza 'तत्र सिद्धार्थकान् etc.' is not found.
486 =III, 11, 69*b*-71*a*
489-490 =III, 11, 91*a*, 93-95, 99-100, 108*b*-111, 113*b*-115*a*, 115*b*-116*a*.
III, 12, 37
The stanza 'निवासश्चैव कीटानां etc.' is not found.
506 =III, 11, 52 and 56
507 (twice) =III, 11, 68*a*
III, 11, 55 and 65*b*-66*a*
The line 'विल्वप्रात्रेण दातव्यं etc.' is not found.
510 =III, 16, 2.
III, 11, 2.
The line 'दरिद्रोऽपि यथाशक्ति etc.' is not found.

Quotations from the Vāmana-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā* *Vāmana-P.* (Vaṅga ed.)

II, 327 =14, 49*b*-51*a*
Two lines, viz.: 'तैलाभ्यङ्गो etc.' and पर्वस्वष्टम्यां etc.' are not found.
343 =34, 6*b*-7*a*.
446 =14, 35*b*-37.

## *Appendix II*

| *Mat. P.* | *Manu-S.* |
|---|---|
| Cf. 15, 31*a* | with III, 202*a* |
| 15,40*b*-41*a* | =III. 203 (reading varies). |
| 16, 2*a* | =III, 124*a*. |
| 16, 4 | =III, 82. |
| 16, 7*b* | =III, 185*a* (with slight variation). |
| Cf. 16, 10*b*-11*a* | with III, 148 |
| Cf. 16, 12*b* | with III,185*b*-186*a* |
| Cf. 16, 17*b* | with III, 187*a* |
| 16, 18 | =III, 189 |
| 16, 20*a* | =III, 192*a* |
| 16, 21 | =III, 122 |
| Cf. 16, 29*b*-30*a* | with III, 208. |
| 16, 30*b*-31*a* | =III, 125. |
| Cf. 16, 32*b* | with III, 210b. |
| 16, 33*a* | =III, 211*a*. |
| 16, 38*b* | =III, 216*b*. |
| 16, 42 | =III, 219. |
| 16, 44 | =III, 223. |
| 16, 48*b*-50*a* | =III, 258-259. |
| Cf. 16, 52*b* | with III, 260. |
| Cf. 16, 53*b*-54*a* | with III, 262. |
| 16, 54*b* | =III, 265*a*. |
| 17, 13*b*-14*a* | =III, 125. |

| *Mat.-P.* | *Manu-S.* |
|---|---|
| 17, 21*b*-22*a* | = III, 202. |
| 17, 31 | = III, 268. |
| 17, 32 | = III, 269 (with some variations). |
| 17, 33 | = III, 270. |
| 17, 34*a* and 35*a* | = III, 271. |
| Cf. 17, 35*b*-36 | with III, 272-3. |
| Cf. 17, 37*a* | with III, 232. |
| 17, 41 | = III, 244. |
| 17, 44 | = III, 245. |
| Cf. 17, 54*b* | with III, 259*a*. |
| 17, 57 | = III, 246. |
| 18, 2*a* | = V, 59*a*. (Mat. reads ब्राह्मणेषु for Manu's सपिण्डेषु). |
| Cf. 18, 4*a* | with V, 61*b*. |
| 215, 3 | = VII, 55 (reading varies). |
| Cf. 215, 50*a* | with VII, 37*a*. |
| 215, 51*a* | = VII, 38*a*. |
| 215, 51*b* | = VII, 39*a*. |
| 215, 52*b-c* | = VII, 40. |
| 215, 53-54 | = VII, 43-44. |
| 215, 55 | = VII, 79. |
| 215, 56 | = VII, 80. |
| 215, 57 | = VII, 82. |
| 215, 58 | = VII, 83 (some variance). |
| 215, 59-60 | = VII, 87-88. |
| 215, 66 | = VII, 105. |
| 215, 68*b*-69*a* | = VII, 106 (reading varies). |

etc. etc.

| *Mat.-P.* | *Yāj* |
|---|---|
| Cf. 17, 15*b* | with I, 230*b*. |
| Cf. 17, 59*b* | with I, 247*b*. |
| 93, 2 | = I, 295. |
| Cf. 93, 10 | with I, 296. |
| 93, 18*a* | = I, 298*b* (reading varies). |
| Cf. 93, 19-20 | with I, 304-305*a*. |
| 93, 27 | = I, 302. |
| 93, 28 | = I, 303. |
| 93, 32*b* | = I, 299*b*. |

93, 33*b*-37 seem to be an expansion of Yāj., I, 300-301.

93, 60-62 also seem to be an expansion of Yāj., I, 306. etc.

etc. etc.

## Section II
## VEDIC STUDIES

# ṚGVEDIC RUDRA, AN EXTREMELY UNSOCIAL AND NON-CO-OPERATING GOD*

The *Ṛgveda* amply testifies to the facts that Rudra, though being basically a god of thunderstorm and lightning-fire as well as of the storm-clouds, has a number of features in his character which make him more an ordinary human being of flesh and blood, or rather a man-killing demon, than a mere god of nature, that he is a relentless slayer of the Vedic people, particularly male, and of their domestic animals, particularly cows and that he is a powerful destroyer of Vedic sacrifices and a slayer of the wealthy institutors or patrons of these rites.[1] Besides these peculiar features, which give him a unique distinction, there are a few others, mentioned below, which mark him out from the group of the Vedic gods and stand him practically outside this group.

Although anthropomorphism, not rarely very imperfect, forms one of the most remarkable features of the Vedic deities, human passions have not been allowed to play a very prominent part in their character. Like ordinary human beings led by passions, they are not jealous or intolerant of one another, nor do they entertain mutual hatred or quarrel among themselves or engage in bloody warfare either for attaining particular selfish ends, or for establishing their personal supremacy, or for extending their domains of influence. They are always compromising and co-operating and find no objection to accept joint invitation at a sacrifice, to present themselves jointly at it, or to accept joint eulogies or salutations, although their formation of small groups is often found to differ under different circumstances. Thus, the *Ṛgveda* contains a good number of hymns and a very large number of verses or groups of verses in which Vedic deities have been

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* *J. O. I*, Vol. *XXV*, Nos. 3–4, pp. 213—222.

1. For these characteristic features see my article entitled "An overlooked aspect of Ṛgvedic Rudra" in *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (Calcutta), Vol. V, Parts 1-2, 1971-72, pp. 123-148.

invoked or praised in duals, triads, etc., such as Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra-Varuṇa, Indra-Vāyu, Indra-Maruts, Indra-Viṣṇu, Indra-Agni, Agni-Soma, Agni-Maruts, Div-Pṛthivī, etc., Varuṇa-Mitra-Aryaman, Indra-Bṛhaspati-Soma, Sūrya-Mitra-Varuṇa, Indrāṇī-Varuṇānī-Agnāyī, etc., Div-Pṛthivī-Agni-Aśvins, etc., Agni-Mitra-Varuṇa-Aditi-Sindhu-Pṛthivī-Div, etc., the Viśvedevas (i.e. groups of Vedic gods of varying numbers), and so on ; in *Ṛv* (i.e. *Ṛgveda*) 1.131.1 all gods (*viśve devāsaḥ*) are said to have been of one accord (*sajoṣasaḥ*) and set Indra in front ; in 9.18.3 it is said that all deities (*viśve devāsaḥ*), being of one accord, came to the sacrifice to drink Soma-juice ; in 9.5.11 all the gods, viz., Vāyu, Sūrya, Bṛhaspati, Indra and Agni, are said to have been equally pleased (*sajoṣasaḥ*) to come to the consecrating rite of Soma Pavamāna ; in 1.45.10 Agni is asked to bring the celestial host (*daivyaṁjanam*) with joint invocations (*sahūtibhiḥ*) ; in 1.44.2 Agni is implored to be accordant with the Aśvins and the Dawn in granting heroic strength and lofty fame ; in 1.44.9 a prayer is made to Agni to bring the gods who wake at dawn ; in 1.17.9 Indra and Varuṇa are said to dignify joint eulogy (*sadha-stuti*) ; in 1.25.6 it is said that Mitra and Varuṇa accept in common (*samānam āśāte*) the oblation offered to them ; in 8.38.4 Indra and Agni are said to be gods having joint eulogy (*sadha-stutī*) ; in 8.26.1 joint eulogy is made of the Aśvins ; in 1.14.1-3 Agni is asked to come to the sacrifice 'with the gods Indra, Vāyu, Bṛhaspati, Mitra, Agni[2] Pūṣan, Bhaga, Ādityas, and the host of the Maruts' and to drink Soma ; in 1.34.11 the Aśvins are invited to come 'with the thrice-eleven gods' to the drinking of the mead ; in 1.45.1-2 Agni is implored to bring 'three-and-thirty' gods to the sacrifice ; in 1.45.9-10 a prayer is made to Agni to bring with joint invocations (*sahūtibhiḥ*) the host of gods (*daivyaṁ janam*) who come at early morning and to seat them on sacred grass at the sacrifice ; in 1.89.3 Bhaga, Dakṣa, Mitra, Aditi, Aryaman, Varuṇa, Soma and the Aśvins are said to have been called to the sacrifice 'with a

2. The *Ṛgveda* distinguishes between different Agnis, viz., Agni the Fire-god to whom sacrifice is offered, Agni who summons the gods and carries oblation to them; and so on. According to Sāyaṇa, Āhavanīya and other Agnis are the outer forms (*avayava*, vibhūti) of Agni the Fire-god. See Sāyaṇa on *Ṛv* 1.26.10, 1.59.1, 6.10.2, 6.11.6, etc.

hymn of olden time' (*pūrvayā nividā*). Scores of instances of these types may be cited from the *Ṛgveda*, but it is needless to multiply them.

It is a fact that in glorifying Indra as the mightiest of all gods in *Ṛv* 4.30, statements have been made in verses 3, 5 and 8–11 that, when Indra lengthened the days into the nights, not even all the gods together could fight him with their might,[3] that Indra alone fought against all the opposing gods and struck down (*ahan*) the harmful ones, and that, when Uṣas rose up in pride, Indra crushed (cf. '*vadhīḥ*') her by breaking her car and making her flee far away. Although Indra's destruction of the car of Uṣas has been referred to in other Ṛgvedic verses also (viz., 2.15.6, and 10.138.5), his extremely sweet association and most friendly relation with the Vedic deities in all other places of the *Ṛgveda* shows that the said statements about him are unique and abnormal and must be due to the unrestrained priestly zeal in glorifying this god and presenting him as the most powerful of the Vedic deities. The accounts of Indra's unfavourable attitude to the Aśvins[4] and also to the Maruts[5] before their entrance into the Vedic fold, must be due to these gods' coming from extraneous sources.[6]

But very different is the nature of Rudra, who, being extremely unsocial and uncompromising, is dead against common invocation and salutation made to himself and some other Vedic gods[7], or invocation and salutation made at the same time to a number of deities including Rudra. Thus, in *ṚV* 2.33.4 a prayer is made to Rudra in the following words :

मा त्वा रुद्र चुक्रुधामा नमोभिर्मा दुष्टुती वृषभ मा सहूती ।
उन्नो वीराँ अर्पय भेषजेभि र्भिषक्तमं त्वा भिषजां शृणोमि ॥

3. As Sāyaṇa takes '*tvā devāsa indra yuyudhuḥ*' to mean '*he indra........devāḥ........tvāṁ sahāyaṁ labdhvā........asuraiḥ saha yuddhaṁ cakruḥ*', in which he makes '*tvā*' (= *tvām*) the object of the verb '*labdhvā*' supplied bv him, his explanation of this verse cannot by accepted as plausible.

4. See *Ṛv* 10.61. 1-3. Also Pischel in *Vedische Studien*, I, pp. 71-77.

5. See *Ṛv* 1.170-171, particularly 1.6.4 and 1.87.5.

6. Questions relating to the origin of the Aśvins and the Maruts will be dealt with separately in future.

7. I shall explain on a different occasion how and when Rudra came to be associated with Soma and the Maruts.

From the word '*namobhiḥ*' in the first quarter of this verse it would appear that 'prostrations' (or, 'salutations') made to Rudra, did not please him at all but created his rage. As a matter of fact, Veṅkaṭamādhava explains this quarter thus : "*he rudra, namaskāraiḥ mā tvāṁ krodhayāmaḥ*" and, following him, Max Muller translates it as "Let us not incense thee, O Rudra, by our *worship*"[8], Muir as "Let us not, Rudra, provoke thee by our *prostrations*",[9] Griffith as "Let us not anger thee with *worship*, Rudra",[10] Ludwing as "mogen wir dich nicht erzürnen durch unsere *anbetungen*",[11] ("May we not provoke thee by our *adoration*"), and Geldner as "Nicht wollen wir dich Rudca, mit unsere *Verbeugungen* erzürnen"[12] ("May we not provoke thee with our *obeisances*" or, "We do not want, Rudra, to provoke thee with our *obeisances*"). But this inter pretation and translation of '*namobhiḥ*' cannot be accepted as correct, because even a devil can be softened by prostrations and there is no reason why Rudra, a god, should be enraged by these. On the other hand, the *Ṛgveda* contains a number of verses in which Rudra is said to be pleased by prostration (or, salutation,—*namas*) single or repeated, made to him by his devotees. Some of these verses are the following :

मृळा नो रुद्रोत नो मयस्कृधि क्षयद्वीराय नमसा विधेम ते।
(*Ṛ.V.* 1.114.2a-b)

"Be gracious to us, Rudra, [and] also minister to our happiness; with prostration we will serve thee, the destroyer of heroes".

दिवो वराहमरुषं कपर्दिनं त्वेषं रूपं नमसा नि ह्वयामहे
(*Ṛv* 1.114.5a–b)

"The shining boar of heaven having a *kāparda* (i. e., hair tied on the crown of the head in the form of a cowrie shell) and a

8. Max Müller F., *Vedic Hymns* Vol. 1 (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 32), p. 426.

9. Muir J., *Original Sanskrit Texts* (Second edition, London, 1873), Vol. IV, p. 308.

10. In foot-note 4 Griffith gives for 'with worship' the equi valent 'with imperfect worship', evidently following Sāyaṇa. See Griffith R.T.H., *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Vol. 1 (Varanasi, 1963), p. 299.

11. Ludwig A., *Der Rigveda*, II, No. 708 (p. 326).

12. Geldner K. F., *Der Rigveda*, I, p. 317.

brilliant form we invoke intensively with salutation (or, prostration, or humble submission)".

अवोचाम नमो अस्मा अवस्यवः शृणोतु नो हवं रुद्रो मरुत्वान्
(*Ṛv* 1.114.11a–b)

"[Being] desirous of [his] protection [we] have spoken out [our] homage (or, humble submission) to him; may Rudra, with the Maruts, hear our call".

यजन्ते अस्य सख्यं वयश्च नमस्विनः स्व ऋतस्य धामन् ।
वि पृक्षो बाबधे नृभिः स्तवान इदं नमो रुद्राय प्रेष्ठम् ॥
(*Ṛv* 7.36.5)

"[Men] paying homage [to Rudra] in [their] own place of sacrifice, attain by sacrifice his friendship and [an advanced] age.

Being praised by men [Rudra] bestows food [on them]. [So,] to Rudra be this prostration (or, humble submission) [which is] dearest [to him]".

स्तोमं वो अद्य रुद्राय शिक्वसे क्षयद्वीराय नमसा दिदिष्टन ।
....शिवः....दिवः शिषक्ति स्वयशाः....॥
(*Ṛv.* 10. 92. 9)

"With prostration (or, humble submission) present your hymn of praise to-day to mighty Rudra, the destroyer of heroes.

....[who], being auspicious and having his own [peculiar] renown, attends [to the sacrificers] from heaven."

प्र बभ्रवे वृषभाय श्वितीचे महो महीं सुष्टुतिमीरयामि ।
नमस्या कल्मलीकिनं नमोभि र्गृणीमसि त्वेषं रुद्रस्य नाम ॥
(*ṚV*. 2. 33.8)

"To the tawny, white [strong] Bull I utter forth a good hymn of praise [which is] greater than the great.

Reverence the fiery [god] with prostrations (i. e., repeated prostration). We celebrate the glorious name of Rudra".

ते नो मित्रो वरुणो अर्यमायुरिन्द्र ऋभुक्षा मरुतो जुषन्त ।
नमोभिर्वा ये दधते सुवृक्तिं स्तोमं रुद्राय मीळ्हुषे सजोषाः ॥
(ṚV 5. 41. 2)

"May they-Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ṛbhukṣan, (and) the Maruts—be pleased with us,—

They, who, being of equal love, accept (or, hold up) the eulogy [which has been made by us] to bounteous Rudra with prostrations (i. e., with repeated prostration) [and] from which thorough elimination [of other gods] has been made".

"यक्ष्वा महे सौमनस्याय रुद्रं नमोभिर्देवमसुरं दुवस्य"
( *ṚV*. 5.42.11c-d)

"Worship Rudra for [his] great goodwill, [and] worship the powerful god with prostrations (i. e., repeated prostration)".

These verses show that for winning the grace, goodwill, friendship and protection of Rudra and also for attaining an advanced age and happiness in life, the priests and the sacrificers invoked Rudra with prostration (or salutation, or humble submission) which was *dearest (preṣṭha)* to him. So, the said interpretation and translation of the word *'namobhiḥ'* have no basis to stand upon.

There is another interpretation of *'namobhiḥ'*, viz., that of Sāyaṇa, who takes it to mean *'ayathā-kriyamāṇair namaskārair havirbhir vā'* ['by prostrations or (offer of ) oblations not being properly made']; and Sāyaṇa's interpretation is followed by Wilson and Grassmann (and also, as we have already seen, partially by Griffith), of whom the first translates it as 'by (imperfect) adorations', and the second as 'durch schlechtes Lob' (by bad eulogy'). But we cannot overlook the fact that in the said verse (*ṚV* 2.33.4) there is no word which qualifies *'namobhiḥ'*, nor is there any indeclinable (*avyaya*) like 'dus' or 'dur' prefixed to it (as in *'duṣṭuti'*, *'durmati'*, etc.). There is also no statement anywhere in the *Ṛgveda* that *namas* (prostration or salutation) was ever made to any god indifferently or improperly (*ayathā-kriyamāṇa*). Moreover, Rudra was such a terrible and malignant god that people, particularly those who keenly felt the need of his favour and goodwill, could hardly venture to antagonise or displease him with improper or badly done prostrations or salutations. So, Sāyaṇa's interpretation also does not stand scrutiny.

Under the circumstances stated above we have to take *'namobhiḥ'* to mean 'by prostrations [made to Rudra and other gods simultaneously], and this meaning finds strong support not only in the plural number of *'namobhiḥ'* (which, in the said verse, has to

be taken to mean a number of prostrations made, one or more each, to a number of Vedic gods including Rudra; and not repeated prostration made to one god, viz., Rudra) but also in the word '*sahūtī*' (meaning 'by common or simultaneous invocation)', which points to the presence of a number of gods at the same time.

So, we should translate the said verse (Ṛ*v* 2.33.4) thus :

"Let us not, Rudra, enrage thee *by* [*our*] *prostrations* [*made to thee and other gods at the same time*], by [our] bad praise, [o] vigorous [deity], (or) by [our] common invocation,

Raise up our heroes by [thy] medicines; I hear thee to be the best physician among the physicians."

From this verse as well as another (5.41.2) quoted above it is evident that Rudra could not tolerate the presence of any other Vedic god by his side, nor did he like that people should invite any god other than himself in a sacrifice in which he was given a place or offer oblation to that god in it. He did not allow the presence even of the name of any other god in a hymn meant for himself (cf *suvṛktiṁ stomam*—ṚV 5.41.2). So, the *Ṛgveda* rightly says that Rudra had his own peculiar reputation, which was quite different from that of the other Vedic gods and made him extremely unsocial and non-co-operating[13].

It should be mentioned here that the said verse (2.33.4) of the *Ṛgveda* occurs in the *Atharva-veda* (*Paippalāda-saṁhitā*[14] 1.95.1) in a somewhat different way, thus :

रुद्रं मा त्वा जिहीडाम सुष्टुत्या मघवन् मा सुहुत्या ।
भिषक्तमं त्वा भिषजां श्रृणोम्युन्नो वीरॉं ईरय भेषजेभिः ॥"

"[O] Rudra, let [us] not enrage thee with good praise,
[O] Maghavan, or with good offering [of oblation].

I hear thee to be the best physician among the physicians; raise up our heroes with [thy] medicines".

This verse shows that according to the *Atharva-veda* it was good praise and good offering of oblation (i. e., praise and offering

13. See *Ṛv* 10.92.9 (quoted above) and 1.129.3 (........*rudrāya sva-yaśase*/........).
14. Ed. Durgamohan Bhattacharya, Calcutta, Part I, 1964.

of oblation made in the Vedic way), and not prostration (or, salutation,—*namas*) of any kind, which displeased Rudra and created his rage. But this change of idea about Rudra was certainly due to the belief of the people of later days that Rudra was to be pleased with *'daurvratya'* (i. e., the conduct of those who follow ignoble and difficult practices),[15] as the *Vājasaneyisaṁhitā*[16] says.

That Rudra was extremely intolerant of other Vedic gods, is also evident from the statement *"eka eva rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe"* made in *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* 1.8.6.1 in connection with *Tryambaka–homa* forming part of *Sākamedha* in *Rājasūya*. In his commentary on the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* Sāyaṇa explains this line thus : *"rudro jagaty eka evāsti | dvitīyāya na tasthe | dvitīyo rudro na ko'py avasthitaḥ."*[17] As it is not possible for us to overlook the fourth case-ending in *'dvitīyāya'*, the questions naturally arise as to why the word *'dvitīya'* has the fourth case-ending (and not the first), and whether the expression *'dvitīyāya tasthe'* gives the same meaning as *'dvitīyaḥ tasthe.'* Pāṇini says that the rot *'sthā'* takes the *Ātmanepadīya* form when it means 'disclosing (one's intention to

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15. The world *'daurvratya'* reminds us of the queer practices of the Śiva-worshippers of comparatively late days, for which Rudra-Śiva has been said to be 'denounced by all' (*sarva-garhita*) in *Brahma-purāṇa* 40.39.

    In commenting on *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* 39.9 Mahīdhara explains *"rudraṁ daurvratyena (prīṇāmi)"* thus : *"duṣṭaṃ skhalanocchalanādi vrataṁ yasya sa durvrataḥ tasya bhāvo daurvratyam, tena rudraṁ devaṁ prīṇāmi"*.

    Griffith translates *'daurvratya'* as 'disobedience'.

    But it is more probable that *'daurvatya'* refers to the *'Lokayajña'*, i. e., the popular method of Rudra-worship (which has been mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, Poona Critical Edition 10.18 5-6, and was looked down upon by the Vedic people), and to the Rudra-worshippers' practice of Yoga (which was much more difficult than the mechanical way of performing a Vedic sacrifice and of which the Vedic people appear to have little or no knowledge in the early Vedic period).

16. *Mādhyaṁdina* 39.9 and *Kāṇva* 39.7.

17. *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (Poona, Ānandāśrama ed.), Part III, p. 923.

    The said comment of Sāyaṇa may be translated into English, thus : "Rudra, in the world, there is one only. (There) is no second. There exists no second Rudra."

another) or 'declaration of (one as) an umpire',[18] and that, in case of use of this root, the person who is desired to be informed (of something) is placed in the *Saṁpradāna Kāraka.*[19] So, according to Pāṇini *'eka eva rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe'* means "Rudra is one only, [and he] does not disclose [his intention] to the (or, to a) second [one]." As this meaning relates to Rudra's disclosing his intention to one second to himself and not to the latter's existence (cf. *'tasthe'*), and as still it admits of the existence of a second Rudra, *'dvitīyāya tasthe'* cannot be taken to be equivalent to *'dvitīyo'sti'*. Yāska must have been fully conscious of this difficulty, as, in a *prima facie* argument in favour of presence of contradictions in the Veda, he reads, in his *Nirukta* 1.15(=1.3.4.9), the said line as *'eka eva rudro ava tasthe na dvitīyaḥ'* ['There exists only one Rudra (and) not (a) second (one)' ]. Although this line, as read by Yāska, is not found in any of the extant Vedic texts, it was certainly not his own creation but must have been derived by him from some Vedic text (like the *Hāridravika Brāhmaṇa*) which is now lost to us. Whatever the source of this line may have been, we cannot say that the reading *'dvitīyāya tasthe'*, of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* is a mistake for *dvitīyo' va tasthe* because no manuscript of the *Taittirīya saṁhitā* is found to give this variant or one similar to it. On the other hand, the said reading (*'dvitīyo'va tasthe'*) of the *Taittirīya saṁhitā* has been repeated, without any variation in reading, in the *Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra* (ed. Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 5.16, p. 151) and *Āpastamba-śrautasūtra* (ed. Bibl. Ind., 8.17,8) and also finds strong support in *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* 3.2, in which the said line of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* occurs as *'eko hi rudro na dvitiyāya tasthuḥ'*. The *Atharvaśiras-upaniṣad* 5 has *'eko rudro na dvitīyāya tasmai'*, in which the reading *'dvitīyāya'* is remarkable. So, we cannot change the reading of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* arbitrarily, nor can we take it to be equivalent to the reading *'dvitīyo'sti'* or *'dvitīyo'va tasthe'*. Consequently, we have to offer a better and more reasonable explanation for the reading of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, which must have been based on a very ancient tradition about the conduct of Rudra.

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18. *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.3.23—प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च.
19. *Ibid.*, 1.4.34—श्लाघह्नुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्समानः.

We have already seen that the *Ṛgveda* presents Rudra as an extremely unsocial and non-co-operating deity. So, in the line '*eka eva rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe*' of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* the word '*dvitīyāya*' is to be taken to have the fourth case-ending by Pāṇini's rule "*kriyārthopapadasya ca karmaṇi sthāninaḥ*" (2.3.14), which means that the fourth case-ending is to be employed in denoting the Object of that verb ending in *tumun* (>*tum*) which is suppressed in a sentence, in case there is actual use, in that sentence, of the verb for which the action of the verb ending in *tumun* (i.e., *tum*) is intended. Consequently, the expression '*na dvitīyāya tasthe*' is to be taken to be equivalent to '*na dvitīyaṁ soḍhuṁ* (*mānayituṁ draṣṭuṁ vā*) *tasthe*' [which means 'is not in a position (or, does not exist) to tolerate (or recognize or see) a second'].

It is to be noted that, in our said interpretation, the verb '*tasthe*' though used in the *Ātmanepadīya* form, has been taken in its usual sense to mean '*asti*' ('is in a position' or 'exists') and not to mean '*prakāśayati*' ('discloses') according to Pāṇini's rule 1.3.23 quoted above. But this interpretation of '*tasthe*' must not be rejected as wrong, because '*tasthire*' (an *Ātmanepadīya* form of the root *sthā*) means '*tiṣṭhanti* in *Rv* 9.62.27—

"तुभ्येमा भुवना कवे महिम्ने सोम तस्थिरे ।
तुभ्यमर्षन्ति सिन्धवः ॥"

"For thy majesty these worlds *are* [O] seer Soma; to thee the rivers go."

It is not that the *Ṛgveda* did not know that the root '*sthā*', used in the sense of 'disclosing (one's intention)' (*prakāśana*), took the *Ātmanepadīya* form, and that the person who was desired to know that intention, was placed in the *Saṁpradāna Kāraka*. In *Rv.* 10.109.3 there is the expression '*na dūtāya* ···· ···· *tasthe*', which according to Sāyaṇa, means '*na dūtāya svātmānaṁ prakāśayati*.'

We have already seen that the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* (3.2) reads the said line of the *Taiṭtirīya-saṁhitā* as '*eko ha rudro na dvitīyāya tasthuḥ*.' If the plural '*tasthuḥ*' has been used irregularly for the singular '*tasthe*', like the singular '*astu*' for the plural '*santu*' in *Rv* 1.162.8, 9 and 14, then '*na dvitīyāya tasthuḥ*' of the *Śvetāśvatara-upaniṣad* becomes equivalent to '*na dvitīyāya tasthe*' of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*. If, again, the word '*janāḥ*' or '*brahmavidaḥ*' (understood)

is taken to be the Subject of '*tasthuḥ*; then '*na dvitīyāya tasthuḥ*' becomes equivalent to '( *janāḥ brahmavido vā*) *na dvitīyaṁ* (*rudraṁ*) *draṣṭuṁ* ( *jñātuṁ svīkartuṁ vā*) *tasthuḥ*' ['(People, or those who have thorough knowledge of the Brahman) exist not to see (or know or admit) a second (Rudra)'] and thus admits of the possibility of the existence of a second Rudra. So, the said reading of the *Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad* is questionable and does not lead to any decision as to what the correct reading for '*na dvitīyāya tasthe*' should be.

Under the circumstances mentioned above we are to take the line '*eka eva rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe*' of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* as it is and to translate it thus :

"Rudra is one only (or, single), [and he] is not in a position (or, does not exist) to tolerate (or recognize or see) a second (i.e., a rival)".

In support of our above intepretation and translation of the said line of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* we may refer to the custom of lighting a *single firebrand* (*ekolmukam*) from the *Dakṣiṇa* Fire and carrying it to a crossroad in the north for kindling a fire there for the performance of *homa* to Tryambaka (Rudra) with the citation of the said line ('*eka eva rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe*')[20]. According to some of the Vedic works, a fumigating (*dhūpāyat*) firebrand was used for the purpose.[21] It is hardly necessary to say that as

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20.. For this custom (with or without mention of the cross-road or the said line) see *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* 1.8.6.1; *Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā* (Bombay ed.) 36.14 (25–27, p. 362); *Kapiṣṭhala kaṭha-saṁhitā* (ed. Raghu Vira, Lahore) 8.10–11; *Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā* (Bombay ed.) 1.10.20 (48–50, p. 94); *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (Poona, Ānandāśrama ed.) 1.6.10.1–3; *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (Banaras ed.) 2.6.2.7; *Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra* 5.16 (p. 151); *Āpastamba-śrautasūtra* 8.17.8; *Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra* (Chowkhamba ed., with Karka-bhāṣya) 5.10.7; *Bhāradvāja-śrautsūtra* (ed. C. G. Kashikar, Poona) 8.22.5–9; *Satyāṣāḍha-śrautasūtra* (*alias Hiraṇyakeśi-śrautasūtra*) ed. Ānandasrama Press, Poona) 5.5.7–11 and *Mānava-śrautasūtra* (ed. Gelder, New Delhi, 1961) 1.7.7.3–5.

21. See the *Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā*, *Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā*, *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra*, *Bhāradvāja-śrautasūtra*, *Satyāṣāḍha-śrautasūtra* and *Mānava-śrautasūtra* referred to in the immediately preceding foot-note.

Rudra was extremely intolerant of other Vedic gods and as a second firebrand would thus incite a sacrifice to be offered to a Vedic god other than Rudra and would thus incite the latter to destroy it, a single firebrand was taken to kindle a fire for the performance of *homa* to Rudra.[22] The terror from Rudra must have been so great that some thought it wiser to take fire from the *Dakṣiṇāgni* for the performance of *Tryambaka-homa* by means of a fumigating firebrand, and not by a blazing one, so that Rudra's notice might be avoided and Rudra might not attack the bearers of the firebrand on the way, mistaking it to meant for the performance of sacrifice for some other Vedic deity.

Here we cannot help mentioning that Keith translates the said line (*'eka eva rudro na dvitīyāya tasthe'*) of the *Taittirīyasaṁhitā* as "Rudra alone yieldeth to no second[23]", and thus takes the root *'sthā'* to mean 'to yield,' 'to submit., evidently by follwing the Sanskrit Dictionaries of some modern scholars, in which *'sthā'* has been given the said meaning most probably in view of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita's use of *'sthā'* in the line *"gopī smarāt kṛṣṇāya tiṣṭhate"* cited by him as an instance in commenting on Pāṇini's rule 1.4.34 (cited above). But, as we have already seen, this meaning of *'sthā'* is against Pāṇini and also against the context in which the said line has to be cited in carrying the single fire-brand for the performance of the *Tryambaka-homa*. Moreover, in his translation of this line Keith completely overlooks the word *'eva'* (because *"eko rudraḥ,"* meaning "Rudra alone" or "Rudra only," cannot be taken to convey the same idea as *"eka eva rudraḥ,"* which means "Rudra is one only;" and "Rudra........yieldeth to no second" may mean that this god yields to only one. So, Keith's translation of this line is open to serious objections and cannot be accepted as correct.

From *Ṛv* 2.33.4 and 5.41.2 (quoted above) and from the said line of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* it is evident that Rudra did not allow his paramountcy to be challenged by any other Vedic god, nor

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22. That this single firebrand was meant only for Rudra is evident from *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* 1.6.10.1–2—*ekolmukena yanti/taddhi rudrasya bhāgadheyam.*

23. See Keith A. B., *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol, 18), p. 118.

did he tolerate the presence of a Vedic god by his side in a sacrifice or the mention of the name of such a god in a hymn meant for himself. Nay, his self-conceit went so far as to make him look upon himself as the only god deserving the people's respect and humble submission and, consequently, not allow the offer of sacrifice to any other god. So, there is hardly any scope for doubt that he was extremely proud, selfish, touchy, unsocial and uncompromising, and, in these respects, he was unparallelled and stood in great contrast with the other Vedic deities.

## AN OVERLOOKED ASPECT OF ṚGVEDIC RUDRA*

If we study the *Ṛgveda* criticially, it becomes impossible for us to deny the fact that Rudra is presented in this work mainly and basically as an extremely malevolent deity mercilessly killing not only the innocent Vedic people without making any distinction of their age, sex, social relation or worldly prosperity, but also their domestic animals of all kinds;[1] still, being specially mentioned as 'man-slaying' (*nṛ-han*) and as possessing a weapon which is 'male-killing' (*pūruṣa-han*) and 'cow-killing' (*go-han*), he is made to appear as one aiming particularly at the lives of human males (*puruṣa*) and cows (*go*). Rudra is said to be 'man-slaying' (*nṛ-han*) in the Ṛgveda, 4.3.6—*bravaḥkad = agne Rudrāya nṛghne*, "What, O Agni, wilt thou say to man-slaying Rudra ?"

It should be mentioned here that although there is nothing to show that the men (*nṛ*) killed by Rudra were sinners in any way, Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava[2] explain the word *nṛghne* respectively as *nṛṇāṁ pāpakṛtāṁ hantre* and *manuṣyāṇāṁ pāpakṛtāṁ nihantre*, with a stretch of imagination which will be shown on a different occasion to be quite unauthorised.

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* *J. A. I. H.* Vol. *V* pts. 1–2, pp. 123–148.

1. See particularly *RV*, 1.114.7–8 (quoted and translated below); also 1.114.10; 2.33.1, 6, 11 and 14–15; and 7.46. 3–4 (some of which have been quoted and translated below). Cf. 1.43.2, 6; 1.114.1,6; 6. 74.1—*Somā Rudrā........ śaṁ no bhūtaṁ dvipade śaṁ catuṣpade* || "O Soma-and-Rudra,............be blissful to our bipeds [and] blissful to [our] quadrupeds." In the verses referred to above there is mention of bipeds (*dvipada*, including men, women, father, mother, son, grandson, children (born and unborn), etc., and of quadrupeds (*catuṣpada*) such as cows, horses, rams, ewes, etc., which became the targets of attack of Rudra's deadly weapon. It is to be noted that among these victims there is no express mention of goats (*aja*).
2. For Sāyaṇa, see *Ṛgveda* (Poona ed.), Vol. II, p. 515, and for Veṅkaṭamādhava, see *ibid*. (Hoshiarpur ed.), Vol. III. p. 1483.

Again, in 1.114. 10[3], Rudra has been addressed thus :

आरे ते गोघ्नमुत पूरुषघ्नं
क्षयद्वीर[4] सुम्नमस्मे ते अस्तु ।

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3. For this verse, see also *TS*, 4.5.10.3, which reads—
*ārāt te goghna uta Pūruṣaghne kṣayad- vīrāya*............ /
*rakṣā ca no adhi ca deva brūhy = adhā*................ //

4. The word *kṣayad-vīraḥ* may be derived in various ways; e. g., (1) *kṣayan vīrān* (cf. *bharad-vājaḥ, vidad-vasuḥ, tarad-dveṣaḥ*, etc.)--(a) killing heroes (*kṣayan = vināśayan*), or (b) ruling over (or governing) heroes (*kṣayan = prāpt-aiśvaryaḥ*). (ii) *kṣayanto vīrā yasmār*—from whom (i. e. by meeting whom) heroes are meeting destruction (*kṣayantaḥ = vinaśyantaḥ*). (iii) *kṣayanto vīrā yasmin*—in whom heroes are dwelling or residing (*kṣayantaḥ = nivasantaḥ*), or are getting destroyed (*kṣayantaḥ = vinaśyantaḥ*). (iv) *kṣayanto vīrā yasya*—whose heroes are lords or rulers (*kṣayantaḥ = prāpt-aiśvaryāḥ*-Sāyana), or are getting destroyed (*kṣayantaḥ = vinaśyantaḥ*). For analyses and interpretations of *kṣayad-vīra*, see Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala on *RV*, 1.106.4, and 1.114.1-3 and 10. and Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava on 1.125.3, 8.19.10 and 10.92.9; also Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara on *VS*, 16.48, and Sāyaṇa on *TS*, 4.5.10.1-3. W. D. Whitney (*JAOS*, III, 1853, p. 319) and A. B. Keith (Eng. trans. of *TS*, 4.5.10, 1-3) also render *kṣayad-vīra* as 'destroyer of heroes'. J. Muir (*OST*, Vol. IV, p. 302, note, and pp. 304, 317, etc.), Theodor Benfey (in *Orient and Occident*, Vol. III. pp. 140 and 156), Theodor Aufrecht (cf. Muir, *loc. cit.*), H. Grassmann (*Rigveda*), Otto Boehtlingk and R. Roth (*Sanskrit-Woerterbuch*, Vol. II, col. 536), R. T. H. Griffith (Eng. trans. of *RV* and of *VS*, 16.48), Ludwig (*Der Rigveda*) and many others also take *kṣayad-vīra* to mean 'ruling over (or, ruler or commander of, or governing) heroes (or men)'. But in view of the facts that, in the first half of the said verse (*RV*, 1.114.10, quoted above), Rudra's weapon is said to destroy cows and [human] males and his goodwill is prayed for in order to attain immunity from death, that in 1.114.3, Rudra is called *kṣayad-vīra* and the persons seeking the pleasure of this god pray for having their heroes uninjured (*ariṣṭa-vīrāḥ*) and that in 1.114.8, a prayer is made to Rudra not to be furious with rage and slay his worshippers' heroes (*vīrān*) we feel inclined to take the word *kṣayad-vīra* in the said verse to mean '[one] destroying heroes' (i. e. 'destroyer of heroes'). The word *vīra* may also mean 'man'. That in the *Ṛgvedic* verse quoted above, the word *kṣayad-vīra* is to be taken to mean 'destroyed of heroes' is also evident

मृळा च नो अधि च ब्रूहि[5] देवा
धा च नः शर्म यच्छ द्वि-बर्हाः ॥[6]

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from the fact that although, as we shall see hereinafter, the Maruts are the heroes commanded by Rudra and their destructive weapon (*vadhaḥ*) is said to be 'cow-killing' (*gohā*) and 'man-killing' (*nṛhā*), it is only Rudra's weapon from which immunity of cows and [human] males is prayed for by the Vedic people. Note the singular number of the word *te* in *āre te goghnam = uta pūruṣaghnam*, etc. If *kṣayad-vīra* really meant 'lord, ruler or governor of heroes', then theit prayer would certainly be for immunity of their cows and men not only from the deadly weapon of Rudra, but also from those of the Maruts.

5. The expression *no adhi ca brūhi deva* has been explained by Sāyaṇa as *he deva dyotamāna Rudra naḥ asmān adhi brūhi ca|adhivacanaṁ pakṣapātena vacanaṁ 'brāhmaṇādhi brūyāt'* (*Taittirīyasaṁhitā, 2.5.11.9*) *iti yathā*; by Skandasvāmin as *adhi ca upari ca brūhi deva ! ājñāpaya ca yad = yad = asmābhiḥ kartavyam = ity = arthaḥ*; by Veṅkaṭamādhava as *adhi ca asmān brūhi deva*; and by Mudgala in the words of Sāyaṇa quoted above. J. Muir translates *no adhi brūhi* as 'take our side', R. T. H. Griffith as 'bless us', H. H. Wilson as 'speak in our behalf', K.F. Geldner as *sei unser Fürsprecher* (be the speaker in our behalf), H. Grassmann as *sprich uns freundlich zu* (speak to us in a friendly way) and A. Ludwig as *segne uns* (bless us). See Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 304; Griffith, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Vol. I, p. 153; Wilson, *Rig-veda-sanhita*, Vol. I. 178; Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, Vol. I. p. 151; Grassmann, *Rigveda*, Vol. II, p, 117: Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, Vol. II, p. 325. By *adhi brūhi*, a prayer is made to Rudra by his devotees either for his defence of them against his haters' denouncement or against the rage of other gods antagonised by Rudra-worship or by other unpleasant acts (of. *RV*, 2.33.7, cited above), or for his encouragement given by speaking favourably (i. e. by offering blessings) after giving up his rage and malevolence (cf. 2.33.6). As 'speaking in one's behalf' is a mode of 'giving one protection' and as in the said verse there are the words *adha ca* ('and then') which make the act of giving protection a subsequent matter, Geldner's translation of the second half of this verse as *Erbarme dich unser und sei unser Fürsprecher, o Gott, und gewaehre uns doppelten Schirm* ! (Have pity on us and be a speaker in our behalf, O god, and grant us twofold protection), in which the word *adha* (then) has not been taken into consideration, does not appear to be very happy.

6. The word *barhas*, derived from *bṛh*, is an adjective meaning 'mighty', 'strong'. Consequently, *dvi-barhāḥ*, which has the first case-ending and is an adjective in the masculine gender, has to be dissolved as *dvayoḥ barhāḥ* and taken to be an epithet of Rudra and to mean 'powerful (or mighty) in two [i. e. in two regions, viz., heaven (or atmosphere) and earth, or in two acts, viz., those of favour and punishment]'. The word *dvi-barhāḥ* as occurring in the said verse, has been explained by Sāyaṇa as *dvi-barhāḥ dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ pṛthivyām=antarikṣe ca parivṛḍhaḥ; yad=vā; dvayor=dakṣiṇ-ottara-mārgayor=jñāna-karmaṇor=vā parivṛḍhaḥ svāmī*, by Skandasvāmin as *dvi-barhāḥ bṛṁhir=vṛddhy-arthaḥ|dvayor=vardhayitā yaṣṭuḥ stotuś=ca dvibarhāḥ|athavā dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ pravṛddho dvi-barhāḥ| katamayor=dvayoḥ ? yajña-saṁgrāmayor=vā vīryeṇa, madhyam-ottamayor=vā rūpeṇa|Rudro hi madhyama-sthānīyaḥ san āpravṛddho divyādityāt śaknoti prabhūtān rasān pratigrahītum|ap=antarikṣey āpravṛddhaḥ śaknoti ca varśayitum|ata upapannam=asya vṛddhatvam|tannibandhanaś=ca dvi-barhā iti vyapadeśaḥ*; by Veṅkaṭamādhava as *dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ parivṛḍhaḥ*, and by Mudgala as *dvi-barhāḥ dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ pṛthivyām=antarikṣe ca parivṛḍhaḥ svāmī*, which agree with those of Sāyaṇa. In commenting on VS, 7.39, Uvaṭa explains this word as *dvayoḥ sthānayoḥ parivṛḍhaḥ madhyame ca sthāne uttame ca parivṛḍhaḥ prabhuḥ* and Mahīdhara as *dvi-barhāḥ 'bṛhi viddhau' barhaṇaṁ barhaḥ vṛddhiḥ asun pratyayaḥ| dvayoḥ prakṛti-vikṛti-rūpayoḥ soma-yāgayoṛ=barho yasya sa dvibarhāḥ | yad=vā, dvayoḥ sthānayor=barhaḥ vṛddhaḥ parivṛḍhaḥ prabhuḥ madhyame sthāne uttame ca.* Like Mahidhara, Sāyaṇa on *TS*, 1.4.21.1, explains *dvi-barhāḥ* as *dvayoḥ prakṛti-vikṛti-rūpayoḥ soma-yāgayor=barho vṛddhir=yasy=eti dvi-barhāḥ*, and on 4.5.10.3, as *dvayor=lokayor=vardhayitā*. Following Sāyaṇa, Wilson translates *dvi-barhāḥ* as 'mighty over the two [realms of heaven and earth]'. As a matter of fact, in *RV*, 2.33.9, Rudra is called 'the sovereign of this world' (*īśānād=asya bhuvanasya*), in 7.46.2, it is said that 'he, through his lordship, thinks on beings on the earth, [and] on heavenly beings through his high imperial sway', and in 7.46.3, a prayer is made to this god thus : "May thy bright arrow which, shot down by thee from heaven, flieth upon the earth, pass us uninjured by" : Although this compound word is masculine and begins with the word *dvi* (and not *dvis* derived from *dvi* with the Taddhita suffix *suc*, i. e. *s*, and meaning 'twice' or 'twofold)'. it has been taken to qualify the word *śarma* (which is neuter) by eminent scholars like Griffith, Ludwig, Geldner and others who translate the two words as 'doubly-strong protection' or 'double (or two-fold) protec-

"Far [from us be] thy [weapon] that kills cows and slays [human] males ; O destroyer of heroes, let the goodwill be with us. Be gracious and speak in our favour, O god, and then do [thou], mighty in two [regions or acts], confer bliss on us."

We cannot fail to notice that in this verse Rudra's weapon which is said to kill only 'cows' and 'male human beings' (and nothing else) is earnestly desired to be avoided, although the slaughter of other domestic animals (particularly horses)[7] and human beings (namely, females) was undoubtedly deemed equally undesirable. It is not that the weapon of this dreaded god soared in any way the lives of horses, rams, ewes, etc., and of women and even chidren in their mothers' wombs. There are some verses in which prayer has been made to Rudra thus :

मा नो महान्त[8]मुत मा नो अर्भकं[9] मा न उक्षन्त[10]मुत मा न उक्षितम् ।[11]
मा नो वधीः पितरं मोत मातरं[12] मा नः प्रियास्तन्वो रुद्र रीरिषः ॥
(I. 114.7)[13]

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tion'. Grassmann translates *dvi-barhāḥ* as *der du zweifache Staerke besitzest* (thou possessest twofold strength). As regards Rudra's power of favouring or punishing people, which is quite evident from the hymns themselves, there is hardly any necessity of referring to individual verses.

7. It should be mentioned here that horses were of immense importance to the Vedic people for use in war as well as in daily life. As a matter of fact, it was these animals which gave the Vedic people a much better position against their powerful enemies. So, their necessity to these people was as much as, if not more than, that of cows. In the *Ṛgveda* prayer is found to be made very frequently to different deities for the attainment of horses.

8-9. The masculine gender and singular number of the words *mahāntam* and *arbhakam* show that they have been used to denote male human beings. Sāyaṇa, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala take these words to mean *vṛddham* and *bālam* respectively; and Skandasvāmin explains the latter thus : *arbhakam/alpa-nām=aitat/alpam/bālam=ity=arthaḥ* but does not give any equivalent for the former. In commenting on this Ṛgvedic verse as occurring in *VS*, 16.15, Uvaṭa explains the words *mahāntam* and *arbhakam* as *vṛddhaṁ vayaḥprabhṛtibhiḥ* and *alpam*, and Mahīdhara as *vṛddhaṁ gurupitṛvy-ādikam* and *bālam* respectively. Muir (*op. cit*, p. 304) translates these two words simply as 'great' and 'small' respectively, and so also does

"Neither our great (i. e., old or fully grown up) man nor our small (i. e., very young) male child, neither our [youth] emitting [sperm for begetting children] nor our male child generated [in the mother's womb], neither our father nor our mother do thou slay; nor do thou harm our dear [ frail ] bodies, O Rudra."

मा नस्तोके[14] तनये[15] मा न आयौ[16]
मा नो गोषु मा नो अश्वेषु रीरिषः ।

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Griffith. The renderings of Ludwig, Grassmann and Geldner are also the same as those of Muir and Griffith. As these renderings of Muir and others are totally indefinite about the sex of the persons meant by the relevant words, they are not at all satisfactory.

10. Note the masculine gender and singular number of the *ukṣantam*, which must be taken to point to a male human being who is capable of giving out sperm for procreating children.

11. Although the word *ukṣitam* may be neuter, qualifying the word *apatyam* (understood) as Mudgala says in his commentary on this verse, it must have been used in the masculine gender, because, as will be evident from this and other verses quoted from the *Ṛgveda*, Rudra aimed more at the lives of males than at those of females. Moreover, as in this or in any other Ṛgvedic verse relating to Rudra there is no mention of girls already born, there is no reason why the word *ukṣitam* should be taken to be in the neuter gender to mean also a female child in the mother's womb.

12. It is remarkable that among the words denoting the human victims of Rudra's deadly weapon, there is none which definitely means a 'daughter' or a 'girl'. So the mention of the 'mother' (cf. *mātaram*) in the said verse and of '[grown up] women' (cf. *nāribhyaḥ*) in 1.43.6 (quoted below), should be taken to point to Rudra's attempt at arresting the growth of the number of members of the Vedic society by making their grown up girls and elderly women the targets of his destructive weapon.

13. For this verse, see also *VS*, 16. 15, and *TS*, 4.5.10.2-3. In *TS*, it reads *priyā mā nas=tanuvo-* (for *mā naḥ priyās=tanvo-*).

14-15. In this verse the neuter word *toka* (used in the singular number) means 'a son' (and not 'progeny', which may be male or female), because the immediately following word *tanaya*, used in the masculine gender and singular number, definitely means 'a male descendant' (such as a grandson, great-grandson, or the like). According to

Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala, *toka* and *tanaya* (in the said Ṛgvedic verse) respectively mean 'son' and 'grandson'. Cf. *toka-śabdaḥ putravācī tanayas = tatputraḥ*—Sāyaṇa ; *tokaṁ tanayaṁ putrāṁś = ca pautrāṁś = ca*—Skandasvāmin; *putre tat-putre ca*—Veṅkaṭamādhava; *tokaḥ putraḥ tanayas = tat-putraḥ*—Mudgala. In commenting on this verse (1.114.8) as occurring in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (16.16), Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara also take these words to mean *putra* and *pautra* respectively. For Yāska's derivation and similar explanation of these two words (as occurring in *RV*, 7.46.3, quoted below) and also for the reasons adduced by us for taking these words respectively to mean 'sons' and 'male descendants [of the sons]', see notes 23-24 below. It is a fact that in commenting on *RV*, I.182.2, Sāyaṇa explains the words *tokāya* and *tanayāya*, saying : *tokāya apatyāya tanayāya, putrāya, toka-śabdaḥ apatya-sāmānya-vacanaḥ, tanaya-śabdaḥ putra-vacanaḥ*; but in explaining the verse Veṅkaṭamādhava gives for the said two words the equivalents *putrāya* and *tat-putrāya* respectively. We shall see below (notes 23-24) that *toka*, though neuter, invariably means 'a son' and *tanaya* 'a male descendant [of the son]'. The said two words have been translated respectively as 'children' and 'descendants' by Muir (*op. cit.*, p. 304), as 'seed' and 'progeny' by Griffith, simply as *leiblichen Samen* (own children) by Geldner, as *Kind* (child) and *Enkern* (grandchildren) by Grassmann, and as *Samen* (descendants) and *Kindern* (children) by Ludwig. But it is hardly necessary to say that these renderings, in which the sex of the persons meant by the relevant words has been overlooked, are defective and, consequently, not at all reliable.

16. The word *āyu*, as its form *āyau* in the Locative Case shows, has been used in the masculine gender and singular number. So, it cannot but mean a male human being. Sāyaṇa explains this word, saying : *āyur = iti antodāttaḥ manuṣya-nāma|putra-pautra-vyatirikto yo = 'smadīyaḥ manuṣyas = tasmin* ; Skandasvāmin says : *āyava iti manuṣya-nāmasu pāṭhād = āyu-śabdo = 'tra manuṣya-vacanaḥ, paricāraka-manuṣyān*; according to Veṅkaṭamādhava, it means *anyasmin............puruṣe*; and Mudgala has *āyuḥ putra-pautravyatirikto yo = 'smadīyo manuṣyas = tasmin*. Grassmann translate it as *Leuten* (men). But Ludwig's and Griffith's rendering of *āyu* as 'the living' does not point definitely to the sex of these people, because 'the living' may be male or female or both. So, this rendering, being defective, has to be rejected. According to Geldner, *āyu* means *Leben* ('life'; cf. *āyus*); but this word, as used in other places of the *Ṛgveda* (1.60.3, 1.117.25, 1.130.6, etc.), shows that Geldner's rendering is not happy.

वीरान्[17] मा नो रुद्र भामितो वधीर्
हविष्मन्तः सदमित् त्वा हवामहे ॥ (I. 114.8)[18]

"Not in [our] son [and] in [our any other] male descendant, not in [any other] living [man of ours], not in [our] cows, [and] not in [our] horses do thou harm us. Incensed [against us do thou] slay not our heroes, O Rudra. Possessed of oblations we call these evermore."

इमा रुद्राय तवसे ........................
........................ प्र भरामहे मतीः ।
यथा शमसद् द्विपदे चतुष्पदे
विश्वं पुष्टं ग्रामे अस्मिन्ननातुरम् ॥ (I. 114.4.1)[19]

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17. Muir takes *vīrān* to mean 'men' (*loc. cit.*), and Geldner translates it as *Mannen* (men). But as *āyau* means 'in a living [man]', the word *vīrān* should be taken to mean 'heroes'. Grassmann and Ludwig also render it as *Helden* (heroes).

18. For this verse, see also *VS*, 16.16, *TS*, 4.5.103, and *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 4.22. in it, the *VS, TS* and *Śvetāśvatara* read *āyuṣi* (for *āyau*), the *VS* has *bhāmino* (for *bhāmito*), the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* has *avadhīḥ* (for *vadhīḥ*), and the *TS* has *namasā vidhema te* (for *sadam=it tvā havāmahe*). It is hardly necessary to say that, of the said three readings the first two (viz., *āyuśi* and *bhāmino*) are not at all happy. The word *āyuṣi* is to be rendered as 'in [respect of our] life or longevity', and *bhāminaḥ*, derived from the word *bhāma* meaning *krodha* (anger, rage), has to be taken as an adjective of *vīrān*. But as in the said verse (1.114.8), all the other words, viz., *toka, tanaya, go, aṣva* and *vīra* mean living beings or creatures for whom protection is sought from Rudra, the word *āyu* also is expected to mean a living being (viz., a living man). In regard to the reading *bhāmino*, it may bc said that, as the expression *vīrān mā no Rudra bhāmino vadhīḥ* (Do not slay our enraged heroes, O Rudra) of the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* suggests that the heroes of the Vedic people trying to propitiate Rudra had already been incensed against this god, there is no reason why Rudra should spare the lives of these heroes who are thus inimical to him, and we fail to understand how a prayer may be made to him for the protection of these heroes under the said circumstances.

19. For this verse, see also *VS*, 16.48, *KS*, 17.16 (54), *MS*, 2.9.9.(37), *KKS*, 27.6 (lines 5-4 at p. 118), and *TS*, 4.5.10.1-2. In *RV*, 1.114.1, *VS*, *KS*. *MS*, and *KKS* read *prabharāmahe* (for *pra bharāmahe*), *TS* reads *matim* (for *matīḥ*), and all these Saṁhitāś read *yathā naḥ śam* (for *yathā śam*).

"To the strong Rudra . . . . . [we] bring these songs of praise, so that there may be happiness to the bipeds [and] the quadrupeds [and] all may be thriving [and] unafflicted in this village."

रास्वा च नो अमृत मर्तभोजनं
त्मने तोकाय[20] तनयाय[21] मृळ ॥ (I. 114.6 c.d.)

"Grant us, O immortal Rudra, the food of the mortals; be gracious to myself, to [my] son [and] to [my other] male descendant."

शं नः करत्यर्वते सुगं[22] मेषाय मेष्ये ।
नृभ्यो नारिभ्यो गवे ॥ (I, 43.6)

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20-21. The words *toka* and *tanaya*, both used in the singular number as in *RV*, 1.114.8, quoted above, must be taken to mean 'son' and 'male descendant [of the son] respectively. See notes 14-15 above and 23-24 below, Muir translates the said two words as 'children' and 'descendants' (*loc. cit.*), Griffith as 'seed' and 'progeny', Geldner as *leiblichen Samen* (own children), Grassmann as *Kindern* (children) and *Enkelschar* (band of grandchildren) and Ludwig as *Samen* (descendants) and *Kindern* (children). But as in these translations, the sex of the persons meant by the two words have been overlooked, they cannot be accepted.

22. With the word *sugam* meaning *suṣṭhu gamyam* according to Sāyaṇa and Mudgala, *svadhigamam* (i.e. *supriyam*) according to Skandasvāmin, and *śobhana-gamanam* according to Veṅkaṭamādhava, the first line of this verse should be construed thus : [*Rudraḥ*] *naḥ arvate meṣāya meṣye* [*ca*] *śaṁ sugaṁ karati*. For the meaning *suṣṭhu gamyam* (easily attainable), see *RV*, 1.102 4 *asmabhyam= Indra varivaḥ sugaṁ kṛdhi* ...., To us, Indra, make wealth easily available); 6.44.18 (*Indra pṛtsv=asmabhyaṁ mahi varivaḥ sugaṁ kaḥ*, Indra, make great wealth easy of access to us in battles), etc. The word *suga* may also mean *sukha* (happiness). In commenting on *RV*, 1.106.5, Sāyaṇa, like Skandasvāmin, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala, takes it to be a synonym of *sukha* (*sugam/sukha-nām= aitat*). He then derives it saying : *sugam/suṣṭhu gamyate asminn=iti sugam/'su-duror=adhikaraṇe' iti gamer=ḍaḥ*. Geldner's translation of *sugam* as *guten Fortgang* (good progress or advance) does not appear to be happy from the point of view of the grammatical formation of the word. See also Grassmann's and Ludwig's renderings of the word as *Glück* (good luck) and *guten* (*weide*)*gang* (good pasture-going) respectively.

"To our steeds [and] to [our] rams, ewes, men, women [and] kine may [Rudra] make welfare easily attainable" (according to Sāyaṇa,, [Or, "May [Rudra] grant welfare to our steeds [and] happiness to [our] rams, ewes, men, women [and] kine]."

मा नस्तोकेषु[23] तनयेषु[24] रीरिषः (7.46.3)

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23-24. According to Yāska, *toka* and *tanaya* (*RV*, 7.46.3 and 1.92.13) mean *putra* (son) and *pautra* (grandson) respectively, a son being called *toka* because of his being urged (cf. *tudyateḥ*), presumably by his father, to do good deeds and to avoid the bad ones, and a grandson being called *tanaya* due to his extending (cf. *tanoteḥ*) further his father's family. See Yāska's *Nirukta* (NSP). 10.7 (Vol. II, pp. 827-28)—*mā nas=tokeṣu tanayeṣu rīriṣaḥ* (*RV*, 7. 46.3) // .......*mā nas=tvaṁ putreṣu ca pautreṣu ca rīriṣaḥ* / *tokaṁ tudyates=tanayaṁ tanoteḥ* /, and Durgācārya's com. *mā naḥ asmākaṁ tokeṣu putreṣu tanayeśu pautreṣu ca rīriṣaḥ* / *hiṁsāṁ mā prayuṅkṣva ity=etad āśāsmahe* / ....*tokam=iti putraḥ* / *sa hi nityaṁ pitrā vinayatā tudyate 'idaṁ kuru', 'idaṁ mā kārṣīr'=iti* / *tanayaṁ tanoteḥ* / *pautram* / *taddhi atitarāṁ pituḥ sakāśāt tataṁ bhavati* / *saty=apy=apatya-nāmatv-āviśeṣe ih=ājāmitāyai viśeṣaḥ* /. Also *Nirukta*, 12.6 (Vol. II, p. 945)—*yena tokaṁ ca tanayaṁ ca dhāmahe* (*RV*, 1.92.13) // ...*yena putrāṁś=ca pautrāṁś=ca dadhīmahi* //, and Durgācārya's com.—........*yena tvat-prattena vayaṁ putrāṁś=ca pautrāṁś=ca avicchedena tṛptān dadhīmahi* / Sāyaṇa gives *putreṣu* as the synoym for *tokeṣu*, but leaves *tanayeṣu* without comment, showing that he means by it either the grandsons or these as well as their male descendants (cf. Sāyaṇa on tanaya in RV, 1.64.14, 92.13, 100.11, 114.6 and 8, 2.25.2, 2.30.5, etc., as 'grandson' (*pautra*), in *RV*, 1.31.12, etc., as 'the male descendants beginning with the grandsons' (*pautr-ādi*), and in ṚV, 3.1.23, 5.11, 6.11, etc., as 'the male descendant [after the son] who extends the family' (*sūnuḥ putraḥ, tanayaḥ saṁtānasya vistārayitā*). According to Veṅkaṭamādhava, *tokeṣu* and *tanayeṣu* in the verse quoted above mean *putreṣu* and *pautreṣu* respectively. It should be mentioned here that in the Vedic literature from the *Ṛgveda* downwards, the word *tanaya* has been used in many places in the masculine or the neuter gender, but not even once in its feminine form *tanayā*. So, as the Vedic society was patriarchal and as, consequently, the families of the Vedic people extended through the sons and, on rare occasions, only through those daughters who, being looked upon as sons by their sonless fathers, were retained as Putrikā-putras in their fathers' houses even after their marriage, the word *tanaya* meant only a

"[O Rudra,] do not inflict evil on our [male] progeny [and our other male] descendants."

मानो वधी रुद्रमा परा दा
मा ते भूम प्रसृतौ हीळितस्य (7.46.4 a-b)

"Do not slay us, Rudra, nor forsake [us]. Let [us] not fall [victims] to the noose of [thy] angry [self]."

From these and a few other verses[25] of the *Ṛgveda*, it is evident that Rudra carried out his slaughter of human beings and their domestic animals mercilessly and indiscriminately, although in taking the lives of the former, he aimed his deadly weapon more often at males than at females, as is shown by the words (except *mātṛ* and *nārī*) which denote human beings and

male descendant and not a female one. In later days, however, this word came to be used to mean a son because the word *toka* was no longer used in Classical Sanskrit (except in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which uses a number of rare Vedic words) and also because a son caused the extension of his father's family as much as a grandson. Consequently, it had the feminine form *tanayā* to mean 'daughter', and this form, being found included in the *priy-ādi-gaṇa* mentioned by Pāṇini (6.3.34), must be older than Pāṇini. As the word *tanaya* thus definitely means a male descendant of the son, *toka* cannot be taken to mean 'progeny' (which may be male or female), because there is no reason why Rudra should subject the granddaughters to the harm caused by his deadly weapon if he allows the great-granddaughters and other female descendants to escape it. So, *toka* also is to be taken to mean a male descendant, viz., a son. We have already said that in the Vedic literature the word *tanaya* has never been used in its feminine form *tanayā* to mean a daughter or a female descendant [of the son]. Thus the plural forms of this word (such as *tanayeṣu* in the verse quoted above) cannot be taken to be due to *ekaśeṣa*. So, even in its plural form this word (*tanaya*) cannot mean a female descendant, be she a daughter or any one else. In their translations of *RV*, 7.46.3, the words *toka* and *tanaya* (both used in the plural number) have been rendered respectively as 'sons' and 'progeny' by Griffith, as *Kind* (child) and *Enkeln* (grandchildren) by Grassmann and as *Samen* (descendants) and *Kinde* (children) by Ludwig. Geldner translates these two words collectively as *leiblichen Samen* (own children).

25. Such as *RV*, 2.33.1, 6, 11 and 14-15 (particularly verse 14), 1.43.2, 6.71.1 and so on.

either have almost invariably the masculine gender and the singular number to denote males[26] or, even when neuter point to the male sex of the victims, in the verses quoted above. Even in taking the lives of females, Rudra must have made some discrimination. We have noted above that the only words definitely pointing to the female victims of Rudra's weapon are *mātṛ* (1.114.7) and *nārī* (1.43.6), both of which point to grown up women, the former meaning one who has already begun to be a mother and the latter, those who are aged enough to give birth to children, and that there is no word (*duhitṛ*, etc.) definitely meaning a daughter or a girl, the extension of the import of *toka* used in the plural number in 7.46.3 to female descendants being already shown to be impossible.[27] So, we are in a position to say that, among the females, Rudra made, evidently for bringing down the numerical strength of the Vedic people, the grown up women of the society the first targets of his destructive weapon, although he does not appear to have spared the lives of minor girls also. Yet, the mention of Rudra's weapon particularly as *go-han* and *puruṣa-han* (1.114.10) and the prayer made in the same context for immunity from danger caused by this weapon, tend to show that although Rudra aimed at the lives of all Vedic people male and female, young and old, and born and unborn, and also of their domestic animals of all kinds, he was particularly interested in killing cows and human males.

That of all the domestic animals of the Vedic people it was the cows which formed the special target of Rudra's attack, is also shown by a few other pieces of evidence. In 6.28, in which cows have been praised for yielding milk and thus promoting their owners' health and wealth and facilitating very greatly their performance of the sacrifices made particularly to Indra, and Indra has been expected to give these animals protection against the attack of enemies, an ardent desire for their protection from Rudra's weapon has been expressed in verse 7 c-d :

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26. Of the verses (containing the words *toka* and *tanaya*) quoted here, only one (*RV*, 7.46.3) has these words in the plural number as *tokeṣu* and *tanayeṣu*. We have seen above (notes 23-24) that both Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava take these words to mean sons and grandsons respectively.

27. See notes 15-15 and 23-24 above.

मा वः स्तेन ईशत माघशंसः
परिवो हेती रुद्रस्य वृज्याः ॥

"May neither the theif nor the evil-designer possess you [and] may Rudra's missile avoid you."

Similarly, in 10.169.1, a prayer has been made for the welfare of milch cows, and Rudra has been asked to be gracious to them :

मयोभूर्वातो अभि वातुस्रा
ऊर्जस्वतीरोषधीरा रिशन्ताम् ।
पीवस्वतीर्जीवधन्याः पिबन्त्व-
वसाय पद्वते रुद्र मृळ ॥

"May the wind blow towards [our milch] cows, being pleasant [to them] ; may [they] eat succulent herbage all around ; may [they] drink [waters] rich in life and fatness ; to [our] food having [four] legs (i. e. to our milch kine) be gracious, O Rudra."

In 1.43.1-2, it is said :

कद् रुद्राय प्रचेतसे मीढुष्टमाय तव्यसे ।
वोचेम शंतमं हृदे ॥
यथा नो अदितिः[28] करत् पश्वे नृभ्यो[29] यथा गवे ।
यथा तोकाय[30] रुद्रियम्[31] ॥

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28. By *aditiḥ* Skandasvāmin means *anupakṣīṇo Rudraḥ* (undecayed Rudra), Veṅkaṭamādhava means *pṛthivī* (the earth) and Sāyaṇa and Mudgala mean *bhūmiḥ* (the earth). Th. Benfey translates it as 'sinlessness', and, probably follow ing Skandasvāmin, Ludwig takes it to mean Rudra himself. But we shall see on a different occasion tha-t the word means here the great ancient goddess Aditi, the mother of Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman and many others. We shall also try to explain the position of this goddess as one granting the grace of Rudra to his worshippers, to their sons, grand sons and others and their domestic animals, particularly kine.

29-30. See above and below and also notes 14-15 and 23-24.

31. Skandasvāmin explains the word *Rudriyam* thus : *Rudriyaṁ Rudrārham/yad = Rudra eva dātum = arhati n = ānyaḥ kaścid = ity = arthaḥ Rudriyam* = 'befitting Rudra', which means what Rudra only it fit for giving, [and none else]', and, following him, Wilson translates it as 'the gifts of Rudra. Veṅkaṭamādhava, on the other hand, takes it to mean

"To Rudra [who is] possessed of supreme wisdom [and is] most gracious [and] very strong, what shall we recite that shall be most pleasing to [his] heart, so that Aditi may grant to our [domestic] animals, to [our] men, to [our] kine, [and] to [our male] progeny the grace of Rudra ?"

Although in the second of the last two verses, the word *paśu*, which has been taken by Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin and Mudgala to mean the domestic animals such as horses, buffaloes, etc.,[32] is sufficient for meaning the cows as well, the separate and particular mention of these animals by the word *go* shows that they had special importance as victims of Rudra's deadly weapon. As a matter of fact, Rudra had originally no soft corner in his heart for cows or other domestic animals of the Vedic people ; and this is shown by the fact that, although in the *Ṛgveda* the Vedic gods such as Indra, Soma and Bṛhaspati and also the Vedic priests, sacrificers (*yajamāna*) and herdsmen are called *go-pati* (lords or masters of cows),[33] even a bull (*vṛṣabha*) is called *aghnyānāṁ patiḥ* (i. e. *gavāṁ patiḥ*, lord or husband of those, i. e. cows, and not bulls, which are not to be killed),[34] and Pūṣan is called *paśupā* (guard of cattle),[35]

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*bheṣajam* ('medicine', i.e., of Rudra), and Sāyaṇa and Mudgala follow him in explaining it as *Rudra-sambandhi bheṣajam* (medicine connected with Rudra). Following Veṅkaṭamādhva, Sāyaṇa and Mudgala, Geldner translates it as *rudrische* [*Heilmittel*], '[medicine] belonging to Rudra' ; but Grassmann and Ludwig render it respectively as *Rudra's Gunst* and *Rudrasegen* (both meaning 'the grace, or goodwill, of Rudra'), and Griffith follows them in translating it as 'the grace of Rudra'.

32. Cf. *paśve* explained as *asmadīy-āśva-mahiṣ-ādi-paśave* (Sāyaṇa) ; *sarvatra dvitīy-ārthe caturthī* / *paśum = aśvādi-paśu-jātam* (Skandasvāmin) ; *asmadīya-mahiṣ-ādī-paśave*' (Mudgala).

33. For mention, as *go-pati* , of (i) Indra, see *RV*, 1.101.4, 3.30.21, 3.31.21, 4.24.1, 4.30.22, 6.45.21, 7.18.4, 7.98.6 (= *Atharvaveda*, Hoshiarpur ed., 20.87.6), 8,21.3, 8.62 7, 8.69.4 ( = *Atharvaveda*, 20.22.4 and 20.92.1), 9.19.2, 10.47. 1 and 10.108.3 ; (ii) Soma, see 9.19.2, 9.35.5, and 9.72.4 (iii) Bṛhaspati, see 10.67.8 (= *Atharvaveda*, 20.91.8) : (iv) a priest, see 8.14.2 ( = *Atharvaveda*, 20.27.2) and 10. 166.1 ; (v) a sacrificer, see 6.28.3 ; and (vi) a herdsman see 10.19.3.

34. *RV*, 10.102.7 ; also 9.97.34.

35. *Ibid.*, 6.58.2.

Rudra is never called *go-pati*, *gopā*, *paśu-pati* or *paśupā* anywhere in this Veda or is characterised by any other similar epithet which may associate him with cows or other animals as their lord or protector. On the other hand, as we have already seen above, earnest prayer has been made to Rudra in more verses than one for granting safety to cows, horses and other domestic animals and this dreaded god's weapon has been said unequivocally to be *go-han* particularly in 1.114.10, in spite of the fact that in as many as three verses (2.33.4, 7 and 15) the god himself has been addressed as *vṛṣabha* (bull) for his ferocity and abnormal physical strength. This mention of Rudra's weapon as *go-han* is highly significant and definitely shows the god's apathy to cows.

In the second of the two verses (1.43. 1-2) quoted above, there are the words *nṛ* and *toka* used in the plural and the singular number respectively to denote the persons for whom Rudra's favour is sought. Of these words, the former (which, being used in the plural number as *nṛbhyaḥ*. might appear to be an *ekaśeṣa* meaning both men and women) must be taken here to mean only the male members of the Vedic society, which was patriarchal and in which the males formed the fighting class, as is evident from the fact that the arrows shot from the bows in war have been called *pūruṣ-ādaḥ* (man-eating) in 10.27.22 which says :

वृक्षे वृक्षे नियता मीमयद्गौ-
स्ततौ वयः प्र पतन् पूरुषादः ।
अथेदं विश्वं भुवनं भयात
इन्द्राय सुन्वदृषये च शिक्षत् ॥[36]

"Bound fast to every tree-[made bow the bow-string made of the sinewy of ] the cow, [being drawn], makes a sound, and thence the man-consuming [arrows resembling] birds fly forth. Then all this world, though possessing the [ Soma ]-juice for Indra and making payments to the Ṛṣi, gets frightened."

In commenting on the second of the said two verses (1.43.1-2) Sāyaṇa and Mudgala rightly explain *nṛbhyaḥ* as *asmadīya-*

36. The first half (*vṛkṣe-vṛkṣe niyatā mīmayad = gau....pūruṣādaḥ*) of this verse has been quoted and explained by Yāska in his *Nirukta*, 2.6 (Vol. I, p. 147).

*puruṣebhyaḥ*[37] According to Skandasvāmin, this word means *paricārakān manuṣyān* (men who are servants or attendants). Grassmann and Geldner translate it as *den Maennern* (to the men). and Ludwig as *Leuten* (men).

As to the word *toka* used in the said verse it may be stated that, although in their comments on this verse Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin and Mudgala take it to mean *apatya* ('offspring', which may point to both 'son' and 'daughter'), they as well as Skandasvāmin interpret it invariably as *putra* (son) in many other verses[38] and that we have shown it to be meaning *putra* in 1.114.6 and 8 quoted above and in 2.33.14 cited below. So, this word also must be taken to mean *purta* in the said verse.

The baneful nature of Rudra which made him direct his deadly weapon mainly against the cows and the human males, finds further support in the fact that the weapons of the Maruts also, who are often said to be Rudra's sons and followers, have been described merely as *go-hā* (cow-slaying) and *nṛ-hā* (man-slaying) in 7.56.17 c-d, in which prayer has been made to the Maruts :

आरे गोहा नृहा वधो वो अस्तु ।
सुम्नेभिरस्मे वसवो[39] नमध्वम् ॥

"Far [ away from us, O Maruts, ] be your deadly weapon which kills cows and men. Ye Vasus incline yourselves to us with blessings."

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37. For the same meaning of the word *nṛ*, see also *RV*. 1.43.6 (in which the word *nṛbhyaḥ*, used side by side with *nāribhyah*, has been explained by Sāyaṇa and Mudgala as *puruṣebhyaḥ*), 1.8.6 (in which *naraḥ*, plural of *nṛ*, has been explained as *puruśāḥ* by Sāyaṇa and as *manuṣyāḥ*, by Skandasvāmin and Veṅkaṭamādhava), 1.21.2 (in which *naraḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa, Skandasvāmin and Mudgala as *manuṣyā ṛtvijaḥ*), 1.124.12, 1.127.6, 3.54.4, etc., (in which the word is taken by Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava to mean *manuṣyāḥ*), and so on.

38. Such as *RV*, 1.31.12, 64.14, 84.17. 92.13, 100.11, 147.1; 2.2.11, 9.2, 25.2, 30.5; 3.53.18; 4.1.3, 12.5, 24.3, 41.6; and so on.

39. Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava take *vasavaḥ* to be an epithet of the Maruts and explain it as *vāsakāḥ* and *vāsayitāraḥ* respectively. Geldner translates it as *Guten* (the good ones), Grassmann as *gut* (good) in his *Woer-terbuch* col. 1235). and H. D. Velankar as 'O gods' (*Ṛgveda, Maṇḍala VII*, p. 129).

Although, like their father and leader Rudra, the Maruts also did not limit their slaughter only to cows and men (i. e. human males), the mention of their weapon only as 'cowslaying' and 'man-slaying' must be taken to point unmistakably to their special fascination for killing cows and male human beings. That the slaughter of cows (and not of bulls or oxen) particularly pleased the Maruts is also evident from the five-day[40] sacrificial rite called Pañcaśāradīya,[41] a *Marut-stoma,* which required the slaughter of seventeen heifers annually in autumn for five consecutive years.

It is to be noted particularly that in the Ṛgvedic verses quoted above the word for cows, which formed the special targets of Rudra's deadly weapon, is *go,* and not *vṛṣa, vṛṣabha, ukṣan,* or anything else which unmistakably means 'bull' or 'ox', althongh, as has been said above, Rudra himself has been addressed as *vṛṣabha* (bull) in as many as three verses. In 6.28.7 and 10.169.1 quoted above, we have seen that protection from Rudra's weapon was sought not for the bulls or oxen but for the cows, which gave milk and contributed greatly to the health and prosperity of their masters and also to the performance of their sacrificial rites. So, among the domestic animals of the Vedic people it was the cows (and not bulls or oxen) which specially interested Rudra as the objects of his slaughter. The position of cows in the eyes of the dreaded god is further shown by a peculiar domestic sacrifice called Śūlagava[42] which, though recorded as late as in the Gṛhyasūtras and in no other

40. According to the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (referred to below), the Pañca-śāradīya is an Ekāha (one-day) sacrifice.

41. For description of this sacrifice, see *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* (*alias Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa,* KSS ed.), 21.14; *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* (AS ed.), 18.11; *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* (AS ed.), 22.20.9-19, and 21.1-11; *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* (CSS ed.), 23.4.3-27; *Laṭyāyana Śrautasūtra* (AS ed.), 9.12.10-14; *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* (ÄnSS ed.), II. 4.2.29-30 (i.e., 10.2.29-30); *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* (AS ed.), 14.62; and *Ārṣeyakalpa* (*alias Maśaka Kalpasūtra,* ed. W. Caland, Leipzig, 1908), 8.11, a, b. See also *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (ed. Raghu Vīra and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur, 1954), 2.175-77, and *Taittirīya Bṛāhmaṇa* (ÄnSS ed), 2.7.10-12.

42. A critical examination of this sacrifice will be made on a different occasion.

earlier work, must have originally been a non-Vedic popular rite of great antiquity. As is shown by the erliest extant Gṛhyasūtra, viz., that of Baudhāyana[43], and also indicated by the *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* as well as by the Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara, Hiraṇyakeśin and Āpastamba'[44], this rite in its origin required the slaughter of a cow (and not bull or ox) outside the village and the offer of its omentum (*vapā*) and some other cut-off parts of its body to Rudra there, after roasting the former with a spit (*śūla*) and cooking it as well as the cut-off parts in an earthen vessel, so that this dreaded god might be satisfied and made to go away, being thus dissuaded from entering the village and doing mischief to these animals kept there. So, there is hardly any doubt that Rudra's attack was directed much more against the cows than against the bulls or oxen. We shall explain on a different occasion what made Rudra have this peculiar choice; but it may be mentioned here that the cows were held in high esteem and valued very much by the Vedic people as the extremely important sources of their food and wealth, as well as the main bases of their religious life due to their supply of milk and thereby of ghee, curd and

43. *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (Mysore ed.) 2.7.1-30 (particularly Sūtras 4-10, in which the pronouns *enām, tām* and *tasyai* for, and the adjectives *juṣṭām, udīcīna-padīm* and *saṁjñaptāyai* of, the word *go* used in Sūtra 4 are to be specially noted).

44. *Mānava Gṛhyasūtra* (ed. F. Knauer, St. Petersburg, 1897), 2.5.1-6 (in which, in spite of the use of the word *go* in the name *śūlagava*, there is no express statement that an ox is to be sacrificed on this occasion); *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay), 3.8.1 17 (particularly Sūtra 5, which says that from the designation of the rite, in which the word *go* has been used, the slaughter of a cow instead of an ox is permissible—*gaur=vā śabdāt*); *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra* (ed. J. Kirste, Vienna, 1889), 2.8.1-11 (particularly Sūtras 2-4, which prescribe that after two huts are constructed to the west of the kindled fire, the spit-ox is to be placed in the southern one, a bountiful cow, considered to be the consort of the spit-ox is to be placed in the northern one, and a strong and robust young bull, considered to be the issue of the spit-ox and the cow, is to be placed in the space between the two huts); and *Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra* (KSS ed.), 19.13 and 20.1-18 (particularly 20.1-3, which make the same prescription as that of the *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra*, 2.8.2-4, stated above).

butter. The great importance of cows in the life of the Vedic people and the necessity of their protection from the destructive hands of enemies explain why the sympathetic Vedic war-god Indra, and not the apathetic deity Rudra, has been praised as *go-pati* on a good number of occasions and the fierce and powerful Vedic god Soma has been called so in a few verses.

As to Rudra's greater interest in killing the male members of the Vedic society than the females, we have already referred to the relevant verses of the *Ṛgveda*. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (1.8.6.1-2) and the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (1.10.4 [24]), there is a passage in which prayer has been made to Rudra :

भेजषं गवेऽश्वाय पुरुषाय भेषजम् ।
अथो अस्मभ्यं भेषजं सुभेषजं यथासति ।
सुगं मेषाय मेष्यै ।

"[Give, O Rudra,] medicine for cow [and] for horse, medicine for male [human being] and medicine for us, so that [it] may be rich in healing [and] good (or beneficent) for ram [and] ewe."

It is to be noted that, in this passage,[45] there is use of the word *puruṣāya* besides *asmabhyam*, even though the latter is sufficient for meaning the male members (*puruṣa*) as well.

Two more passages, both addressed to Rudra, may be cited here in this connection from the *Yajurveda Saṁhitās*. One of them, occurring in *VS*, 16.3, *KS*, 17.11 (35), *MS*, 2.9.2 (16), *KKS*, 27.1 (lines 5-6 at p. 113) and *TS*, 4.5.1-2, runts as follows :

यामिषुं गिरिशन्त हस्ते बिभर्ष्यस्तवे
शिवां गिरित्र (मै. सं. गिरिश) तां कुरु मा
हिंसीः पुरुषं जगत् ॥[46]

"The arrow which, O haunter of mountains, thou bearest in thy hand to shoot, that make [thou] blissful, O guardian of

45. It also occurs in *KS*, 9.7 [31] and *KKS*, 8.10 (lines 19-20 at p. 87) and in *VS*, 3.59 and *ŚB*, 2.6.2.11, with some variation in reading, thus : (a) *KS*, *KKS*.—*bheṣajaṁ gave='śvāya puruṣāya sugaṁ* (*KKS—subhagaṁ*) *meṣāya meṣyai | atho asmabhyaṁ bheṣajaṁ subheṣajaṁ yath=āsati||* (b) *VS*, *ŚB—bheṣajam=asi bheṣajaṁ gave='śvāya puruṣāya bhcṣajam | sukhaṁ eṣmāya meṣyai ||* (omitting *asmabhyaṁ*).

46. For this verse, see also *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 3.6.

mountains ! Injure not the male [human being and] the [other] moving [creatures, such as human beings, cows, horses, etc]."[47]

The other passage has been given in *KS*, 17.16 (53) and *KKS*, 27.6 (line 19 at p. 117 and line 1 at p. 118) thus :

द्रापे अन्धसस्पते दरिद्र नीलल्लोहित ।
आसां प्रजानामेषां पुरुषाणामेषां पशूनाम् ।
मा भैर्मा रौङ् (कठकपि. रुङ्) मा नः किञ्चनाममत् ॥[48]

The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (4.5.10.1) has it as follows :

द्रापे अन्धसस्पते दरिद्रन् नीलल्लोहित ।
एषां पुरुषाणामेषां पशूनां मा भेर्मा रो मो एषां किं चनाममत् ॥

"O chaser, lord of the Soma plants, O cleaver, blue-and-red, frighten not, nor injure, these male [human beings and] these cattle ; let none of these be injured."

It ts hardly possible to overlook the word *puruṣa* used, besides *jagat*, *prajā*, and *paśu* in these passages, and also the direction *pratipūruṣam = eka-kapālān = nirvapaty = ekam = atiriktam*[49] which requires the offer of one cake to Rudra for each male member (cf. *pratipūruṣom*)[50] of a family and also of one cake more, in the rite called Tryambaka-homa which forms part of Sākamedha.

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47. Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara explain *jagat* respectively as *jaṅgamaṁ ca gav-ādi* and *jaṅgamam = anyad = api gav-āśv-ādikam* in their commentaries on *VS*, 16.3 (*yām = iṣuṁ giriśanta*, etc , quoted above), and Sāyaṇa as *manuṣya-vyatiriktam = api jaṅgamaṁ gav-ādi* in commenting on *TS*, 4.5,1.1-2.

48. This passage occurs in *VS*, 16.47, thus :

    *drāpe andhasaspate daridraṁ nīlalohita |*
    *āsāṁ prajānām = eṣāṃ paśūnāṁ mā bher = mā roṅ mo ca*
    *naḥ kiṁcan = āmamat ||*

    The *MS*, 2.9.9 (36) has it as follows :

    *drāpe undhasaspate daridra nīla lohita |*
    *eṣāṁ paśūnām = āsāṁ prajānāṁ mā bhair = mā ruṅ mo*
    *ca naḥ kiṁcan = āmamat ||*

    It is to be noted that, in both these Saṁhitās, the passage lacks the words *eṣāṁ puruṣāṇām*.

49. For this line, see *TS*, 1.8.6.1. See also *KS*, 36.14 (pp. 361–62); *TB*, 1.6.10, and *ŚB*, 2.6.2.4.

50. For *puruṣa* (in *pratipūruṣam*) meaning a male [human being], see Mahīdhara on *VS*, 3.57.

From all these, it is evident that the protection of males from the destructive weapon of Rudra was a matter of great concern to the Vedic people.

Here we cannot help mentioning two other peculiar features of the character of Ṛgvedic Rudra.

In view of some highly interesting statements made in a number of verses (which will be subjected to a critical analysis on a different occasion), it is hardly possible to deny the fact that Rudra was naturally antagonistic to Vedic sacrifices and was thus a definitely unscrupulous and extremely powerful destroyer of these even in the absence of the least provocation from the sacrificers. In order to advance this sinister work of his, Rudra took more care to kill those men of wealth among the Vedic people who encouraged and financed the performance of these generally expensive religious rites. Thus, in 2.33.14,[51] the priests are found to pray to this god for sparing the lives of their wealthy patrons :

परि णो हेती रुद्रस्य वृज्याः
परि त्वेषस्य दुर्मतिर्मही गात्[52] ।
अव स्थिरा मघवद्भ्यस्तनुष्व
मीढ्वस्तोकाय तनयाय मृळ ॥

"May Rudra's missile pass by us; may the great sinister design of the [god] blazing [with rage] pass [away], avoiding [us]. Unspread [O Rudra,] the steady [bows, turning them away] from [our] wealthy [patrons]; O dispenser of good, be gracious to [our] sons and [other male] descendants."

51. For this verse, see also *VS*, 16.50, *KS*, 17.16 (56) *MS*, 29.9 (39), *KKS*, 27.6 (lines 7-8 at p. 118) and *TS*, 4.5. 10.4. V. 1 in *VS*, *KS*, *MS*, *KKS* and *TS—pari ṇo* (*VS*, *MS*, *KKS—no*) *Rudrasya hetir = vṛṇaktu....durmatir = aghāyoḥ* | ........*tanayāya mṛḍa* ( *TS—mṛḍaya*).

52. According to Sāyaṇa, *durmatiḥ* means *duḥkhakāriṇī buddhiḥ* Wilson translates it as 'displeasure', Griffith as 'wrath', Geldner as *Ungnade* (displeasure), Grassmann as *Ungunst* (disfavour, unkindness) in his *Rigveda*. Vol. 1, p. 43, and as *Misgunst* ( envy, ill-will ) and *Uebelwollen* (ill-will, malevolence, enmity) in his *Woeterbuch*, col. 616, and Ludwig also as *Uebelwollen*. The real import of the word and its importance and interest in correctly understanding the basic character of Rudra will be pointed out later on a different occasion.

From this verse it is evident that Rudra not only preferred to take the lives of the Vedic males but was also more particular in aiming his weapon at the wealthy patrons of Vedic sacrifices than at the poor. It is a fact that, in the *Ṛgveda*, there are a few other verses in which the priests are found to pray to Agni, Indra and other gods for yielding protection to their wealthy people and leading wise men[53] of resources, who are undoubtedly the institutors or patrons of highly expensive sacrificial rites. For instance, in 1.31.12, Agni is addressed thus :

त्वं नो अग्ने तव देव पायुभिर्मघोनो रक्ष तन्वश्च वन्द्य ।
त्राता तोकस्य तनये गवामस्यनिमेषं रक्षमाणस्तव व्रते ॥

"Thou, O Agni, god, save with thy succours our wealthy [patrons] and [our frail] bodies, O venerable [one]. Thou art the protector of [our male] progeny, guarding [them] incessantly in [respect of] the offspring of the cows [useful] in thy [sacrificial] rite."

In 1.54.11, Indra is invoked as follows :

स शेवृधमधि धा द्युम्नमस्मे महि क्षत्रं जनाषाळिन्द्र तव्यम् ।
रक्षा च नो मघोनः पाहि सूरीन्[54] राये च नः स्वपत्या इषे धाः ॥

"Such [thou], Indra, bestow upon us bliss-increasing glory [and] great, highly increased [and] people-overpowering might ;

53. They were 'wise', probably because they knew fully well the correct methods of performing sacrifices and were quite conscious of the manifold benefits of these rites.

54. Sāyaṇa and Mudgala explain the word as *viduṣo='nyān api* (others also who are learned) ; but Skandasvāmin and Veṅkaṭamādhava take it to mean *stotṝn* (eulogists). Wilson translates it as 'those who are wise'. Griffith as 'princes', and Grassmann and Geldner as *Opferherren* (masters of sacrifice) ; but Ludwig renders it as *die Sūri* (the Sūris). See *RV*, 1.73.9—*īśānāsaḥ pitṛ-vittasya rāyo vi sūrayaḥ śata-himā no aśyuḥ* ||, which should be construed as........*pitṛ-vittasya rāya īśānāso naḥ sūrayaḥ śatahimā vi aśyuḥ* and translated as "Being masters of [their] paternal wealth may our [leading] wise men particularly enjoy [it] for a hundred winters", and 1.48.4—*Uṣo ye te pra yāmeṣu yuñjate mano dānāya sūrayaḥ*, "those [lrading] wise men who direct their mind to donation, as you proceed, O Uṣas." From these, it is evident that the Sūris were wealthy people who instituted or patronised Vedic sacrifices and made donations to the Vedic priests.

and save our wealthy [patrons], protect [our] wise men [who are liberal to us, and] vouchsafe us wealth and food with excellent offspring."

It is to be noted that, in these verses, Agni and Indra, who, as we shall see on a different occasion, were looked upon by the Vedic people as their extremely loving friends and protectors, are asked, not to refrain from doing harm to the lives of their wealthy patrons and liberal chiefs and also to those of the cows, but to give protection to them, evidently from the destructive hands of their enemies, particularly the malevolent and naturally antagonistic god Rudra and his followers. Thus, it was mainly from these dreaded gods that the Vedic priests apprehended harm to the lives of their wealthy patrons and cows; and consequently they became very anxious for their protection from the destructive weapons of these gods.

The peculiar traits of Rudra's character noted above make it clear that he cannot be, in his origin, an Aryan god at all or have a purely natural basis, nor can he be a form of Indra or Agni or the chief of the souls of the dead, or a god or demon of mountain and forest, or anything else hitherto suggested by scholars, native and foreign. It is well known that although 'the unhoused beasts of the field are specially at the mercy of the pitiless storm', no purposeful discrimination can possibly be made by it or by thunder or fire in killing or terrifying these helpless creatures or the human beings who fall victims to their attack, nor can these natural phenomena have any special interest in destroying the sacrificial rites of the Vedic people or the capacity for finding out the wealthy institutors or patrons of these rites for subjecting them to death before others. The fact that Indra is a loving and protecting god of the Vedic people and is often praised as *gopati* ( lord or master of cows ), whereas Rudra is basically a malevolent, mischievous and extremely unsocial and no-co-operating deity[55] and an avowed killer of cows (*go.han*) and their masters of the Vedic fold, particularly male, shows that he can never be a form of Indra; nor, due to his originally ignoble character,[56] can

55-56. These features of Rudra's character will be brought out in another article with the citation and interpretation of the relevant texts.

he be the celestial father or a development of Dyaus[57] on the physical side. If he were really the chief of the souls of the dead, or a god or demon of mountain and forest, or the moon, or an ancient cannibalistic death demon raised to the position of a high god, or anything else suggested by scholars, ancient and modern, we find no cogent reason why he should carefully discriminate between the victims of his weapon, why he should have his residence in the north, and not in the south like Yama (the god of death) or in the east or west like the moon rising in the east and setting in the west, why he should like more to slay the cows than to kill the bulls (or oxen) and other domestic animals of the Vedic people, and why the wealthy institutors and patrons of sacrifices should attract his alarming notice more than the poor people of the Vedic society. So, we have to make fresh investigations into his origin and real nature, so that we may be able to trace successfully and correctly the course of change or development through which he had passed before his appearance in the *Ṛgveda* as a high and powerful god and thereby to explain in a relevant way the various and not rarely contradictory functions and epithets characterising him as a malevolent as well as benevolent god.[58]

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57. Dyaus, a 'lofty' or noble deity of the Indo-Europeans, is said in the *Rgveda* to be the parent of Indra, Agni, Sūrya, Parjanya, the Ādityas, the Aśvins, the Maruts and the Aṅgirases and, like most of the great gods, called *asura* on several occasions.

58. Abbreviations used—ĀnSS = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, AS = Asiatic Society, Calcutta; Com., Coms. = Commentary, Commentaries; CSS = Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares; ed. = edition; KKS = *Kapiṣthalakatha Saṁhitā* (ed. Raghu Vira, Lahore); KSS = Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares; KS = *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* (ed. Śrīpādaśarman Bombay); NSP = Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay; *OST* = *Original Sanskrit Texts* by J. Muir; *RV* = *Rgveda*; *ŚB* = *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Acyuta-grantha-mālā, Benares); *TB.* = *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (ĀnSS.); *TS* = *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (ĀnSS); *VS* = *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (NSP).

## THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS OF THE MARUTS' ( OR RUDRAS') ASSOCIATION WITH INDRA AND RUDRA, AND OF THE PURĀṆIC STORY OF THEIR ORIGIN*

A critical study of the *Ṛg-Veda* and the other Vedic and non-Vedic works (including the Epics and the Purāṇas) makes it evident that Rudra was basically an exteremely unsocial and non-co-operating god having a character quite different from that of the the other Vedic deities[1]. He was so touchy and self-conceited that he did not allow any other Vedic god to share honour with him in a Vedic hymn or a Vedic sacrificial rite. Still, we find the Maruts to be very friendly and intimate with him but originally inimical to Indra, who, as we shall see below from the Epics and Purāṇas, cut, with a sinister motive, a single mortal enemy of his into a number of parts all found living as equally powerful beings and, out of fear, made them sacrificial deities under the common name 'Marut', even though Rudra is never brought into the slightest conflict with the greatest Vedic god Indra. This position and character of the Maruts are peculiar and have to be explained relevantly on historical backgrounds from the earliest times possible.

It is a fact that in *ṚV* 6.50.12 Rudra has been implored to be accordant with Sarasvatī, Viṣṇu, Vāyu, *Ṛ*bhukṣan, Vidhātṛ, Parjanya and Vāta in granting to his worshippers and eulogists an increased supply of food; but this is merely a prayer to Rudra not to make his votaries suffer from want of food by falling out with other deities capable of doing their good in this respect, and it contains in it nothing which may show that Rudra was in any way friendly with any of these deities. So, besides Soma, the only Vedic deities with whom Rudra is given out to be friendly and intimate in the *Ṛg-Veda*, are the Maruts, of whom Rudra is repeatedly said to be the father and leader, and who, in their turn, are called

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* *Purāṇa*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, pp. 101-148.

1. For this character of Rudra see the article 'Ṛg-Vedic Rudra....' (pp. 335-347).

Rudra's youths, sons and followers. Althought, as is evident from the *Ṛg-Veda*, the Maruts have much closer active association with Indra than with Rudra[2], they constitute the army of the latter as well and take part in his exploits, good or bad[3], as is known from a few Ṛg-Vedic verses, particularly *ṚV* 2.33.11 cd—

मृळा जरित्रे रुद्र स्तवा नोऽन्यं ते अस्मन्नि वपन्तु सेनाः"

["Being extolled, O Rudra. be gracious to (me, thy) praiser, (and) let (thy) hosts kill one other than us"].

We also see how in ṚV 1.122.1[4] Rudra and his associates the Maruts, have been presented as extremely dangerous enemies des-

2. The Maruts' relation with Indra will be dealt with elaborately below.
3. Macdonell does not appear to be right in stating that '........Rudra is never associated, as Indra is, with the warlike exploits of the Maruts,........Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 74.
4. This verse runs as follows :

   "प्र वः पान्तं रघुमन्यवोऽन्धो यज्ञं रुद्राय मीळ्हुषे भरध्वम् ।
   दिवो अस्तोष्यसुरस्य वीरैरिषुध्येव मरुतो रोदस्योः ॥

   As Sāyaṇa, Veṅkaṭamādhava and others' construction and interpretation of this verse, and Muir, Wilson, Griffith, Ludwig, Grassmann and others' translations of it are open to serious objections (which will be found in Appendix I. ii in our forthcoming work entitled "*Rudra in the Rg-Veda*", we should like to construe, explain and translate it thus :

   "]हे ऋत्विजः, यूयं] रघुमन्यवः (लघुक्रोधाः) [सन्तः] वः (युष्माकम्) अन्धः (अन्नं यज्ञसाधनम् आज्यसोमादिलक्षणं तद्व्यतिरिक्तम् अन्यच्च देहपोषणं) पान्तं (रक्षन्तं) यज्ञम् [अभिमतफललाभार्थं] मीळ्हुषे (अभिमतफलानां वर्षित्रे) रुद्राय प्र भरध्वम् (प्रकर्षेण संपादयत) ।

   [अहं च] इषुध्या इव (इषुध्युपलक्षितैस्तन्निहितैः शरसमूहैरिव) दिवः असुरस्य (अन्तरिक्षस्थितस्य शक्तिमतो देवस्य अर्थात् रुद्रस्य) वीरैः (वीर्यैः, वीरैः कर्मभिर्वा) [युक्तान्, तथा] रोदस्योः (द्यावापृथिव्योः) [अवस्थितान्] मरुतः अस्तोषि (स्तौमि)" ।

   "[Being] of little rage (or, with mitigated rage, i, e., discarding rage to the greatest possible extent),[O priests] excellently (or, properly) offer to bounteous (or, wishful-filling) Rudra sacrifice [that will be] protecting your food [sacrificial and otherwise].

troying the Vedic people's sacrificial rites and also their food materials collected by them at the place of sacrifice or produced in villages or stored in houses for consumption, and in 7.46.4 these deities have been entreated not to slay the Vedic sacrificer or bind them up (evidently for carrying them away as captives). There are a few other verses in which Rudra has been given the epithet '*kṣayad-vīra*', which, in some places, mean 'lord or commander of the (divine) heroes (viz., the Maruts).' Thus, in *RV* 1.114.1 Rudra, called '*kṣayad-vīra*', is sought to be propitiated by the Vedic people with eulogies, so that in their village the bipeds and the quadrupeds may enjoy relief and all may be thriving (in food and wealth) and remain unaffected; in 1.114.2 Rudra, characterised with the same epithet, is desired to be pleased with complete submission (cf. '*namasā*') and to be gracious to the submissive and grant happiness to them; and in 10.92.9 Rudra, who is accompanied by his horse-riding kins, the Maruts, and called '*kṣayad-vīra*', is desired to be eulogised with humble submission (cf. '*namasā*'). Again, in 1.114.11 and 2.33.6 Rudra is said to be 'accompanied by the Maruts' (*marutvān*) and invoked to give protection to his votaries and to cheer them up with most invigorating food; and in 1.114.6, 1.114.9 and 2.33.1 this god, addressed as or called 'the father of the Maruts (cf. '*pitar marutām*', '*pitre marutām*'), is asked to give his eulogist food which mortals eat and to be gracious and grant happiness to him and his sons and descendants, and not to bring about their death. As, in most of the above verses, Rudra has been presented as a mischievous and destructive god, and as, in their harmful activities against the Vedic people and their cattle and other properties, the Maruts, as followers of Rudra, are very much like their father and leader, it is evident that the Vedic people characterise Rudra as such, so that this god may keep under his control his Marut host, and he and his followers, the Maruts, may desist from doing any harm to them and see to their welfare.

Although the *Ṛg-Veda* repeatedly gives out the relation of Rudra and the Maruts to be that of a father and his sons or of an army-leader and his hosts, and presents the latter much more fre-

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[And I, on my part,] eulogise the Maruts [who are furnished], as if with [a number of arrows contained in] a quiver, with the [multitude of] heroic powers (or, heroic deeds) of the powerful [god] of heaven (viz., Rudra) [and remain] in heaven and earth."

quently as being very intimate with Indra as his constant followers and associates, it is very peculiar as well as significant that nowhere in this work Rudra is brought, directly or indirectly, into connection with Indra either as a friend or as a foe.[5] So, the questions naturally arise as to whether Rudra and the Maruts entered the Vedic pantheon jointly at the same time or separately at different times, and whence, when, how and why the Maruts came and got associated with Rudra. But before we take up for critical examination these highly interesting questions, which are expected to throw a flood of light on the dark history of Rudra's origin and character, we should see whether, besides the Maruts, Rudra had any other associates or followers.

**The Ṛg-vedic 'Rudras'—originally the same as the Maruts**

In view of the mention of 'Rudras' as Rudra's followers and also as a class of beings in some verses[6] of the *Ṛg-Veda* and of the statements made about Rudra and the Rudras in the post-*Ṛg Veda*

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5. The only verse which may be mentioned here, is *ṚV* 5.41.2, which runs thus :

"ते नो मित्रो वरुणो अर्यमायुरिन्द्र ऋभुक्षा मरुतो जुषन्त ।
नमोभिर्वा ये दधते सुवृक्ति स्तोमं रुद्राय मीळ्हुषे सजोषाः ॥"

"May they—Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Āyu, Indra, Ṛbhukṣan, (and) the Maruts—be pleased with us,—(they) who, with equal pleasure, accept (or, hold up) the eulogy (which has been made by us) to bounteous Rudra with prostrations (i. e., with repeated prostration) (and) from which thorough elimination (of the names of other gods) has been made."

But in this verse neither Indra nor any other god is presented as friend of Rudra. It only says that this eulogy made exclusively to Rudra does not displease Mitra, Varuṇa and the other gods including Indra and the Maruts (who are, thus, expected to admit Rudra as a Vedic deity).

6. These verses, as referred to by R. N. Dandekar in his article (p. 102) entitled 'Rudra in the Veda' in *JUP*, 1953. Humanities Section, No. 1, pp. 94-148, are the following : 2.31.1 and 3; 8.13.28, and 54.3; 10.66.4.

There are also a few other verses which should be mentioned here; viz., 1.45.1, and 58.3; 3.8.8, and 20.5; 7.5.9, 10.4, and 35.6 and 14; 8.35.1 and 10.66.3, 125.1, and 128.9.

works (including the Epics and the Purāṇas), some scholars[7] are of opinion that the Rudras and Maruts were originally two different classes of beings, of whom the former were demoniac in nature, that it was the Rudras who were the genuine followers of Rudra and were originally associated with this god, that for conceding to Rudra a place in the official Vedic pantheon, the poet-priests of the *Ṛg-Veda* substantially changed 'the original and essential character of that god' by suppressing more or less 'the original relationship between Rudra and the Rudras and making the Maruts take the place of the latter and thus representing the relationship between Rudra and the Rudras in a purely formal and conventional manner' by associating Rudra with the Maruts and transferring to the latter the name of the original Rudras but not their essential character, that, consequenly, Rudra's association with the Maruts was posterior in date to that with the Rudras, that, later, as 'the mythology relating to Rudra and the Maruts took a different turn altogether', 'Rudra tended to regain his pristine character and, consequently, the Maruts transferred their allegiance from Rudra to Indra' and 'the Rudra-Marut combination' 'tended to become rarer in course of time', that, thus, Indra was associated with the Maruts much later than Rudra, that in this process the original character of the Maruts was almost unrecognizably transformed and the relationship between Rudra and the Rudras regained its old vitality in the later Vedic literature', and that, besides the Rudras and the Maruts, there are the Rudra-gaṇas, who, with the said two classes of beings, correspond with the three distinct stages in the evolution of Rudra's character and personality.[8]

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The value of the testimony of these verses will be examined below in their proper places. It may be mentioned here that, as we shall see below, *RV* 8.13.28, though included by Dandekar in his list, does not distinguish between the Rudras and the Maruts but shows that the latter, as followers of Indra, were also called Rudras and that ṚV 8.54 is a Khila-Sūkta and consequently of minor importance.

7. See particularly Dandekar's article in the *JUP* referred to above (in which Dandekar often follows Arbman's views in his *Rudra*).

8. See Dandekar's article (pp. 98 and 102-4) referred to above.

It is hardly necessary to say that these views, which are undoubtedly ingeneous and provoctive of a more critical study of the *Ṛg-Veda* go definitely against the courses of history and are principally based on the ideas that the 'Rudras', mentioned as a class of beings in some of the Ṛg-Vedic verses referred to above, were quite different from the Maruts, and that Rudra's original character as a god was much worse than what he is given in the said work. But we are constrained to say that these ideas, for which there is no pre-Ṛg-Vedic record, have practically got no basis in the *Ṛg-Veda* and that assessment of the original character of Rudra and the Maruts on the basis of statements made in the post-*Ṛg-Veda* works, is practically going against the hands of a clock. As regards the Rudras, we cannot overlook the facts that, as we shall see on a different occasion, the word '*rudra*' is originally not a name but simply an epithet derived from √*rud* or √*ru* (meaning 'to roar', 'to howl', 'to shout'), and that it is used in the *Ṛg-Veda* not only as Rudra's epithet used as his name but also on many occasions to characterise a number of Vedic gods, such as Agni, Indra, Aśvins, Mitra and Varuṇa, and the Maruts, for their roaring, howling or shouting. As a matter of fact, the Maruts have been addressed as, or called, '*rudrāsaḥ*' or '*rudrāḥ*' (meaning, as a noun, 'roarers', 'howlers' or 'shouters' or, as an adjective, 'roaring', 'howling' or 'shouting') in a good number of verses occurring in the Marut Sūktas in Maṇḍalas 1, 2, 5 and 8[9], in a few places these deities are given the epithet '*rudra*'[10], and once the word '*sūnu*' (meaning 'son') has '*rudra*' and

9. Maruts—addressed as '*rudrāsaḥ*' or '*rudrāḥ* in *ṚV* 1.39.4 and 7, 2.34.9, and 5.54.4, 57.1, and 60.6, and called so in ṚV 1.64.3, 85.2, and 166.2, 2.34.13, 5.87.7, and 8.7.12, and 20.2.

10. ṚV. 5.60.2—*rudrā marutaḥ* (roaring or shouting Maruts); 10.64.11—*rudrāṇāṁ marutām upastutiḥ* (laudation of the roaring or shouting Maruts); 10.92.6—*rudrā marutaḥ*.

[According to Sāyaṇa, '*rudrāḥ*' and '*rudrāṇām*' in these verses mean '*rudra-putrāḥ*' and '*rudra-putrāṇām*' respectively].

See also *ṚV*. 1.100.5 and 8.103.14, which run respectively as follows :

"स सूनुभिर्नरुद्रेभिर्ऋभ्वा नृ शाह्ये सासह्वाँ अमित्रान् ।
सनीळेभिः श्रवस्यानि तूर्वन्मरुत्वान्नो भवत्विन्द्र ऊती ॥"
and

its adjective.[11] Even, as followers of Indra, the Maruts are called 'Rudras' in a number of verses occurring in the Indra-Sūktas in Maṇḍalas 1, 3, 8 and 10.[12] It is true that in Maṇḍalas 4 and 6,

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"आग्ने याहि मरुत्सखा रुद्रेभिः सोमपीतये ।
.... .... .... .... .... .... .... .... ॥"

In the former of these two veres *we should take 'rudrebhiḥ' as an adjective qualifying both 'sūnubhiḥ' and 'marudbhiḥ' (which is understood) and translate it thus* :

"Like (one accompanied) by (his own) *shouting* sons, that leader (Indra, accompanid) by the *roaring* (Maruts), overpowered the enemies in the manly battle.

Doing deeds of glory with close comrades, may Indra, girt by the Maruts, be for our protection."

[From the *Ṛg-Veda* we learn that the Vedic people often prayed to their deities for the birth of troops of heroic sons to them, and that these sons accompanied their fathers to the battle-field when occasions arose. It is very natural that, going out with their fathers to fight the enemies, these sons did not and could not keep silent but shouted very loudly out of rage for terrifying the latter].

Likewise, taking *'rudrebhiḥ'* to mean 'with the *roaring* (ones)', the latter verse (i.e., 8.103.14) is to be translated thus :

"Come, O Agni, the friend of the Maruts, with the roaring (ones) for drinking Soma (juice).
.... .... .... .... .... .... ...."

The *Ṛg-Veda* tells us on many occasions (such as in 3.32.2-3, 8.13-28, 8.103.14, etc.) that Soma drink pleased the Maruts so much that they shouted out of joy even at its prospect.

According to Sāyaṇa, the word 'rudrebhiḥ' in the two verses (viz., *ṚV*. 1.100.5 and 8.103.14) means 'rudra-putrair marudbhiḥ' and 'marudbhiḥ' respectively.

11. *ṚV* 1.100.5 quoted and translated above in the immediately preceding foot-note.

12. See ṚV 1.100.5 (quoted and translated above), and 101.7; 3.82.2 and 3; 8.3.7, 13.28, and 63.12 (*rudrāḥ........indra-jyeṣṭkāḥ*); 10.32.5 and 99.5. (For interpretation and interest of 8.13.28 see below).

Although, in explaining ṚV 3.32.2 referred to above, Sāyaṇa connects *'mārutena gaṇena'* and *'rudraiḥ'* with a *'ca'* supplied by him and thus takes the 'Māruta gaṇa' and the 'Rudras' to be different, *we should like to construe and evplain this verses* thus :

as Hillebrandt points out in his *Vedische Mythologie* III, p. 303, the Maruts are not called Rudras; but that is absolutely immaterial and not at all 'significant' as Dandekar says, and we must not attach any importance to it whatsoever. As a matter of fact, Maṇḍala 4 contains no hymn on the Maruts, and these deities have been mentioned in it only ten times, and in Maṇḍala 6 there is only one Marut-Sūkta (viz., 6.66) of eleven verses, and the Maruts have been mentioned in the other Sūktas of this Maṇḍala only nineteen times. There is also no mention of 'Rudras' as a distinct class of beings in any of these two Maṇḍalas. Still, the loud roar of the Maruts has been mentioned in *ṚV* 4. 6.10 and 6.48.15, of which the former says that the flames of Agni roar loudly like the Marut host (····अर्चयः····तुविष्वणसो मारुतं न शर्धः) and in the latter the host of Maruts is said to be mighty in their roar (शर्धो····मारुतं तुविष्वणि). Similarly, in Maṇḍala 3 there are only three verses (3.26.4-6) on the Maruts, and in one of them (viz., 3.26.5) these deities have been called 'the noisy sons of Rudra who roar like lions' (····मरुतः···· स्वानिनो रुद्रियाः····सिंहा न हेषक्रतवः·······). It may be mentioned in this connection that, in two of the five Sūktas in which Rudra has been extolled individually or jointly, there is mention of the Maruts in a few verses, but the word *'rudra'* does not occur in them or in any other verse of the said Sūktas either as their epithet or as the name of a group of deities, whoever they may be. On the other hand, Maṇḍala 2 contains only one Marut-Sūkta (2.34), and as has already been said, the Maruts have been addressed as and called 'Rudras' in two of its verses, viz., 2.34.9

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"[हे इन्द्रं त्वं] ब्रह्मकृता (तव स्तुतिं कुर्वता) मारुतेन गणेन सजोषाः (समानप्रीतियुक्तः सन् अर्थात् स्तुतिकरणाद् यथा मरुतां प्रीतिर्भवति, स्तुतिश्रवणात् त्वमपि तथैव प्रीतः सन्) रुद्रैः (आनन्दातिशयाद् रोरूयमाणैर्मरुद्भिः सह) तृपत् (सोमपानेन तृप्यन्) आ वृषस्व (सम्यक् मेघवारि सिञ्च) ।"

For the fact that Soma drink or its prospect exhilarates the Maruts and makes them roar, see also *ṚV* 3.32.3, 8.13.28, and 8.103.14 (all referred to above).

In 3.32.3 the expression *'rudrebhiḥ sagaṇaḥ'* deserves special notice, because, in all other places (viz., 1.101.9, 3.47.2 and 4, 3.52.7, and 10.157.3, and also 1.23.7, 1.64.12, 3.35.9, etc.) Indra is said to have the Maruts as his *'gaṇa'* (troop).—See the expressions 'sagaṇo marudbhiḥ', etc. used for Indra in these verses.

and 13 respectively. That the loud roar of the Maruts was traditionally a fact known to the Ṛg-Vedic Aryans is also evident from many other Ṛg-Vedic verses such as the following :

1.23.11—जयतामिव तन्यतुर्मरुताम्—the thundering voice of the Maruts like that of the conquerors;

1.64.8—सिंहा इव नानदति – (the host of the Maruts) roars frequently and violently like lions;

1.127.6—शर्धो न मारुत तुविष्वणिः—(Agni) roaring very loudly like the Marut host;

1.143.5—न यो वराय मरुतामिव स्वनः—(Agni) who cannot be controlled like the Maruts' roar;

1.166.11—(मरुतः) स्वधितारः—(Maruts) shouting;

5.54.3—''''मरुतः''''स्तनयदमाः —....Maruts....roaring in onset;

5.54.8—''''मरुतः''''/''''यदिनासो अस्वरन् व्युन्दन्ति पृथिवीं''''//....Maruts ....when impetuous, they roar, they inundate the earth....;

8.7.3—''''''''वाश्रासः पृश्निमातरः/धुक्षन्त पिप्युषीम् इषम्//....loudly roaring....(the Maruts), whose mother is Pṛśni....have poured out the streaming food;

8.7.7--वाश्राः (मरुतः)—loud-roaring (Maruts);

8.7.17—उद् स्वानेभिरीरते पृश्निमातरः—with....tumultuous roar.... (the Maruts), whose mother is Pṛśni, hurry forth; and so on.

That some of the Vedic Seers looked upon the 'Rudras', mentioned together with the 'Ādityas' and the 'Vasus' in some Ṛg-Vedic verses referred to above, as identical with the Maruts, is shown by the facts that at least in two Ṛg-Vedic verses, one of which occurs in Maṇḍala 6 and the other in Maṇḍala 10, the 'Rudriyas' (and not 'Rudras') have been mentioned with the 'Ādityas' and the 'Vasus' as one of the three prominent groups of deities[13], and that in at least one verse the 'Rudras' have been said to have been born of a cow (go)[14] It is hardly necessary to

13. These two verses are ṚV. 6.62.8—तदादित्या वसवो रुद्रियासः...., and 10.48.11—आदित्यानां वसूनां रुद्रियाणां''''''''''' ...

14. ṚV 8.101.15—माता रुद्राणां''''''''। मा गाम् अनागाम् अदितिं वधिष्ट ।।
Also cf. 9.73.7, in which 'vācam' is explained by Sāyaṇa as 'mādhyamikāṁ vācam', 'mādhyamikā vāk', in his opinion, being the same as the Cow Pṛśni, the mother of the Maruts.

say that it is the Maruts who have been called 'Rudriyas' (sons of or belonging to Rudra') in a large number of Ṛg-Vedic verses[15] and said in a good number of others to have been born of Pṛśni[16] who is called a cow more than once[17]. So, there is hardly any scope for doubt that at least some Vedic Seers knew that the 'Rudras', mentioned together with the 'Āditya' and the 'Vasus' as a class of divine beings, were really the same as the Maruts. It is a fact that there are a few verses, occurring in Maṇḍalas 8 and 10, in which the 'Maruts' (and not the 'Rudras') have been mentioned together with the 'Ādityas' and the 'Vasus' or only with the 'Ādityas'.[18] But these verses do not point definitely to the identity of the 'Rudras' with the Maruts. We shall see below that the Seers of the Sūktas in which some of these verses occur, regarded the 'Rudras' as distinct from the Maruts.

We have already seen that in a good number of Ṛg-Vedic verses of different Maṇḍalas, the so-called 'Rudras' (who are really the same as the Maruts) have been associated with Indra as his followers. We have also referred to the fact that in the Rudra-Sūktas there is no mention of the 'Rudras', although the Maruts have been mentioned in them several times as the sons or followers of Rudra. So it is not possible for us to say with any amount of certainty whatsoever that Rudras and the Maruts were originally two different classes of beings and that it was the Rudras who were the genuine followers of Rudras and were originally associated with this god. On the other hand, as we have seen above, the *Ṛg-Veda* amply testifies to the facts that it was the Maruts who, in course of time, were given the epithet '*Rudra*' for their loud roar, and that in comparatively late days, this epithet came to be used occasionally as their name, as in the case of their father and leader Rudra. It is clearly for this reason that the *Ṛg-Veda* is completely

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15. *ṚV* 1.38.7; 2.34.10; 3.26.5; 5.41.11, 57,7 and 58.7; 6.62.8; 7.56 22; 8.20.3; 10.48.11; and so on.
16. *ṚV* 1.168.9; 2.34.2 and 10; 5.52.16, 58.5, and 60.5;6.66.3; and so on.
17. *ṚV* 1.160.3, 4.5.10, 5.52.16, etc. Also cf. 2.34.2 and 10, 4.3.10, 5.60.5, 6.66.1, 7.35.14, etc. The Marutes have been called 'go-mātaraḥ' in *ṚV* 1.85.3.
18. *ṚV* 8.35.13 and 15; 10.65.1, 98.1, and 157.3.

silent about any '*gaṇa*' of these so-called 'Rudras', although this work mentions the '*gaṇa*' of the Maruts on many occasions[19]. So, it is evident that originally there was no distinct class of beings, divine or otherwise, called 'Rudras'.

That the 'Rudras' as a class of gods distinct from the Maruts were conceived quite early, even before the composition of many of the hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*, cannot be denied. We have given above (in fn. 7) a list of verses which mention the 'Rudras' together with the 'Ādityas' and the 'Vasus' or with either of these two groups of deities. Although, for the reasons stated above, we should not take the 'Rudras' mentioned in all of these verses to constitute a class of divine beings quite different from the Maruts, there are some among these verses which show definitely that according to some Vedic Seers there was a class of deities called 'Rudras' who were not taken to be identical with the Maruts. Thus, the 'Rudras' have been distinguished from the Maruts in *ṚV* 2.31(verses 1and 3) ascribed to Gṛtsamada Śaunaka, in 7.35(verses 6,9 and 14) ascribed to Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi, in 8.35 (verses 1 and 3) ascribed to Śyāvāśva Ātreya in 8.54, a Khila-Sūkta (verse 3), ascribed to Mātariśvan Kāṇva, and in 10.66 (verses 3 and 4) ascribed to Vasukarṇa Vāsuka. It is remarkable that sometimes the same Vedic Seer is found to address the Maruts as 'Rudras' or to call them as such, to use the word '*rudra*' as an epithet of these deities, and also to name, together with the 'Ādityas' and the 'Vasus', a class of deities called 'Rudras' as distinct from the Maruts[20]. For instance, Śyāvāśva Ātreya addresses the Maruts as 'Rudras' in *ṚV* 5.54.4, 57.1, and 60 6, and gives them the epithet '*rudra*' in 5.60 2 but distinguishes between the Rudras and the Maruts in 8.35.1 and 3; Viśvāmitra Gāthina, in 3.32.2 and 3, calls the Maruts 'Rudras', even though they are the followers of Indra, but names the 'Ādityas', 'Rudras' and 'Vasus' as distinct classes of gods in 3 8.8; and Gṛtsamada Śaunaka addresses the Maruts as 'Rudras' in 2.34.9, calls

19. Viz., in 1.14.3, 38.15, 64.9 and 12, 87.4; 3 26.6, 32.2; 5.52.13 and 14, 53.10 and 11,56.1, 58,1 and 2, 60.8; 6.16 24; 7.56.7, 58. 1; 8.94.12; etc.

20. As the contradictory statements of these types are not found to occurin the same hymn, it is very probable that hymns of different seers belonging to a particular family of priests were put under the same name through mistake or confusion.

them as such in 2.34.13, but differentiates the 'Rudras' from the Maruts in 2.31.1 and 3. This is very peculiar as well as significant and shows that the 'Rudras', though originally the same as the Maruts, had come to be looked upon (for reasons stated below) as distinct class of gods quite early, even before many of the extant Ṛg-Vedic hymns were composed.

Although we do not know exactly how the epithet *'rudra'*, used for the Maruts for their loud roar, gave rise to a distinct class of deities called 'Rudras', there is a verse in the *Ṛg-Veda* which appears to throw a flood of light on this problem. This verse is *ṚV* 8.13.28, which says:

"अभि स्वरन्तु ये तव रुद्रासः सक्षत श्रियम् । उतो मरुत्वतीर्विश अभि प्रयः ॥"

["(O Indra,) may (they) who are thy roarers (i. e., thy roaring Marut host) approach (and) partake of the glory[21] (of the sacrifice);

and also may (thy divine) folk, accompanied by the Maruts, approach (for partaking of the sacrificial) food"]

In this verse the pronoun *'tava'* for Indra in the expression *'tava rudrāsaḥ'* shows that the word *'rudrāsaḥ'* means Indra's roaring followers, the Maruts, being extremely fond of Soma drink, roar, out of joy, at the prospect of drinking Soma in a sacrifice. As, in the second half of this verse, the Maruts, associated with the common run of celestial people (*viśaḥ*), have been mentioned, it is evident that this verse divides the Maruts into two groups or classes, viz., the roaring and turbulent ones, and the beneficent and friendly ones. As a matter of fact, the *Ṛg-Veda* brings out in many of its verses these two prominent aspects of the character of the Maruts which are connected with their natural basis. It has already been said that the Maruts are basically the winds, stormy or otherwise, which are born of and move forward, as their forerunners, with the rain-clouds and bring rain and thunder in their train. So, they are rightly called Rudra's sons begotten by him

21. Being the cause of glory (*śrī*) Soma is practically the glory of a Sacrifice. *ṚV* 9.94.4. says of Soma : "For glory born he hath come forth to glory : he giveth life and glory to the singers. They, clothed in glory, have become immortal. He measured in his course, makes frayas successfull".

on Pṛśni, the cow in the form of the rain-cloud, and forming his host.

We have already seen that the Maruts in general and the roaring or howling ones called 'Rudras' came to be differentiated very early as forming two distinct classes of deities. The Vedic Seers Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi and Vasukarṇa Vāsuka, who, as is known from the extant Sūktas of the Ṛg-Veda and has already been indicated above, looked upon the 'Rudras' as quite different from the Maruts and never used the word *'rudra'* as an epithet of the latter or addressed these deities as 'Rudras' or called them as such, no matter whether they were the followers of Indra, Rudra or any other god, are found in these Sūktas to name the three prominent groups of deities, viz., Vasus[22], Rudras and Ādityas, and to attach them respectively to Indra, Rudra, and Aditi or Varuṇa, in *ṚV* 7.10.4 and 7.35.6 (both ascribed to Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi) and 10.66.4 (ascribed to Vasukarṇa Vāsuka[23]). So, there is little scope for doubt that the 'Rudras' as a distinct class of deities had come to be attached to Rudra very early, undoubtedly before many of the extant Sūktas of the *Ṛg-Veda* were composed.

Thus, the different traditions, viz., those of the Maruts as Rudras, i. e., roaring or howling gods, and of the 'Rudras' as a distinct class of deities, were already current in the Vedic society when many of the extant hymns or verses of the Maruts were composed. As there were different families of Vedic priests not all living at the same time or at the same place, and as religious faith and nature of allegiance to particular Vedic deities coming from particular sources Vedic or non-Vedic, or Aryan or non-Aryan, naturally differed more or less in different families or individuals, the said traditions were utilised in their respective hymns by the different Seers in different ways according to their own knowledge of or faith in their deities or traditions.

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22. As the Maruts have been given the epithet *'vasu'* in many verses of the *Ṛg-Veda,* they must be the same as the 'Vasus' attached to Indra.

23. Vasiṣṭha Maitrāvaruṇi and Vasukarṇa Vāsuka attach the Ādityas toĀditi in *ṚV* 7.10.4 and 10.66.3 respectively, but the former attaches this group of deities to Varuṇa n 7.35.6.

We have already seen why, in the *Ṛg-Veda*, the Maruts came to be called 'Rudras'. We shall now discuss the questions as to how and when the Maruts came to be associated with Indra and Rudra and a distinct class of divine beings called 'Rudras' grew out of the Maruts.

**The Maruts' association with Indra**

A critical study of *Ṛg-Veda* shows that after the Indra-worshipping Aryan tribes, particularly the Bharatas, had been compelled by their more powerful Indra-hating Aryan enemies to migrate, in the hoary pre-Ṛg-Vedic past, from their ancient (but certainly not their original) common home-land situated very probably in a place lying immediately to the south of Lake Balkash in Russian Turkestan in Central Asia and bearing the Russian name "Semiretchenski-kari" (literally meaning "the land of the seven streams")[24], they came to Iran, but, having a cold, or rather extremely unfavourable, reception from the Indra-hating Aryans who had already settled there, they pushed forward and came to India, where they gradually occupied an extensive territory in, or very near about, the land of the five rivers by prolonged and severe warfare with the Dāsa-Dasyus, who had built up a highly developed urban civilization there.[25] From the *Ṛg-Veda* we learn that this war took place in the hoary past, long before the composition of at least the great majority of the hymns of this work. As a matter of fact, we are told in the *Ṛg-Veda* that Indra's first or ancient heroic deeds (*vīryāṇi ....prathamāni, or purvyāṇi karaṇāni*) were his fight with and slaughter of Vṛtra, also called Ahi (Serpent), and his war with the Dāsa-Dasyus in connection with it.[26] The verses which deserve special mention for the said statements, are the following :

24. For more information about this place, which still bears 'traces of an ancient Aryan colonisation', see N. G. Sardesai's article entitled "The Land of Seven Rivers" in *Commemorative Essays presented to Sir Ṛ. G. Bhandarkar*, 1917, pp. 93-96.
25. Detailed treatment of this topic with relevant quotations from the *Ṛg-Veda* has been made in Chap : I of our work entitled "*Ancient Traditions of Origin of the Śūdra, (A Critical Study)*", which is nearing completion.
26. We shall explain below how the Dāsa-Dasyus came to be associated with the more ancient story of Vṛtra.

इन्द्रस्य नु वीर्याणि प्र वोचं यानि चकार प्रथमानि वज्री ।
अहन्नहिम् अन्वपस्ततर्द प्र वक्षणा अभिनत् पर्वतानाम् ॥
(ṚV. 1.32.1,

[Of Indra, the thunder-wielder, I declare the first heroic deeds which he accomplished :

he slew Ahi (the Serpent, in the form of the dam), then disclosed the waters, (and) cleft the water-channels of the mountains] and

दासपत्नीरहिगोपा अतिष्ठन्निरुद्धा आपः पणिनेव गावः ।
अपां बिलम् अपिहितं यदासीद् वृत्रं जघन्वाँ अप तद् ववार[27] ॥
(ṚV. 1.32.11)

[Guarded by Dāsas (engaged for the purpose, and) protected by Ahi (the Serpent in the form of the surrounding dam), the waters, (being) pent up by the Paṇi[28], stood (at rest) like kine (which, being) confined by a Paṇi, (are) guarded by Dāsas (emplyed for the purpose, and concealed by Ahi (the Serpent in the form of the surrounding wall);

the (huge) ditch of waters, which was closed, (Indra) exposed by striking down Vṛtra (the surrounding dam)].

प्र ते पूर्वाणि करणानि वोचं प्र नूतना मघवन् या चकर्थ ।
शक्तीवो यद् विभरा रोदसी उभे जयन्नपो मनवे दानुचित्राः ॥
(ṚV. 5.31.6)

[Thy ancient exploits I declare (and also) the new (ones), O Maghavan, which (thou) didst accomplish,

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27. This verse should be construed as follows : पाणिना निरुद्धाः दासपत्नीः अहिगोपाः गावः इव, अतिष्ठन् । यत् अपां बिलम् अपिहितम् आसीत्, वृत्रं जघन्वान् [इन्द्रः] तत् अप ववार ।

28. As '*ahi*' is the subject of √*gup* in 'ahi-gopāḥ', 'niruddhāḥ', in the Passive Voice, has 'paṇinā, as its Undeclared Subject (*anukta kartā*), because it was the Paṇi who made the said arrangements for confining and safely preserving a huge mass of water, possibly for agricultural and other purposes.

From the Words 'dāsa-patnīḥ' and 'ahi-gopāḥ', in which 'dāsa' is the subject of √pā (in '—patnīḥ') and '*ahi*' that of √*gup* (in '—gopāḥ'). So, 'dāsa' cannot be taken to mean Vṛtra, who is also called *Ahi*.

when, O mighty (one, thou) torest asunder both the (two) world-halves (viz., earth and heaven), winning the moistly-gleaming (?) waters for Manu (i. e., men) ]; and

तद् इन्नु ते करणं दस्म विप्राहिं यद् घ्नन्नोजो अत्रामिमीथाः ।
शुष्णस्य चित् परि माया अगृभ्णाः प्रपित्वं यन्नप दस्यूँरसेधः ॥
(*RV*. 5.31.7)

[ That was indeed thy exploit, O wonderful (and) wise (Indra), that, slaying Ahi, (thou) showedst here (thy) strength, controlledst thoroughly the wiles of Śuṣṇa, (and), waging war (or, drawing near), didst chase away the Dasyus].

त्वं ह तद् वृषभ चर्षणीनां घनो वृत्राणा तविषो बभूथ ।
त्वं सिन्धूँ रसृजस्तस्तभानान् त्वम् अपो अजयो दासपत्नीः ॥
(*RV*. 8.96.18)

[ Then wast thou, O chieftain of all living mortals, the very mighty slayer of the Vṛtras.

Thou didst set the obstructed rivers flowing (and) conquer the waters guarded by the Dāsas ].[29]

× × ×

अतश्चिद् इन्द्राद् अभयन्त देवा विश्वा अपो अजयद दासपत्नीः ॥
(*RV*. 5.30.5).

[.... .... .... Since then even the gods were afraid of Indra; he conquered all the waters guarded by the Dāsas[30] ].

It is to be noted that in the second of these verses there is mention of 'Paṇi'. Form the *Ṛg-Veda* we learn that the Paṇis as a class of traders were very ancient, so much so that they had come, like the Dāsa-Dasyus, to be looked upon by the Vedic people as mythical beings even in the early Ṛg-Vedic age, and the word '*vaṇij*' (meaning 'trader', merchant'), derived form their class-name

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29. Sāyaṇa interprets 'दासपत्नीः' in this verse as दासा उपक्षयितारः शत्रवः । ते पतयः स्वामिनो यासां ताः । .... असुरस्वामिकाः ।
30. Although Sāyaṇa and Veṅkaṭamādhava, and, following them Wilson, Griffith and many others, take 'dāsa' (in 'dāsa-patnīḥ') to mean Vṛtra, we should take this word to mean the people of the dāsa tribe as in *ṚV*. 1.32.11 and 8.96.18 quoted above.

'*paṇi*',[31] had already been in use in that hoary past, as the occurrence of this word in two Ṛg-Vedic verses[32] shows. As in the said verse (1.32.11) a Paṇi who must have been very rich and influential is said to have constructed a big dam for preservation of water and to have employed Dāsas as guards for its proper maintenance and also for its protection from enemies, he must have been thoroughly acquainted and very friendly with the latter and must have looked upon them as sufficienly trustworthy and dependable. So, a Paṇi must have been a non-Āryan and a Dāsa by origin.[33] Be a Paṇi, a Dāsa or not, the fact remains that Indra had to fight the Dāsa employees of the Paṇi for shattering Vṛtra Ahi (i. e., the serpentlike dam surrounding the pent up waters), and this fight was one of the first or earliest heroic exploits of Indra and occurred in the hoary past, long before the Ṛg-Vedic period.

But, although the Maruts appear in the *Ṛg-Veda* very often as Indra's host acompanying and following this god in war and peace, they are not found to take any prominent part in the latter's fight with or slaughter of the Dāsa-Dasyus. As a matter of fact, in none of the numerorus Marut-Sūktas in the *Ṛg-Veda* the Maruts are brought into connection with the Dāsa-Dasyus either as their friends or as their foes. In the Indra-Sūktas also, in which Indra's encounter with or slaughter of the Dāsa-Dasyus has been described or referred to in a very large number of verses or groups of verses scattered more or less over all the Books of the *Ṛg-Veda*, the mention of the Maruts' co-operation with Indra in these activities of his is remarkably rare. In ṚV 1.101. 1-2 and 5 Indra's driving the dusky brood away, his smiting down of Vyaṁsa, Śambara, and the unrighteous (*avrata*) Pipru, his extirpating of the insatiate Śuṣṇa, and his

31. Cf, Uṇādi-Sūtra 270—"पणेरिज्यादेश्च व:", [ "To √paṇ (meaning 'to barter') is added the affix *i/i* (>ij), and the initial '*pa*' is replaced by '*va*" ].

32. One of these two verses is *ṚV* 1.112.11—औशिजाय वणिजे दीर्घश्रवसे.... (....for the merchant Dīrghaśravas son of Uśij ....), and the other is 5.45.6.

33. Other evidences in favour of the Dāsa origin of a Paṇi will be found in Chap. I of our work entitled "*Ancient Traditions of Origin of the Śūdra* (*A Critical Study*)' which is nearing completion.

casting down of the Dasyus beneath his feet, have been mentioned as his exploits of the past, and the eulogists invoke 'Indra girt by the Maruts' to be their friend, but there is no express mention of the Maruts' taking any active part in the said exploits of Indra as his allies. Even in those few verses in which the Maruts have been associated with Indra in his war with the Dāsa-Dasyus, their function is very minor, not practically anything very different from that of the onlookers or cheerers. Thus, in ṚV 1.33.4 it is said that Indra though moving with his retinue the Maruts, *alone* (*ekaḥ*) slew the wealthy Dasyu with his bolt; in 3.47.4 the Maruts are said to have strengthened Indra against Śambara in winning cattle (*gaviṣṭau*); 3.49.2 says that Indra shortened the Dasyu's life 'with his warriors bold of spirit'; in 5.29.6 it is said that the Maruts glorified Indra, when the latter, with his thunderbolt, demolished ninety-nine castles of Śambara; and in 6.18.3 Indra is said to have subdued the Dasyus *alone* and *singly* (*ekaḥ*).

Very similar is the part played by the Maruts in Indra's fight with or slaughter of Ahi or Vṛtra. Although this exploit of Indra has been described or referred to very frequently throughout the *Ṛg-Veda*, the Maruts have been associated with it only on a very limited number of occasions, and that also often in a very superficial way. Thus, in ṚV 5.29.2-3 it is said that when the Maruts sang their song to Indra joyous with Soma-drink, the latter grasped his thunderbolt to slay Ahi; 5.30.6 says that to Indra, who *subdued* (*pra sakṣat*)[34] Ahi with wondrous powers, the Maruts *sing* their psalm of praise (*arcanty arkam*) and *pour* libations of Soma (*sunvanty andhaḥ*) to him; 3.47.4 says that the Maruts strengthened Indra at the time of his slaughter of Ahi; 1.52.4-5 and 15 say that the Maruts stood beside Indra and praised him during the latter's fight with and slaughter of Vṛtra; 1.80.11 says that when Indra, begirt by the Maruts, slew Vṛtra, both the worlds tremble in fear at his wrath; 3.32.4 says that the Maruts excited with song the meath-created strength of Indra, and the latter, being thus impelled to act, reached the vitals of Vṛtra; 3.34.3 says that Indra led his band (of the Maruts) and encompassed Vṛtra; 3.47.3 says that the Maruts, sharing in the Soma-drink, gave victory to Indra, and the latter slew Vṛtra; 8.76.2 says that with his Marut friends Indra

34. Note that Indra's subduing of Ahi was a matter of the past.

broke Vṛtra's head into pieces by means of his thunderbolt; 8.96.7-9 says that the Maruts stood by Indra in his fight with Vṛtra when all other gods left him; and so on. As a matter of fact, Indra's fight with and slaughter of Ahi or Vṛtra was absolutely a personal exploit of his and also a matter of the remote past, and the Maruts evidently being comparatively late intruders into the Vedic pantheon, had, in their origin, no connection with it. It must be for this reason that in *ṚV* 4.19.1 there is the statement that all the gods and both the worlds elected Indra, *alone* to slaughter Vṛtra; that in *ṚV* 1.165.6 and 8 Indra tells the Maruts that he slew Ahi Vṛtra with his own strength; and that in 5.30.6 it is said that the Maruts *praise* Indra and *offer* libations of him, because he *subdued* Ahi with his wondrous powers. As, from the statements about the Maruts occurring more or less in all parts of the *Ṛg-Veda*, it is evident that these deities had entered the Ṛg-Vedic pantheon much earlier than the Ṛg-Vedic hymns and verses on them were composed, and as, being people of comparatively very late ages, the Seers of the present Ṛg-Vedic hymns not rarely overlooked the high antiqutity of the story of Indra's Vṛtra-vadha and also the chronology of the origin of this story and the Maruts' entrance into the Ṛg-Vedic pantheon, thus making a *confusion* between the word '*vṛtra*' meaning 'foe'[35] and the name 'Vṛtra' of the demon of drought of the ancient tale, the comparatively late Dāsa-Dasyu enemies of the Aryans as well as the Maruts came to be associated with Vṛtra of the ancient tale (who is also called Ahi). In order to show the Dāsa-Dasyus' association with 'Vṛtra' we have already referred to some verses of the *Ṛg-Veda*.

35. A peep into the *Ṛg-Veda* brings to light the fact that like '*amitra*', '*śatru*' and '*dasyu*' the word '*vṛtra*' has been used in a very large number of places in this work as a synonym for 'enemy'. According to Sāyaṇa, '*amitra*', '*dasyu*' and '*vṛtra*' respectively mean '*asnigdha*' (unfriendly), '*upakṣapaṇakārī śatru*' (destructive foe), and '*āvaraka śatru*' (obstructive foe). (See, for instance, Sāyaṇa on *RV*. 10.83.3).

The said meaning for the word '*vṛtra*' points to the high antiquity of the story of Vṛtra (the demon of drought), so much so that even the early Ṛg-Vedic Aryans came to use the word '*vṛtra*' in general sense to mean 'an enemy', what Vṛtra really was to the Ṛg-Vedic people.

On the Maruts' association with the latter there are also a few verses. For instance, in *ṚV* 1.23.9 'the bounteous gods' (viz., the Maruts) are asked to strike down Vṛtra with Indra for their ally, and in 8.89.3, prayer is made to the Maruts to sing to Indra their song of praise, and to Indra, called 'Vṛtra-slayer', to slay the '*vṛtra*' i. e., 'foe' (cf. vṛtraṁ hanati vṛtrahā[36]).

That the Maruts, in their origin, were independent deities and had no connection with Indra, is further shown by the facts that in the very great majority of the Indra-Sūktas there is no mention of the Maruts and that most of the Marut-Sūktas are completely silent about Indra. The *Ṛg-Veda* also says clearly on several occasions that the association of the Maruts with Indra as their leader and master was a later development caused by particular circumstances.

From *ṚV* 1.170 and 171 we learn that originally the relation between Indra and the Maruts was very much strained and not at all friendly[37] and that the former was definitely against the worship of the latter by the Vedic people. Thus, in *ṚV* 1.170.2 sage Agastya, the Seer of the hymn (1.170) and the supporter of the Maruts' claim to divinity, is found to say : "Why, O Indra, dost thou intend to slay us ? The Maruts are the *brothers*[38], share with

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36. The word '*vṛtrahā*' is derived thus वृत्रं हतवान् इति वृत्र + √हन् + क्विप्; and it means ( one ) who *killed* Vṛtra ( in the near or remote past). As, thus, in the said expression, Vṛtra ( the demon of drought ) is said to have already been killed by Indra, the latter cannot be invoked to kill '*vṛtra*' if this word means that demon of drought.

37. *TBr*. 2.7.11.1 also refers to the conflict between Indra and the Maruts, saying that the bulls, consecrated by Agastya for the Maruts, were taken away by Indra, and that, as the Maruts, approached Indra, by raising their bolt (*vajra*), Indra and Agastya managed to pacify them by means of the Kayaśubhīya Sāman.

38. ·······इन्द्र·············भ्रातरो मरुतस्तव ।

The Maruts have never been called Indra's sons inthe *Ṛg-Veda* or elsewhere, although Keith says so on his *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 151. *ṚV* 1.100.5 says that in his battle against his foes Indra is 'strong with the Rudras (i. e. Maruts) as with (his

them [ the sacrificial offering ] in a friendly way; destroy us not *in war* (मा नः समरणे वधीः)". Agni, in in 1.170.5cd he says : "Indra, speak thou [in a friendly way] with the Maruts [and] then partake of the oblations [offered] in the proper season"; in 1.171.4 he narrates why he was compelled to allow Indra to enjoy the offerings prepared for the Maruts and apologises to them, saying : "I fled in terror from this mighty Indra, [my body] trembling in fear, O Maruts. Oblations meant for you had been made ready; these have we set aside; [for this] forgive us"; and in 1.171.6ab he conciliates Indra, saying : "Do thou, O Indra, guard the conquering heroes and rid thee of thy wrath against the Maruts". Agastya's pleadings on behalf of the Maruts and his attempts for bringing about a compromise between Indra and the Maruts became fruitful when, as the *Ṛg-Veda* says more than once, the Maruts gave up fighting and submitted to Indra and joined him as his allies in war (*śami*)[39], and as a reward, the latter accepted them as Vedic deities

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son) sons' ( स सूनुभिर्न रुद्रेभिर्ऋभ्वा........ ), thus implying that like loving sons, who never forsake their father at critical moments, the Maruts stand by Indra in his war with his enemies.

39. The *Ṛg-Veda* does not say expressly who the enemy or enemies of Indra was or were; but Griffith, in his note on his translation of *RV*. 1.87.5, says : "The Maruts obtained divine honours only as a reward for assisting Indra in his battle with the demon Vṛtra".

Except in *RV*. 1.165.6, in which the Maruts are said to have placed Indra alone in charge of slaying Ahi (i. e. Vṛtra), there is no express statement anywhere else that the Maruts forsook Indra during his fight with Vṛtra.

From a study of the relevant Ṛg-Vedic passages (viz., 1.65.6, 170.2 and 5, 171.4 and 6 and so on) we learn that, as Macdonell, Keith, and several others say, Indra's hostile attitude to the Maruts was due to these deities' forsaking Indra during his fight with Vṛtra. But we must not forget that this is merely a mythical reason given by the poet-priests for the conflict between Indra and the Maruts, who are mythical figures. So, we are in need of a historical explanation of this matter, and this is given in the following pages.

deserving offer of sacrifice. Thus, *ṚV* 1.6.4 says : "Then, aiming at *svadhā* (स्वधाम् अनु, i.e. for the holy food offered at sacrifices), (the Maruts) obtained again the state of a foetus (पुनर्गर्भत्वम् एरिरे, i. e., had a new birth), assuming the sacrificial name (Marut) (दधाना नाम यज्ञियम्)" and 1.87.5 says : "....When, praising (Indra, the Maruts) joined him in war (*śami*), then only they obtained (their) sacrificial names (आदिन्नामानि यज्ञियानि दधिरे)". In 8.12.29 also there is mention of the Maruts' humble submission to Indra.

From the above statements about the Maruts' assuming sacrificial names, only after submitting to and joining Indra as his allies against his enemy or enemies, it is evident that the Maruts were originally non-Vedic, or rather anti-Vedic and more particularly anti-Indra, deities, whose divinity and worship as Vedic deities were recognised by the Indra-worshippers, only after a long period of enmity.

It is highly interesting that this originally non-Vedic, or rather anti-Vedic or anti-Indra, character of the Maruts finds strong support in an ancient tradition which is now found to occur, with some variations here and there, in *Harivaṁśa* (Vaṅga. ed,) 1.3.123ff., *Viṣṇu-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) 1.21.226-240, *Brahma-p.* (AnSS. ed.) 3.109ff., *Vāyu-p.* (AnSS. ed.) 67.86-135, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* (Veṅk. ed.) 2.5.45-106, *Matsya-p.* (Vaṅga. ed.) chap. 7, *Padma-p.* (AnSS. ed,, Sṛṣṭi-kh.) 7.1-67, *Devī-Bhāgavata* (Vaṅga. ed) 4.3.21-55, etc. and is referred to by Sāyaṇa in commenting on *ṚV* 1.114.6, 1.166.2, etc. This story is as follows.

After Diti, a wife of Kaśyapa and the mother of the Daityas, had her sons and grandsons killed in a war between the gods[40] and the Asuras, she asked her husband for 'an immeasurably powerful *son capable of killing Indra.*[41] Kaśyapa agreed to grant her desired boon and said : "Your son will be the *killer of Indra,*

40. Ādityas (including Indra), according to the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍ-p.*

41 पुत्रमिन्द्रवधार्थाय समर्थममितौजसम्—*Hv.* 1.3.125 ab, *Viṣ.* 1.21.31 ab, *Br.* 3.111ed, *Mat.* 7.31 bc (v.l. 'शक्र'—for इन्द्र), *Pd.* (Sṛṣṭi-Kh) 7.32 ab (v. l. 'समृद्धम्' for 'समर्थम्), etc. See also *Vā.* 67. 89 ab, *Bḍ.* 2.5.49 ab—शक्रहन्तारं....पुत्रं.... *Bd.* 2.5.50 a—पुत्रमिन्द्रवधे युक्तम्.

if you bear the foetus (in your womb) for a hundred years[42] by following an austere life [and] scrupulously observing (the rules of) purity."[43] (Here the *Matsya* and the *Padma-p.* lack the said statement of Kaśyapa but have a few verses[44], in which it is said that at Diti's prayer for a very powerful son who would be '*the killer of all immortals* (सर्वामरनिषूदनगर्भ)[45] after Āpastamba had

42. For a thousand years (वर्षसहस्रम्) according to the *Bḍ* (2.5.52).

43. इन्द्रं पुत्रो निहन्ता ते गर्भं वै शरदां शतम् ।
यदि धारयसे शौचतत्परा व्रतमास्थिता ॥
*Br.* 3.113

See also *Hv.* 1.3.127 (v.l. 'सुतो'- for 'पुत्रो'- and 'शौचं' for 'शौच-' *Vis.* 1.21,32-33 (vl. शक्रं' for 'इन्द्रं' 'यदि गर्भं शरच्छतम्' for the second pāda, and समाहितातिप्रयता शुचिनी धारयिष्यसि for the second.

44. These verses, immediately following the line 'पुत्रमिन्द्रवधार्थाय etc.' (quoted in fn. 42 above), run as follows :
वरयामि महात्मानं सर्वामरनिषूदनम् ।
उवाच कश्यपो वाक्यम् इन्द्रहन्तारमूर्जितम् ॥
प्रादास्याम्यहमेवेह किन्त्वेतत्क्रियतां शुभे ।
आपस्तम्बः करोत्विष्टि पुत्रीयामद्य सुव्रते ॥
विधास्यामि ततो गर्भमिन्द्रशत्रुनिषूदनम् ।
आपस्तम्बस्ततश्चक्रे पुत्रेष्टिं द्रविणाधिकाम् ॥
इन्द्रशत्रुर्भवस्वेति जुहाव च सविस्तरम् ।
देवा मुमुदिरे दैत्या विमुखा स्युश्च दानवाः ।
दित्यां गर्भमथाधत्त कश्यपः ........
*Mat.* 7.32-36ab. See also *Pd.* (Sṛṣṭi-Kh.) 7.32cd-36 (cf. V. P. एतेन for एवेह in line 3; सुस्तनि for सुव्रते in line 4; स्पृष्ट्वाहं ते ततः शुभम् for इन्द्रशत्रुनिषूदनम् in line 5; भविष्यत्येव ते गर्भो दिवि इन्द्रनिषूदनः after line 5; इन्द्रशत्रो भवस्वेति जुहाव बहुविस्तरम् for line 7; and विमुखाश्चैव दानवाः for the second half of line 8).

45. This word may be analysed as इन्द्र एव शत्रुः (अर्थात् शातयिता) तस्य निषूदनम् (meaning 'the exterminator of the foe (or chastiser) in the form of Indra], इन्द्रस्य शत्रुः (शातयिता),

performed, at his wish, an extremely expensive 'Putrīya Iṣṭi' (Sacrifice meant for the birth of a son), in which the latter offered oblations into the fire with the Mantra इन्द्रशत्रुर्भवस्व[46], to the great delight of the gods and ofter disappointment of the Daityas and the Dānavas]. As Diti was ready to undergo all kinds of hardship for a son of her choice, Kaśyapa laid seed in her. But, unfortunately, Diti (who, according to the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* practised austerities at Kuśaplavana[47] made some lapses towards the end of the period, and Indra, who, being afraid of the enemy in his mother's womb, engaged himself to her service for an opportunity for killing the child, lulled her to sleep[48], entered her abdomen, and, with his thunderbolt, cut the foetus into seven parts But these parts were all alive and began to cry bitterly. So, Indra asked them not to cry, repeatedly saying "Don't cry", "Don't cry"

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तस्य निषूदनम् ('the extirminator of Indra's enemy or chastiser) or इन्द्रः शत्रुः (शातयिता) यस्य तस्य निषूदनम् (the extirminator of him whose foe or chastiser is Indra'). There is hardly any doubt that for misleading Diti Āpastamba used this word in the second sense with the requisite intonation.

46. The word 'इन्द्रशत्रुः', being taken as a Bahuvrīhi Compound, gives prominence to Indra over his foes as their chastiser. So, it is said to be the cause of delight of the gods.

The reading 'इन्द्रशत्रो', given by the *Padma-p.* is defective even thought it can be taken to give same sense as that of 'इन्द्रशत्रु' (a Bahuvrīhi Compound).

47. *Bḍ.* 2.5.55-56. The reading 'कुशलं वनम्' of the *Vāyu-p.* (67·94) is a mistake for 'कुशप्लवन' found in some of the manuscripts of the *Vāyu*. For 'कुशप्लवनम्' (a holy place) see also *Mbh* (Vaṅga. ed.) 3.85.36 (which has been given as spurious in the Poona cr ed.)

48. निद्रां च कारयामास *Hv.* 1.3.132; निद्रां चाहारयामास *Viṣ.* 1.21.37, *Br.* 3.118. But the readings 'निद्रयापहृता' of *Vā.* 67.100 and *Bḍ.* 2.5.65. and 'निद्राभरसमाक्रान्ता' of *Mat.* 7.54 and *Pd.* (Sṛṣṭ-kh.) 7.56 show that Diti's untimely sleep was natural and due to fatigue.

(मा रोदीः).[49] As thev did not stop crying, Indra got enraged and again cut each of these parts into seven. Finding all of them still alive (and evidently understanding that they were invincible and, consequently, taking a conciliatory policy), Indra made them (Vedic) 'gods' (*deva*)[50] entitled to have shares of Vedic sacrificial offerings[51], had them as his allies (*sahāya*), gave them the name 'Marut'.[52], and made them denizens of heaven. But Diti was not angry with Indra; she approved his attitude to the Maruts on the ground that, as the *Vāyu*-and the *Brahmāṇḍa-p.* say, 'there is nothing wrong in the slaughter of an enemy'[53]. [The *Matsya*-and the *Padma-p.* say that Indra pacified Diti by apologising to her saying : "This misdeed has been done by me by taking (my) stand on Arthaśāstra"[54] and that he gave the Maruts a poistion equal to that of the (Vedic) gods][55] .

The above Purāṇic story supplies us with the following interesting pieces of information about Indra and the Maruts;

(1) that, as Diti desired and Kaśyapa assured her, originally there was *only one child* (*warrior son*) in Diti's womb;

(2) that it was Indra who cut this warrior child into seven groups of seven deities each, and gave them the common name Marut;

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49. *Bḍ.* 2.5.70— मा रोद मा रोदः *Mat.* 7.58, *Pd.* (Sṛśṭi-Kh.) 7.60- मा रुदध्वम् Also *Mat.* 7.62-मा रुदत, *Pd.* (Sṛṣṭi-Kh) 7.68— मा रुद.
50. *Viṣ.* 1.21.40, *Hv.* 1.3.135-6, *Br.* 3.121, *Mat.* 7.61. *Pd.* (Sṛṣṭi-Kh) 7.63; *Vā.* 67.132.
51. मखभागिनः—*Mat.* 7.62; यज्ञभागभुजः—*Mat* 7.65, Pd. (Sṛṣṭi- 7.67; यज्ञभाजः—*Vā.* 67 132, *Bḍ.* 2.5.103.
52. *Viṣ.* 1.21.40, *Hv.* 1.3.136. *Br.* 3.121-2; *Mat.* 7.62, *Pd.* (Sṛṣṭi-Kh) 7.64, *Vā.* 67. 110 and 121, *Bḍ.* 2·5.90.55. *Mat.* 7.64, *Pd.* (Sṛṣṭi-Kh,) 7.66; *Bd.* 2.5.105.
53. शत्रोर्वधे न दोषोऽस्ति....-*Vā.* 67.109, *Bḍ.* 2.5.77.
54. अर्थशास्त्रं समास्थाय मयैतद् दुष्कृतं कृतम् *Mat.* 7,63, *Pd.* (Sṛṣṭi-Kh). 7.65.
55. कृत्वा मरुद्गणं देवैः समानम् अमराधिपः । ........ .... ...................... ॥ *Mat.* 7.64., *Pd.* (Sṛṣṭi-Kh.) 7.66. Also cf. *Va.* 67,134 *Bḍ.* 2.5. 103-5.

(3) that, being born from the same father but of different mothers, the Maruts and the Ādityas (including Indra) were stepbrothers and thus *cognate deities* and had, in their origin, the same status but a distant and strained relation, like that of unfriendly stepbrothers;

(4) that from their very birth the Maruts were bitter enemies of Indra and aimed at his life and position (and were consequentlly non-Vedic or anti-Vedic deities);

(5) that they were found invincible by Indra but were finally defeated in war and subjugated by the latter;

(6) that, *as a political move,* Indra accepted them as his subjects (*viś*) and allies, gave them recognition as Vedic deities, evidently of a lower position, under the common name Marut, and allowed them to have shares of the sacrificial offerings; and

(7) that, as Vedic deities, the Maruts were much younger than Indra and the other Ādityas.

It is highly relieving to find that all these pieces of information agree very remarkably with the Ṛg-Vedic statements mentioned above. As the Maruts could be accepted by Indra (i. e., by the Indra worshippers) as Vedic deities and allowed to have shares of sacrificial offerings, and as the Purāṇic tradition makes them stepbrothers of, and thus cognate with, Indra and the other Ādityas, they must have been Aryan deities belonging originally to the non-Vedic (or anti-vedic) and anti-Indra Aryans.

In ṚV 5.53. 8-9 the Martus have been addressed thus :

"आ यात महतो दिव आन्तरिक्षाद अमादुत । माव स्थात परावतः ॥
"मावोरसानि तभा कुभा क्रुमुर्मा वः सिन्धुर्नि रीरमत् ।
मा वः परि ष्ठात् सरयुः पुरीषिण्यस्मे इत् सुम्नम् अस्तु वः ॥"

"Hither, O Maruts, come from heaven, from mid-air, or from near at hand. Tarry not far away from us.

"Let not the Rasā, Anitabhā, Kubhā [and] Krumu [and] let not the Sindhu hold you back. Let not the watery Sarayu stand in your way. With us be all the bliss you give."

In the second of these two verses the river Rasā has been named together with the Anitabhā, Kubhā, Krumu, Sindhu and Sarayu; and in *ṚV* 10.75.6 the Rasā, Kubhā, Krumu, and a few other rivers (except Anitabhā and Sarayu) have been mentioned as

tributaries of the Sindhu. So, the Rasā mentioned in the said two verses as well as in *ṚV* 1.112.12, was a real river, and not a mythical one like the Rasā mentioned in a few other Ṛg-Vedic verses[56]; and as it must have originally been the same as the Ranhā mentioned in the Vendidad or derived its name from that of the latter, as its name has been made to precede those of the Kubhā and the Krumu in ṚV 5.53.9 (quoted) and 10 75.6 (referred to) above, and as in the latter of these two verses the Sindhu is said to have met its tributary Tṛṣṭāmā first of all (*prathamam*) and then the Susaryu, Rasā, Śvetyā, Kubhā, Gomatī, Krumu and Mehantu in it downward course to the sea, there can hardly be any doubt that the Rasā was an affluent of the Sindhu (Indus) in extreme north-west of the territory occupied by the Vedic Aryans in the Punjab. The Kubhā and Krumu, which are reasonably identified with the Kophen (or Kabul) and the Krumu respectively were the western tributaries of the Sindhu after the Rasā : and so also must have been the Anitabhā as well as the Sarayu which was certainly different from the Sarayu of Oudh[57]. Thus, the Rasā, Anitabhā, Kubhā, Krumu and Sarayu were all real rivers flowing into the Sindhu on its north-western and western sides. As, in the two verses (5.53.8 and 9) quoted above, the Maruts have not been invited as friends and benefactors to come to the land of the Vedic Aryans by crossing the rivers Rasā, Krumu, Anitabhā, Kubhā, Sindhu and Sarayu, but these rivers have been expected not to hold the Maruts back by obstructing their passage into the land of the Vedic people, these deities have been looked upon as well-wishing invaders coming from the north-west or west for their benefit. Although the north-western or western wind entering India in the winter is very cold and generally poor in moisture (and is thus like an unkind enemy), it is not absolutely undesirable, because, carrying some amount of moisture mainly from the Mediterranean Sea, it not rarely does good to the Vedic people by causing showers often light, which are highly conducive to the growth of winter crops in the Punjab and the neighbouring localities. So, in the said verses

56. Viz., *ṚV*. 5.41.15, 9.41.6, and 10.121.4. We shall see below that the river Rasā, mentioned in *ṚV*. 10.108.1 and 2, is very probably, the name of a real stream.

57. The name of the river is seldom (if at all) spelt as 'Sarayu'.

the Maruts have been presented as enemies of the Vedic people but not as absolutely undesirable and unwelcomed deities to them. Consequently, there is an indication that these gods were originally Aryan but belonged to the anti-Vedic Aryan people and came for the good of the Vedic people from the north-west or west of the tracts of land occupied by them. Now, from the Babylonian records referring to the Kassites, who invaded Babylon from the Iranian plateau in the east and reigned there approximately between 1700 and 1100 B.C. and whose language, as known to us at present, had no connection with Aryan or Indo-European, we learn that, during the rule of the Kassites in Babylonia and Iran in the second millennium B.C., there was a hybrid pantheon consisting of Asianic and Babylonian deities and also of some of those of the Indo-Europeans. These deities, as named in a list with their Babylonian equivalents, include 'Shuriash' (Babylonian 'Shamash', the Sun-god), who must be the same as the Vedic 'Sūrya', and 'Maruttash' (Babylonian 'En-urta', *alias* 'Ninurta' and 'Inurta')[58] who, as we shall see presently, later became the Indian 'Maruts' So, there is hardly any doubt that in Babylonia and Iran 'Maruttash' had become widely popular with a section of the Aryans much earlier than the beginning of the second millennium B. C.; otherwise, he would not be recognised by the Kassite rulers as one of their most prominent deities.

From the name of the Indo-European deity Maruttash and that of his Babylonian equivalent En-urta (*alias* Ninurta and Inurta) it is evident that, like Shuriash (the Vedic Sun-god Sūrya) and Buriash (who, also mentioned in the said list, was undoubtedly the same as Boreas, the Greek god of the north wind), Marruttash was an individual deity[59], who must have

58. Ghershman, *Iran*, pp. 64-65; Burrow, *Sanskrit Language*, p. 28; *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, p. 553.

59. In the *Cambridge History of India*, I, Chap. III (p. 67) the said name 'Maruttash' has been given as 'Marytas' which like the name 'Shurias', also given there, is undoubtedly that of an individual god and not that of a group of gods.

P. Giles, the editor of the said Chapter, is not sure that 'Marytas' means the 'Wind-gods' Maruts.

For a similar doubt caused by the singular number of 'Maruttash' and the plural of 'Maruts' see Burrow,

*Soskrit Language*, p. 28, and Keith in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, I, pp. 15 ff.

The fact that 'Maruttash' in the Babylonian records is the name of an individual god, whereas the word '*Marut*' has always been used in the Vedic and post-Vedic works in the plural number to mean a group of gods, need not present any difficulty in the way of identifying Maruttash with the Indian Maruts. We have already indicated and shall explain below elaborately why and how a single god of battles and of wind and rain was made into a group of gods in the Vedic religion.

The name 'Marutta' is very old. According to the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, there was, in ancient times, an extremely powerful king named Marutta (son of Avīkṣit), who, as *Mārk*, (Vaṅga. ed.) Chaps. 127-131 say, was born of a Gandharva princess and had his name from that of the Maruts who were invoked by Tumbura to favour him with their protection and blessings (*Mārk*. 127, 33-35). In *ŚBr*. 13.5 4.6 and *Mbh* 7.53.41 and 12.29.22 [=Poona cr. ed. Vol. 9, Appendix I, No, 8, lines 347.8 (p. 1089) and 12.29.19 respectively] the Maruts are said to have worked in King Marutta's palace as servers of food (parivestāḥ).

[In his English translation of the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* Eggeling renders 'parivestāraḥ' as 'guards-men'. But this rendering is not satisfactory—Cf. *Atharva-Veda* 9.6. 51—यत् परिवेष्टारः पात्रहस्ता : When the servers (of food), with drinking-vessels in their hands.... ....(Whitney), and 9.6. 53—यद् वा अतिथिपतिरतिथीन् परिविष्य.... — Verily when the lord of guests, after serving the guests, ........].

In Dravidian there is a word '*marutta*' which means 'medicine man' (*ZDMG*, 23, 518); and the *Ṛg-Veda* characterises the Maruts as possessors and givers of medicines (*bheṣaja*) and curers of diseases in more places than one (viz., 2.33.13, 5.53.14, 8.20.23-26).

For want of sufficient records it is not possible for us to say whether the Epic and Purāṇic King Marutta or the Dravidian word, '*marutta*' had any basic connection with Maruttash (or Marytas).

From the facts that the *Mārkaṇḍeya-p*. gives out King Marutta to be the son of a Gandharva princess, that the Maruts came to India from the north-west or west, and that among the present-day Pathans (the descendants of the ancient Pakthas, who have been mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda*) there is a tribe called the Marwats (i.e. Maruts) now living in the Marwat Tahsil of Bannu district (*Impe-*

been like his Babylonian equivalent En-urta (*alias* Ninurta and Inurta)[60], a warrior god armed with various weapons and being orginally a nature divinity associated with peasantry and with wind, rain, and growth of herbs, plants and food grains. We shall see below that in the *Ṛg-Veda* the Maruts are said to have possessed all these characteristic features. So, there can hardly be any doubt about the fact that Maruttash was the same as the Indian Maruts; and the identity of these deities is evident not only from the striking similarity of their names and character but also from the facts that, as has been said above, the Maruts came to India from the north-west or west (in which direction Iran is from India), that, according to the ancient Purāṇic tradition referred to above, there was originally only one god, being meant for deadly war against Indra and the other Vedic gods and thus being by birth an anti-Indra (i.e., anti-Vedic) warrior god, was severed by Indra into a number of parts, all of which survived as individual deities of the same age, appearance

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*rial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 394), it appears that Marutta was the name of an ancient deified ruler or chief of a (non-Vedic or anti-Indra) Aryan tribe, which came to be known as Marutta or Marut after their ruler or chief and in course of time became pro Vedic and pro-Indra like the Pakthas mentioned in the *Ṛg-Veda*.

60. En-urta was the most important and powerful of the deities, besides those of the two triads (viz., Anu-Enlil-Ea, and Sin-Shamash-Istar), which formed the Babylonian pantheon. Being, in his origin, a nature divinity controlling wind and rain, he governed, in the earliest Sumerian period, the annual floods and growth of animal life and vegetation and had the plough as his symbol. He was also a mighty war-god 'wise in combat, whose crushing force the countries of the earth cannot support'. In the Assyrian period he became the god of battles and had his plough replaced by different kinds of weapons of war including a bundle of maces and weapons with convex blades which he held in his right hand. At Kalah he carried a bow. As a hero he led the attacks; and he destroyed the wicked and the hostile, and fulfilled the heart's desire. The month of Duzu was the month consecrated to him. His great prominence as a powerful god led to his identification with or assimilation to the 'bel'-s (lords) of a few cities of Babylonia and to the assignment to him of a wife who had different names at different times and places, was the goddess of medicines, and dressed wounds and cured diseases.

and physical capacity and had the common name Marut, and that, ancient Iran being primarily an agricultural and stock breeding country, Maruttash enjoyed the respect and worship primarily of the agricultural and cattle-rearing people, or rather the anti-Vedic Aryan *Viś*, of Iran, just like the Indian Maruts, who had the Vedic Aryan *Viś* as their devotees. As Iran is mountainous and also has an extensive desert and many tracks of land where water is very difficult to procurc, the original connection of the Maruts with Iran seems to find support in the frequent mention, in the Ṛg-Vedic verses[61], of hills and mountains connected with these deities or affected by their great fury and terrible strength and in the mention, on two occasions, of desert place (*dhanvan*) where these deities caused showers (*vṛṣṭayaḥ-RV* 5.53.6) or poured down 'windless rain' (*miham........avātām-RV* 1.38.7). So, there is hardly any doubt that it was Maruttash of Iran who later became the Maruts of India.

It has already been said that Maruttash of Iran was an individual deity. So, the question arises as to why the Vedic Aryans of India made this single god into a group of deities describing Vedic sacrifice and why they gave this group the common name Marut.

From the *Ṛg-Vedic* statements referred to above and from the said Purāṇic story of the origin of the Maruts it is evident that Maruttash originally belonged to those non-Vedic or anti-Vedic (or rather anti-Indra) Aryans who settled, temporarily or permanently, in Iran after migrating from their ancient common home, that the Vedic-Aryan worshippers of Indra had often bloody warfare with those non-Vedic or anti-Vedic Aryans of Iran and the neighbouring places who were sincere devotees of the warrior god Maruttash, and that for a long time the former found the latter very powerful and invincible, but at last, getting the upper hand, forced them to submission as their allies of a lower status.

That originally the Maruts were extra-Vedic, and their inclusion in the Vedic pantheon was the result of the Vedic Aryans' prolonged warfare with their anti-Vedic enemies, is

61. *RV.* 1.37.7, 12; 39.5; 166.5, 168.6; 5.54.1, 5,9; 55.7; 56.4; 60.2,3; 61.19; 8.7.1, 2,4,5,14; and so on.

further evident from the fact that in the *Ṛg-Veda* and also in the post-*Ṛg-Veda* works the Maruts have been called '*viśaḥ*' (folk or subjects) or Vaiśyas, or associated with the (human) Vaiśyas as their presiding deities. Thus, RV 8.12.29 speaks of 'the (divine) *viśaḥ* (consisting) of the Maruts' (mārutīr viśaḥ); in 1.39.5 the '*viś*' of the Maruts is mentioned; in 3.34.2 Indra is called "the leader of the gods' *viśaḥ* (viz. the Maruts)" (viśāṃ daivinām........ pūrva yāvā); in 5.56.1 the invoking priest says : "The (divine) *viśaḥ* (consisting) of the Maruts I call down to-day from heaven" (viśo adya marutām ava hvaye divaḥ); in 7.56.5 the famous (divine) *viś* (i. e., the subject class) is expected to be one 'furnished with good heroes by the Maruts' (cf. सा विट् सुवीरा मरुद्भिरस्तु ), and in 9.58.7 Soma is asked to flow onward unreviled like the divine *viś* (consisting of the Maruts) (cf. पवस्वानभिशस्ता दिव्या यथा विट् ). The *Yajur-Veda-Saṁhitās* and the Brāhmanas often call the Maruts '*viśaḥ*' or '*viśaḥ*' of the gods'[62] and occasionally correct the 'Vaiśya' with the Maruts as his presibeding deities[63] in the Puruṣamedha Sacrifice, as described in the *Vājaśaneyi-Saṁhitā*, *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, a 'Vaiśya' is dedicated to the Maruts, who are his presiding deities[64]; the *Mahābhārata* says that, among the gods, the Ādityas are 'Kṣatriyas', the Maruts are '*viśaḥ*' '(i. e., Vaiśyas), the Aśvins are 'Śūdras', and the divine Aṅgirases are 'Brāhmaṇas'[65] and accorning to the Purāṇas the region of the Maruts is meant for those Vaiśyas who have lived by faithfully performing their own prescribed duties.[66] From a highly

62. See, for instance, *KS* 10.11 (17-19), and 37.3-5 (4-8), *KKS* 46.3 (p. 277, line 12)—विण्मरुत; *TS* 2.2.5.7, *KKS* 6 9 (p. 68, lines 15-16), *ABr.* 2.3 (p. 42), 2.4 (p. 44)– मरुतो वै देवानां विशः *KKS* 28. 6. p. 126, line 8)—दैवीर्विशो मरुतः; *ŚBr* 2.5.1 12—विशो वै मरुतो देवविशः...., 2.5.2.6, 24, 27, 35, etc.—विशो मरुतः or विशो वै मरुतः; and so on.
63. See for instance, *KS* 37.3 (4)—मारुतो वै वैश्य.
64. *VS* 30.5, *ŚBr.* 13.6.2.10, and *TBr* 3.4.1– मरुद्भ्यो वैश्यम्.
65. *Mbh* 12.208.23 cd.-24 (= Poona cr. ed. 12.201,22)—विशश्च मरुतस्तथा.
66. वैश्यानां मारुतं स्थानं स्वस्वकर्मोपजीविनाम्—*Bd.* 1.7.166 cd. For this line see also *Vā* 8.174 cd (v. l. स्वधर्मम् उपजीविनाम्, *Mārk.* 49.78 ab (v. l. स्वधर्मम् अनुवर्तताम्), *Viṣ.* 1.6.35 ab

interesting and significant story contained in the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* (2.3.7) we understand that the class of *viś* or Vaiśya consisted very considerably of such people of different ranks and tribes, both Aryan and non-Aryan, as being defeated in war or captured as war prisoners, were divested of their power and strength, brought, down to the same social level, and reduced to the status of *viś* (i. e., Vaiśays). This story begins thus :

देवासुरा संयत्ता आसन् । तान् देवान् असुरा अजयन् । ते देवाः पराजिग्याना असुराणां वैश्यम् उपायन् । तेभ्य इन्द्रियं वीर्यम् उपाक्रमान् ।[67]

["The gods and the Asuras were in conflict. The Asuras conquered the gods. The gods, being defeated, passed into the status of the Asuras' *viś* (follk or subjects, i. e. Vaiśyas). From them power and strength departed........"]

It is evident that, for speedy and sure solution of problems particularly relating to food and finance, the Vedic Aryans compelled their subjugated Aryan and non-Aryan enemies of different status and vocations to mix up with their *viś* and follow the duties of this class and the Vedic sacrificial religion; and as the number of the non-Aryans thus absorbed into the class of *viś* was evidently much greater than that of the defeated Aryans,[68] their inclusion in the Vedic fold led to a great pre-dominance of non-Aryan blood among the Vaiśyas. It was most probably for this mixed composition of the Vaiśya class, with a much greater number of non-Aryans in it, that, in his *Nāṭya-śāstra* 23.107cd-108 ab, Bharata prescribes, undoubtedly following a respectable ancient tradition, that under all circumstances the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas are to be made reddish—or yellowish-white[69] (*gaura*), and the Vaiśyas

(v. l.—स्वधर्मम् अनुवर्तिनाम्), *Kūr.* (ed. All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi) 1.2.67 ab (v. l. as in *Mārk.*), *Pd* (Sṛṣṭi-kh). 3.148 ab (v. l. as in *Viṣ.*) and so on.

67. *TS* 2.3.7.1. For this story see also *KS* 10.10. (14-16), but in it there is no mention of the gods' being reduced to the status of the Asuras' *viś*.

68. Being Aryan by birth these defeated persons might, on occasions, have the opportunity, establishing their position in the Vedic society as Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas in accordance with their respective duties and professions.

69. In *ṚV* 1.100.18 the Aryans have becn described as '*śvitnya*' as againt the *Kṛṣṇa* (dark-complexioned) Dāsa-Dasyus.

and the Śūdras are to be made dark (or deep blue,—*śyāma)* in complexion[70].

The above state of things regarding the class of *Viś* (or Vaiśya) among the Aryans finds strong support in some post-*Ṛg-Veda* Vedic works[71] which, in narrating the story of Prajāpati's creation of the four classes of men with the relevant stories, metres, gods and beasts, say that from Prajāpati' sbelly (*udara*), which is the receptacle of food ( *annadhāna* ) and is the procreative middle (*prajanana madhya*) of his body, the All-Gods ( *viśve devāḥ* ) were created and, after them, the Vaiśyas, whose deities the All-Gods are, that, being created from the procreative middle of Prajāpati's body, the All-Gods were the most numerous of the (Vedic) deities, and the Vaiśyas, whose mixed origin is indicated by their association with the All-Gods, who, being created after the most numerous of the gods, were more numerous than others, and who were to follow the duties of agriculture, cattle-rearing, trade and banking and also to pay taxes (*bali-kṛt*) to their rulers, became the main and inexhaustible sources of supply of food and finance, and that consequently, the Vaiśyas were 'to be eaten' (*ādya*, i. e., to be lived upon) by the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas. Thus, not only a king was free to seize upon the property of a Vaiśya according to the necessity of his state but also, with his permission, a Brāmaṇa and a Kṣatriya could utilise a Vaiśya's assets respectively for the performance of a costly sacrifice and meeting the needs of war, famine, and similar other crises.

Similarly, as the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa* say respectively, the Maruts have a common home and are brothers among whom there is no distinction between the senior and the junior[72] and Indra forcibly took a thousand (cows) from them,

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70. The relevant lines of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* are as follows :

    ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्चैव गौराः कार्याः सदैव हि ।

    वैश्याः शूद्रास्तथा चैव श्यामाः कार्यास्तु वर्णतः ॥

71. *TS* 7. 1.1.5, *JBr* 1. 69 (p. 31), *TMbr* 6. 1.10, etc. See also *ABr* 35.3 (7.29) for the position of, and the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas' treatment to, the Vaiśyas.

72. *RV* 5.87.4 – स चक्रमे···· निरुरुक्रमः समानस्मात् सदस···· (स = मरुद्गणः) 5.60.5 – अज्येष्ठासो अकनिष्ठास एते ···भ्रातरः 5.59.6 – ते अज्येष्ठा अकनिष्ठासः········अमध्यमासः (Sāyaṇa – सर्वप्रकारैः समाः)

'his own subjects' (svāṁ viśam), after announcing this to king Soma.[73] Thus, the position of the human *viśaḥ* (or Vaiśya) and the Maruts being identical to a great extent, the former deserved equation and connection with the latter, who, as we have already seen, are called, often and aptly, the divine *viśaḥ*, or Vaiśyas.

Although, from what has been said above, it is evident that the non-Vedic or anti-Vedic Aryans' defeat in war was a potent cause for recognition of the Maruts as Vedic gods following Indra and deserving share of Vedic sacrificial offerings, there seem to have been other serious reasons, stated below, for which the Maruts had to be accepted by the Vedic Aryans as their sacrificial deities and these deities came to attain wide popularity with the Vedic people.

It has already been said that the Maruts, as presented in the *Ṛg-Veda*, are basically the winds, stormy or otherwise, which are born of and move, as their forerunners, with the rain clouds and bring rain and thunder in their train. Repeated statements have been made in this Veda,[74] about the rainfall, light or heavy, caused by the Maruts in different places such as pastures, deserts, etc., and for this these deities have been invoked in a good number of hymns with great earnestness and sincere love and devotion. The showers sent down by them are said to be productive of imperishable seed

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73. *TMbr.* 21. 1.1—इन्द्रो मरुतः सहस्रम् अजिनात् स्वां विशं सोमाय राज्ञे प्रोच्य, तस्माद् राज्ञे प्रोच्य विशं जिनन्ति····

[Indra took per force a thousand ( cows ) from the Maruts, his own subjects, having announced this to King Sōma. Therefore, they oppress the subjects after having announced it to the King........]. See also Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* 5.2

74. *ṚV* 1.37.10 (mentioning heavy showers in pastures, so that the cows may walk knee-deep), 38.7 (on windless rain even in desert places); 5. 53. 6 (mentioning rain floods flowing over desert places); 1.36.8-9, 64.2 85.4 and 5 (said to moisten the earth, like a skin, with floods of water), 87.2; 2.34.2; 3.26. 4-5 and 13; 5.53.2, 5; 10 and 14, 54.3 and 8, 55.5, 57.4 (said to be wrapped in robes of rain) and 5 (said to be rich in drops), 58.3, 59.5 (making, with floods of rain, the Sun's eye fade away) and 7; 7.58.1; and so on.

of food grain[75] and also medicine (i. e. medicinal plant—*bheṣaja*— 5. 53.(4), and thus to sustain life of the Vedic people as well as that of their domestic animals. So, rain-water has at times been called milk (*payas*)[76] and the rain-clouds the milch-Kine(*dhenavaḥ*)[77] and as with rain the Maruts make the earth productive of corns and medicines, a poet-priest, in praising these gods, once says : "Even Earth has spread herself wide at their coming, and they as husbands have impregnated her with power........" (ṚV 5.58.7). The Maruts' function as givers of food is very prominent in the *Ṛg-veda*, so much so that, as has been said above, the Maruts are said in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* to have worked as servers of food (*pariveṣṭāraḥ*) in King Marutta's palace. So the Maruts are evidently deities primarily of the agricultural and cattle-rearing people. As a matter of fact, in Iran, from where the Maruts were first derived by the Vedic Aryans of India, Maruttash who was the source of origin of the Maruts and must have been a very important and popular deity, as his inclusion in the hybrid pantheon in Babylonia and Iran during the rule of Kassite shows, was worshipped by a heroic people primarily following agriculture and cattle-breeding for their livelihood. In the *Ṛg-Veda* the Maruts have been presented as extremely heroic, powerful and invincible deities capable of giving all-round protection to their votaries both in war and peace and also great prosperity and offspring. So, there must have already been traditions about the great liberality of Maruttash in giving rain, food, wealth and progeny, and also about his dependable heroism; and, consequently, coming with the vanquished Aryans of Iran, this god in his new form of the Maruts easily attained wide popularity with all grades of the Vedic people and made a position among them as being extremely powerful but highly benevolent and friendly.

We have seen above that both Maruttash of Iran and the Maruts of India were primarily the deities of the agricultural and

75. In this verse, due to the separate mention of '*āpaḥ*' ('waters') and '*bheṣajam*', which are objects of the ground ('*vṛṣṭvī*') (meaning 'showering'), the latter should be taken to mean 'herb', as Wilson has done in his translation of the *Ṛg-Veda*. Cf. *ṚV* 6,52.6, in which Parjanya (Rain Cloud) is said to bring health with herbs (ओषधीभि:).

76. *ṚV* 1.64.5, 6; 1.166.3; 5.60.5; etc.

77. *ṚV* 2.34.5; 5.55.5; etc.

cattle-rearing people. But, as Maruttash was the god of the vanquished non-Vedic or anti-Vedic (or rather, anti-Indra) Aryans of Iran, the victorious Vedic (or pro-Indra) Aryans of India lowered his position as well as that of his votaries to the position of the *Viś* (folk or subject, i.e, Vaiśya) among the Vedic gods and the Vedic people respectively. Now, as we have already seen, the class of *Viś* among the Vedic Aryans consisted not only of the Vedic-Aryan *viśaḥ* but also of such people of different tribes, positions and vocations as, being defeated or captured in war, were reduced to the same social status and compelled to follow mainly agriculture and cattle-rearing for their livelihood. So, in consideration of the facts that the class of *Viś* had a great numerical strength, that the members of this class were all of equal status but had different religious faiths, and that it was the *viśaḥ* who formed their King's army men and fought for him in the field of battle (cf. *ṚV* 6.26.1), Maruttash was made into a group of deities (very much like the All-Gods—*viśve devāḥ*, who, according to the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*, *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa*, *Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa*, etc.[78] are the gods of the *Viśaḥ* or Vaiśyas), lowered to the position of *Viś* (or Vaiśya), and given a similar but new name 'Marut', which, in its plural form 'Marutaḥ' (i.e,, 'Marutas'), which is clearly formed in imitation of and based on 'Maruttash', might be used for all these new gods and by which all of them might be offered sacrifice by the Vedic people. So, this new name has been called a sacrificial one (*yajñīya nāma*) in two *Ṛg-Vedic* verses referred to above.

Being most needed and desirable gods and thus having attained wide popularity among the Vedic people the Maruts, in spite of their non-Vedic origin and their original position as Viś among the Vedic gods, came to be classed with the great gods of the *Ṛg-Veda*, to be associated, like Indra, with the tribe of the Bharatas[79] and to be offered sacrifice with Soma juice more than once a day with the use of the word *'svāhā'* (7.59.6)[80] as in the case of the

78. See *TS* 7.1.1.5, *JBr* 1.69 (p. 31), *TMbr* 6.1.10, etc.
79. See *RV* 2.36.2, in which the Maruts are called 'Bharata's sons' (भरतस्य सूनवः), and 5.54.14, in which the Maruts are said to have said to have given Bharata (भरताय) a horse as his strength.
80. We shall explain later why, in the post-Ṛg-Vedic ages, the use of the word *'svāhā'* ('hail') was denied in the case of the offerings made to the Maruts.—See *ŚBr* 4.5.2.17.

other great Vedic deities. Sāma songs also were sung in praise of them.[81] So, there is hardly any doubt that in the Ṛg-Vedic period the Maruts came to attain a position of very high respect as genuine Vedic gods among the Vedic people. As, thus, these deities, though classed as Viśaḥ of the Vedic gods, could improve their position very much by dint of their own merits, and as their non-recognition as Vedic deities was sure to affect the Vedic society very seriously, a story was fabricated and introduced into the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (2 5 1.12-16), stating how they compelled Prajāpati (who is the same as the Vedic sacrifice) to offer to them a cake on seven potsherds for the safety of the creatures created by him.

In spite of the unquestionable friendliness and great benevolence of the Maruts, these deities were not unmixed blessings to the Vedic Aryans. As storm-gods and gods of rain they were not rarely objects of terror to these people. Being fierce and vigorous[82] terrible like wild beasts in their strength[83], impetuous like a wild bear (*ṛkṣa*, 5.56.3), and extremely wrathful like serpents[84] the Maruts, the giants of the sky (1.86.1), often rushed forward like wild boars with tusks of *ayas* (bronze or copper,—1.88.5) or like creatures drunk with wine (1.39.5), spreading darkness at daytime by means of the water-laden rain-clouds (1.38.9), roaring mightily like lions (1.64.8, 3.26.5), making the earth tremble in terror like the hem of a garment[85], or 'like an age-weakened lord of men'[86], shaking and bringing down mountains[87], throwing stones[88], stirring and shattering woods[89], uprooting and consuming trees like wild elephants (1.64.7), blowing away shrubs in high speed (1.166.5), terrifying every creature (1.39.6, 85.8) and making them tremble (1.69.3), scattering clouds about the sky (1.19.7),

81. See *Sāma Veda* 2.2.2.7 (=*RV* 1.6.7, 4 and 5), 2.7.3.12 (=*RV* 1.86.8), 2.9.1.8 (*RV* 8.94.4–6), etc.
82. *ṚV* 1.37.4, 38.7, 64.12, etc.
83. *ṚV* 2.34.1, 5.56.3, etc.
84. *RV* 1.64.8-9; also 7.56.8, 58.2; etc.
85. *RV* 1.37.6; also 1.39.1, etc.
86. *RV* 1.37.8, 87.3, etc.
87. *RV*. 1.37.12; also 1.37.7, 39.5, etc.
88. *RV* 5.54.3; also 1.172.2, etc.
89. *RV* 1.88.3, 5.57.3, 58.6, 60.2, etc.

inundating the earth with floods[90], casting men down (1.37.12), and taking their life as well as that of their cattle with their bolt or lightning shaft 'armed with its gory teeth like a well-aimed dart.[91] So, prayers were repeatedly made to them by their worshippers to avert their blazing shaft from them and to see that their ill-will (*durmati*) did not reach them (7.56.9) and their bolt or blazing dart which kills men and cattle was far away from them (7.56.4,17). These violent and destructive activities of the Maruts formed a prominent aspect of their character which is in full conformity with their natural basis and has been set forth in many of the Ṛg-Vedic verses, mostly for presenting these deities as extremely powerful and thoroughly capable of meting out reward and punishment to all and, thus, wholly dependable under all circumstances. As in setting their whole dread power in motion they profusely soaked the earth and made people happy (1.169.3-6), this aspect of their character did not lower their position in public eye and make them unpopular but enhanced their glory all the more.

**Rudra's association with the Maruts**

The position of high regard and respect, which the Maruts came to attain among the Vedic people through their association with Indra, was very different from that of Rudra as a Vedic god. It has already been said that the Maruts were offered sacrifice with Soma juice more than once a day, and Sāmans were sung in praise of them; but, as has already been said and will be shown below, Rudra in the *Ṛg-Veda* was not a Soma-drinking god, nor was any Sāman sung in his honour, even though he is repeatedly said to be the father and, on two occasions, the progenitor of the Maruts. There is not even a single Ṛg-Vedic verse in which Rudra, though often said to be the father of the Maruts, has been brought into connection with Indra either as a friend or as a foe of his ; and there is no indication anywhere in this work that the host of the Maruts, when associated with Indra as his retinue, included Rudra among them[92]. There is also no statements in the *Ṛg-Veda* as to

90. *ṚV* 1.38.9, 85.9; 5.54.8; etc.
91. Cf. *ṚV* 7.56.4, 1; 1.166.6.
92. It is true that in ṚV 10.64.8, which is evidently a comparatively late verse, Rudra has been mentioned as '*rudriya* (i. e. *rudra-karm-ārha*—fit for doing terrible acts) among the Rudras, i. e., Maruts' (रुद्रं रुद्रेषु रुद्रियम्), but we

why the Maruts, *alias* Rudras, if they had been associated with Rudra as his sons and followers earlier than with Indra, excluded Rudra from their group when they become Indra's followers, and Rudra, being the father of the Maruts, was not brought into touch with Indra. While the Maruts are implored by their worshippers in *RV* 1.86.9, to strike the demon (*rakṣas*) with their brilliant lightning shaft (*vidyutā*), and, in ṚV 1.86.10, to drive far from them each devouring fiend (*atriṇam*)[93], Ṛg-Vedic Rudra is nowhere found to chastise or kill any demon, be he a Rakṣas, an Atrin, a Yātudhāna, a Kimīdin, or anything else, although this god is presented in the Ṛg-Veda as extremely violent and malevolant and relentlessly murderous of the Vedic people and their cattle and destructive of their Vedic sacrifices together with the patrons and institutors of these rites. We have already seen that in spite of their occasionally violent and destructive activities, the Maruts were looked upon by the Vedic people as their friends and benefactors. As a matter of fact, in *RV* 1.52.9 these deities are said to be faithful to mankind and to be "Indra's helpers for the good of men". They are friends of men (3.26.5) and have friendly relationship and a feeling of brotherhood with their worshippers (10.64.13) who are said to invoke them by their 'dear names' till they are satisfied (7.56.10).

Besides the above differences in nature and activities between Rudra and the Maruts there are also a few others, which may be mentioned here. We have already seen that to the Vedic people the Maruts are the generous givers of food grains, whereas Rudra is the cruel looter and destoyer af these; the natural basis of the

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cannot overlook the fact that there is no mention of Indra in the first eleven verses of this Sūkta (10.64). So, in the said verse the Rudras (i. e., Maruts) have not been presented as the followers of Indra.

[For the meaning of 'रुद्रिय' (derived from 'रुद्र' with the Taddhita suffix 'घ') *TS.* 1.2.11.2 या ते रुद्र रुद्रिया तनूः....
(in which Sāyaṇa takes 'रुद्रिया' to mean 'क्रूरा' and Keith renders it as 'dread'), But we cannot take 'रुद्रा' to be synonymous with 'रुद्रिया']

93. Sāyaṇa interprets 'अत्रिणम', as 'अत्तारं राक्षसादिकम्' or पुरुषार्थस्यात्तारं कामक्रोधादिकं सर्वम्'

Maruts is much more prominent than that of Rudra, who appears in the *Ṛg-Veda* mostly as an ordinary human being of flesh and blood, or rather a demon of great ill-will, and whose natural basis has been blurred seriously but not completely; being the leader of the Marud-gaṇa, Indra is called Gaṇa-pati (*ṚV* 10.112.9), but not Rudra (who, thus, must have had no previous connection with the Maruts); and so on. That originally the Maruts were not associated with Rudra, is also evident from a few verses of the *Ṛg-Veda*, such as *ṚV* 1.43. 1-3, in which Agni is asked to bring and worship the gods Indra, Vāyu, Brahmaṇspati, Mitra, Agni, Pūṣan, Bhaga, Ādityas, and the Māruta Gaṇa, but not Rudra (who is not mentioned in these verses), and *ṚV* 5.41.2, in which the Maruts are classed with Mitra, Varuṇa and others but not with Rudra. Here we should not overlook the fact that although the *ṚgVeda* contains a good number of hymns (such as 1.6, 1.67, 1.171, etc.) in which the Maruts have been praised conjointly with Indra, there is not even one which extols these deities with Rudra.

From what has been said above about the nature and activities of Rudra and the Maruts it is evident that in his origin the former was an independent deity and had no connection with the latter and that he came to be associated with these deities much later than their association with Indra[94] (otherwise it is not possible for us to explain satisfactorily how, being said to be the father and progenitor of the friendly and benevolent Maruts, he could be stamped out as an extremely cruel and malevolent god and why, unlike the Maruts, he was deprived of the privileges of Soma drinks and Sāma songs from the very beginning). So we are to account for Rudra's association with the Maruts as their father and leader and not with any other Vedic god.

We shall see on a different occasion[95] that Rudra was originally an outstanding non-Aryan deity, whom some pre-Ṛg-Vedic Aryan people (who were undoubtedly pro-Vedic) were compelled to accept for worship in order to earn his favour and, thus,

94. It must be due to this reason that, as has already been said above, the *Ṛg-Veda* contains a few hymns praising the Maruts together with Indra but not even one in which these deities have been extolled together with Rudra.

95. In our article entitled "The Source or Origin of *Ṛg*-Vedic Rudra" to be published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.

to get rid of the terrible atrocities perpetrated by him (i.e., by his, undoubtedly non-Aryan, worshippers) on these people. That, even after his acceptance by the Vedic Aryans, Rudra was not a much respected god in the Ṛg-Vedic pantheon and that his position as a Vedic deity was sufficiently low, are evident from the facts that he was never allowed the privilege of drinking Soma in any Vedic sacrifice and no Sāman was sung in his praise, although even the Ṛbhus, whom the *Ṛg-Veda* itself gives out to be originally human beings raised to divinity by their extra-ordinary skill in chariot-making and other works of art[96], and the Aśvins, whom the *Mahābhārata* calls Śūdras, were offered sacrifice with Soma juice without the least hesitation or objection, and the latter were also honoured with Sāma songs. This attitude of the Ṛg-Vedic people to Rudra shows that originally he was a highly dreaded god, whom the early Ṛg-Vedic people took up for worship much more out of a feeling of fear than that of love and respect. We have already given accounts[97] of the maleficent activities of Rudra on the basis of the statements made about him in the *Ṛg-Veda*, in which he appears for the first time as a Vedic deity. Although the Ṛg-Vedic statements forming the basis of these accounts must have been made much later than Rudra's first entrance into the Vedic Pantheon, there is hardly any doubt that before his acceptance by the Vedic people as a deity of theirs, he was a no-less cruel and mischievous god, whom the Vedic people must have looked upon with great dislike, fear and hatred. So, Rudra's attainment of a place among the Vedic gods was not an easy matter. From the very few (only five) Ṛg-Vedic hymns in which Rudra has been extolled individually or jointly and from the small number of verses contained in these hymns it is evident that originally the Aryan supporters of Rudra's godhood were very limited in numbers. The foreign and non-Aryan origin of Rudra and his hated activities must have stood so adversely in the way of his attaining popularity among the Vedic people that even after his recognition as a Vedic god his position was not all enviable, very

96. See, for instance, *ṚV* 1.110.3-4; 3.60.1-7; 4.33.3-4, and so on.
97. In our articles entitled 'An overlooked aspect....' (pp. 348-371) and Ṛg-Vedic Rudra....' (pp. 335-347)

few of the privileges enjoyed by the Vedic deities being allowed to him and the number of his sincere votaries, who appear to have respected him mainly out of fear, being highly limited. We have already seen that Rudra was not only a relentless killer of the Vedic people and their cattle and an avowed destroyer of their sacrificial rites as of the patrons and institutors of these but also an extremely unsocial god who was highly intolerant of the Vedic deities. So, the first Aryan supporters of his godhood must have faced insurmountable difficulties in making room for him in the Vedic pantheon. It appears that, for giving him a Vedic stamp and, thus, making his entrance into the Vedic fold easier, they thought it advisable to associate him with the Maruts as their father and progenitor, and for this association there were a number of reasons, which may be stated as follows :

(1) Both Rudra and the Maruts were, in their origin, outlandish, and consequently hated deities, although the latter belonged to non-Vedic (or rather, anti-Vedic or anti-Indra) Aryans.

(2) Being originally connected with storm, thunder and rain both Rudra and the Maruts had a number of features, mostly destructive, common to them.

(3) As Rudra was capable of accomplishing terrible acts much more than the Maruts (cf. रुद्रं रुद्रेषु रुद्रियम् ṚV 10.64.8)[98] he rightly deserved to be their father and leader.

(4) Although the position of the Maruts as Vedic deities improved very much in course of time, it was certainly not so at the time of, and even for a considerable period after, their entrance into the Vedic fold, when they were looked upon as divine Viśaḥ or Vaiśyas and assigned a considerably low position; consequently, the Maruts were most suited for association with Rudra, and there would be little possibility of any objection being raised against this association.

(5) As the Maruts were already recognised as Indra's faithful and beloved allies and followers, Rudra's association with them as their father and leader would place Rudra in a friendly relation with, and thus make him immune from any antagonism from or

98. For our interpretation of 'रुद्रियम्', see fn. 95 above.

conflict with, Indra, the most popular and powerful god of the Vedic pantheon.

From the mention of Rudra's said relation with the Maruts throughout the *Ṛg-Veda* it is evident that this relation had its beginning much earlier than most of the extant Ṛg-Vedic hymns were composed and that the Vedic people accepted it without any open objection. We shall see on a different occasion that this acceptance was a matter of compulsion and not more option, and there were serious political reasons behind it.

It has already been said that in none of the five Sūktas in which Rudra has been praised individually or jointly there is any mention of the word '*rudra*' either as an epithet of the Maruts or as the name of a group of deities, whoever they may be, although the name 'Marut' for Rudra's sons and associates occurs in a few verses. So, the Maruts must have been given the epithet '*rudra*' after Rudra's association with them, most probably because, as stormy winds bearing the rain-clouds, the Maruts also were roarers and the epithet '*rudra*' for these deities would bind them closer to Rudra It is to be noted that, although the Marut's howling, shouting or roaring has been mentioned in a good number of Ṛg-Vedic verses with the use of the roots '*tan*' '*nad*' '*stan*', '*svan*' etc., there is not a single instance in which the root '*ru*' or '*rud*' has used for the purpose. So, the Maruts must have derived their epithet '*rudra*' from Rudra and not *vice versa*, because in that case there would be every possibility of Rudra's enjoying at least some of the privileges allowed to the Maruts and the *Ṛg-Veda* would mention his original and principal name, of which his present one would be an epithet. From the mention of '*rudra*' as an epithet of the Maruts throughout the *Ṛg-Veda* it is evident that these deities had attained this epithet long before the extant hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda* were composed.

It is a fact that by his association with the Maruts, Rudra was able to earn the Vedic people's recognition as a Vedic god; but the position of the Maruts was affected considerably by it. As Rudra was a god mostly of demoniac activities so far as the Vedic people and their sacrificial rites and properties were concerned, the Maruts following him could not be expected to be better. As a matter of fact, in *RV* 1.122.1 (construed and translated above by

us) the Maruts have been presented as Rudra's accomplices in looking or destroying the food materials of the Vedic people, and in 7.46.4 there is an indication[99] that these deities took part in Rudra's killing the said people or binding them up (evidently for carrying them off as captives). The *Ṛg-Veda* contains a few more verses in which the Maruts have been desired to keep off from their worshippers the monstrous foe (*abhya*) sent by them (1.39.8) and also their 'blazing shaft' (*didyu didyut,* i.e., lightning), their 'ill-will' (*durmati*) and their 'cow-killing (and) man-killing weapon' (*gohā nṛhā vadhaḥ*).[100] Although besides cows, the Vedic people had also horses, goats, rams, ewes, etc. as their domestic animals, the mention of only cows as targets of the Maruts' deadly weapon indicates that these deities did not do this mischief merely in their capacity as natural phenomena, because, in that case, only cows could not be made the victims of their weapon, but they (i.e., their worshippers) were sworn enemies of the Vedic people like their father and leader Rudra. We shall see on a different occasion[101] that Rudra's character as a highly despotic war-lord, which had its beginning from a comparatively late Ṛg-Vedic period with his connection with the north and with the Mūjavat mountain, became much more prominent in the post-Ṛg-Vedic days, with the result that he became a much more dread as well as disliked and hated god. But as the Maruts had already attained great popularity among the Vedic people as very friendly and benevolent deities, their votaries must have disliked the idea that their 'dear[102] deities should go down in public opinion with Rudra. So, as we have already seen, the howling and turbulent Maruts, called 'Rudras', were distinguished from the friendly ones and attached to Rudra as his worthy followers, and thus, in course of time, a distinct class of secondary deities called Rudras came into being and gradually fell in public opinion with their leader Rudra due to their increasingly terrible acts (cf. रुद्रं रुद्रेयु रुद्रियम्—*RV* 10.64.8).

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99. Note the pronoun 'यूयम्', which has evidently been used for Rudra together with the Maruts. (See Sāyaṇa's commentary "हे रुद्रप्रमुखा देवाः यूयम् .... ....")
100. *RV* 7.57.4, 7.56.9 and 7.56.17.
101. In our work entitled "*Rudra in the Post-Rg-Veda Vedic Works*" which is nearing completion.
102. Cf. *RV* 7.56.10 प्रिया वो नाम हुवे तुराणाम्........

It is a fact that in the post-Ṛg-Vedic days the Maruts were lowered very much from their respectable position as Vedic deities, and for this their association with Rudra was certainly responsible to a great extent. But there was a more serious reason, which is stated below.

From a study of the *ṚgVeda* we learn that competition between *brahma* and *kṣatra*, i.e., between the mystic (or holy) power of the Brāhmaṇas and the ruling (or lordly) power of the Kṣatriyas, for supremacy in all spheres of life social, religious and political, began in the Ṛg-Vedic age with the growing importance of the Purohita, who, representing *brahma* was a Brāhmaṇa, and in course of time the Brāhmaṇas totally ignored the human rulers' control over them and declared themselves to be the subjects of King Soma. Thus in announcing the new king to his people in the Rājasūya ceremony, the Adhvaryu priest says : "This, O Bharatas, is your king, Soma is the king of us Brāhmaṇas."[103] According to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*[104] it was only the Brāhmaṇas who were 'eaters of (remnants of sacrificial) oblation' (*hutādaḥ*) and were entitled to drink Soma, and not the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas. As Indra and Varuṇa, being called Kings in the *Ṛg-Veda* and thus representing '*Kṣatra*', were Kṣatriyas, and the Maruts, being members of the Viś, were Vaiśyas, the Brāhmaṇas became reluctant to attach too much importance to them as gods, and thus they dwindled in course of time.[105]

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103. *TS* 1.8.10.2 and 1.8.1 2.2एष वो भरता राजा सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा· See also *KS* 15.7(14) | v. 1.-ते जनते (for 'वो भरता:'), *MS* 2.6.9 (25)-v. 1. as in *KS*; *VS* 9.40-वोऽमी (for 'वो भरता:)· Also *ŚBr* 5.4.2.2-v.l. as in *VS*.

104. *ABr* 34.1 (7.19) at pp. 860-1, and 35.2.3 (7.28-29) at pp. 879-82.

105. **Abbrevations, used above, are the following :**

ABr = *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (ed. 'AnSS, 1930-31). *Bḍ* = *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*. *Br.* = *Brahma-purāṇa*. Ed. = Edition, or edited by. Fn = Footnote. *Hv.* = *Harivaṁśa*. *JBr* = *Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* (Nagpur ed.). *JUP* = *Journal of the University of Poona*. Kh. (as in 'Sṛṣṭi-Kh.) = Khaṇḍa. KKS = *Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhita* (ed. Raghu Vira. 1932). KS = *Kaṭha-Saṁhitā* (ed. Svādhyāya-Maṇḍala, 1943). *Kūr* = *Kūrma-purāṇa* (ed. All-India Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi). *Mārk* = *Mārkaṇ-*

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*ḍeya-purāṇa*. *Mat* = *Matsya-purāṇa*. *Mbh.* = *Mahābhārata*. *MS* = *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā*.-p. (as in 'Brahma-p') = -purāṇa. *Pd* = *Padma-purāṇa*. Poona cr. ed = Poona critical edition (published by the BORI, Poona). *ṚV* = *Ṛg-Veda*. *ŚB*, = *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* (ed. Acyuta-grantha-mālā, Varanasi). *TBr* = *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* (ed. AnSS, 1934-8). *TMbr* = *Taṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa* (ed. Chowkhamba, 1935-36). *TS* = *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā*. *Vā.* = *Vāyu-purāṇa*. Vaṅga = Vaṅgavāsi Press (Calcutta), Veṅk = Veṅkaṭeśvara Press (Bombay). *Viṣ,* = *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*. *VS* = *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press ed., 1929).

# THE INTERPRETATION AND HISTORY OF TWO ANCIENT VEDIC GĀTHĀS, AND THEIR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INTEREST*

The Vedic literature has been studied with great interest and enthusiasm by innumerable scholars, both ancient and modern, and native and foreign, but in spite of their serious attempts to find out the right interpretation of the Vedic texts, there are numerous passages in the Vedic works which are still obscure to us or which, though appearing to be easy, have not yet been properly understood. While studying the Gṛhya-sūtras, I came across two such verses which, on account of their later forms and use, were found too difficult to be understood by all scholars without a single exception. The native commentators either passed silently over the difficult portions in these two verses or gave interpretations which testified to their own confusion; Hermann Oldenberg got puzzled with them[1]; and after making an attempt to understand one ot them M. Winternitz said in despair : "It is simply impossible to know the exact meaning of this verse, which must originally have formed part of a longer ballad, of which only this verse has come down to us".[2] As a proper understanding of the significance of these two verses has been found extremely necessary for my recent studies, I give below my own interpretation of them, together with a history of their origin and use as well as with a statement of the material of social and political history contained in and suggested by them.

The two verses mentioned above are two Gāthās (songs) given *in extenso* in some of the Gṛhya-sūtras and referred to briefly in some others, in connection with the ceremony of Sīmantonnayana (i. e., the parting of a wife's hair by her husband during the

* *A.B.O.R.I.* Vol. XXXVII pp. 144-173.

1. Oldenberg's interpretation of these two verses will be given below in their respective places.

2. See M. Winternitz's Introduction (p. xlvi) to his edition of the (Āpastambīya) *Mantra-pāṭha* (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Oxford, 1897).

former's *first conception*). As this ceremony was considered highly important in early days, it was dealt with in all the Gṛhya-sūtras without exception ; but so far as I have been able to find, it is in eight Gṛhya works (out of sixteen[3] I have examined) that one or both of the two Gāthās have been given or referred to. In four of these eight works, again, there is mention of two lute-players (वीणागाथिनौ) who are to sing one or both of these Gāthās, or some others, after the husband has finished the ceremonial parting of his wife's hair and asked them to sing in chorus to their lutes. In the remaining four works, on the other hand, it is the husband who is to recite (and not to sing) one particular Gāthā of the two. There is yet another Gṛthya work (viz., the *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra*) which, though mentioning more than two lute-players meant for singing song about heroic kings, is completely silent about the two Gāthās. As the passages in which the lute-players have been mentioned and the Gāthās have been given or referred to in the different Gṛhya-sūtras, are highly necessary for their critical examination, I give them below with variations in readings, if any, in the different editions of the respective warks.

I. *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra*,[4] also called *Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* (belonging to the *Ṛg-veda*' 1. 22—

अथाह वीणागाथिनो राजानं संगायतेति। यो वाऽप्यन्यो वीरतर इति ॥

[For 'वाऽप्यन्यो' T. R. Chintamani's edition reads 'वान्यो वा'].

II. *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra*[5] (belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajur-veda*) vi. 14. 4-6—

3. viz , *Kauṣītaki (alias Śāñkhāyana)*, *Āpastamba*, *Pāraskara*, *Baudhāyana*, *Āśvalāyana*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Hiraṇyakeśi*, *Āgniveśya*, *Vaikhā: nasa*, *Jaimini*, *Vārāha*, *Kāṭhaka*, *Drāhyāyaṇa*, *Khādira*, *Gobhila* and *Mānava Gṛhya-sūtra*.

4. Ed. Ratna Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Banaras Sanskrit Series, No. 145. Banaras, 1908.

This work was also edited by Hermann Oldenberg (under the title '*Śāṅkhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*') and by T. R, Chintamani with the commentary of Bhavatrāta (Madras University Series. No. 15, 1944).

5. Edited (with Sudarśanācārya's commentary *Tātparya-darśana*) by A. Mahādeva Sāstrī and published under the order of the Government of His Highness the Mahārāja of Mysore. Mysore, 1893. Besides the Mysore edition, which we have chiefly used in the following pages, there are also other, viz.,

गायतमिति वीणागाथिनौ संशास्ति ॥
उत्तरयोः पूर्वा साल्वानां ब्राह्मणानामितरा ॥
नदीनिर्देशश्च यस्यां वसन्ति ॥

[The two Gāthās, referred to in the second of the three Sūtras of Āpastamba quoted above, have been given in *Āpastambīya Mantrapāṭha*[6] ii. 11, 12-13 as follows :

यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजेति साल्वीरवादिषुः ।
विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव ॥
सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः ।
विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेणासौ तव ॥

The *Āpastambīya Mantra-pāṭha* has also been printed from Mysore under the title *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvedīya Ekāgni-kāṇḍa*,[7] and in both these editions the text of the above two verses is the same. The reading 'विवृत्तचक्र°', which is found in place of 'विवृत्तचक्रा°' in the second verse in one of the manuscripts utilised by Winternitz for his edltion of the *Mantra-pāṭha*, does not deserve any serious consideration, because neither this Ms. nor any other gives any variant for the same word as occurring in the first verse].

(1) Ed. Chinnasvāmi Śāstrī (with Haradattamiśra's commentary *Anākulā* and Sudraśanācārya's commentary *Tātparyadarśana*). Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 59. Banaras, 1928.

(2) Ed. M. Winternitz (with extracts from the commentaries of Haradatta and Sudarśanācārya), Vienna, 1887.

(3) Edition printed at the Jyotirvilāsa Press, Tanjore, 1885.

6. Ed. M. Winternitz (in Anecdota Oxoninesia, Oxford, 1897).
7. See ed. L. Śrīnivāsācārya (with Haradattamiśra's commentary), Mysore, 1902.

In the *Ekāgni-kāṇḍa* the above-mentioned verses have been numbered ii. 11. 13-14.

The text of the '*Ekāgni-kāṇḍa*' is not always the same as that of the '*Mantra-pāṭha*'. The former contains some additional sections which do not occur in the latter.

The *Mantra-pāṭha* begins from p. 4 (हरिः ओं प्रसुग्मन्तां etc.) of the *Ekāgni-kāṇḍa*.

III. *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtrā*[8] (belonging to the *Śukla-Yajur-veda*) i. 15, 7-8—

अथाह वीणागाथिनौ राजानं संगायेतां यो वाऽप्यन्यो वीरतर इति ॥
नियुक्तामप्येके गाथामुपोदाहरन्ति ।
सोम एव नो राजेमा मानुषीः प्रजाः ।
अविमुक्तचक्र आसीरंस्तीरे तुभ्यमसाविति ॥
यां नदीमुपावसिता भवति तस्या नाम गृह्णाति ॥

[ In dealing with Sīmantonnayana in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasvā*,[9] pp. 189-190 Halāyudha quotes this entire passage of Pāraskara with the readings 'गायेताम्' ( for 'संगायेताम्' ), 'उदाहरन्ति' (for 'उपोदाहरन्ति'), 'अविमुक्तचक्रा° for 'अविमुक्तचक्र°,'); and 'उपवस्तितारो भवन्ति' (for 'उपावसिता भवति'), But none of these readings of Halāyudha is supported by any of the Mss. and commentators of the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* known to us ].

IV. *Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*[10] (belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajur-veda*) i. 10. 9-12—

8. Edited (with the Bhāṣyas of Karkopādhyāya, Jayarāmācārya, Hariharācārya and Gadādhara-dīkṣita) by Devanātha Śarman and Bāla-mukunda Śarman at the instance of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇa-pratāpa Śarman of Hatua, Banaras, Saṁvat 1952.
For other editions of the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* see the following :
(1) Ed. Mahādeva Gaṅgādhara Bākre (with five commentaries, namely, those of Karkopādhyāya, Jayarāmācārya, Hariharācārya, Gadādhara-dīkṣita and Viśvanātha). Published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1917.
(2) Ed. Gopal Shastri Nene (with Hariharācārya and Gadādharadīkṣita's commentaries for Kāṇḍas I-II and Jayarāmācārya's commentary for Kāṇḍa III). Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 17. Banaras, 1926.
(3) Ed. Lādhārāma Śarmā (with Hariharācārya's commentary). Bombay, Saṁvat 1946.
(4) Ed. (with Hariharācārya's commentary). Litho printing. Banaras, Saṁvat 1936.

9. Edited by Tejaścandra Vidyānanda and published from the Tārā Library (105, Upper Chitpore Road) by Adhara-candra Cakravartin. Third edition. Calcutta, 1331 B. S.

10. Ed. L. Śrīnivāsācārya, Mysore, 1904. Bibliotheca Sanskrita No. 32.
There is another edition of this work by Dr. R. Shama Sastri, Mysore, 1920.

अथैनौ वीणागाथिनाविति प्रतिगृह्णीते ॥
अथैनौ संशास्ति गायतमिति ॥
तावेतां गाथां गायतः—
सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः ।
विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेणासौ तवेति ॥
यस्यै नद्यास्तीरे संश्रिता वसन्ति तस्यै नाम गृह्णाति ॥

V. *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*[11] (belonging to the *Ṛg-veda*) i. 14. 6-7—

वीणागाथिनौ संशास्ति सोमं राजानं संगायेतामिति ॥
सोमो नो राजाऽवतु मानुषीः प्रजा निविष्टचक्राऽसाविति यां नदीमु-
पवसिता भवन्ति ॥

[For 'मानुषोः' Svāmi Ravi Tirtha's edition reads 'मानुषी'; for 'इति यां' this edition as well as that of Rāma Nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna has 'इमां'; and for 'उपवसिता' these two editions read 'उपवसिथा' and T. Gaṇapati Śāstri's edition has 'उपावसिता'.

In two of the Mss. utilised in Svāmi Ravi Tirtha's edition, the reading 'अनिविष्टचक्रा०' is found in place of 'निविष्टचक्रा०', but this reading is supported neither by any of the commentators nor by any of the Mss. used in the other editions].

VI. *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra*[12] (belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajur-ved*) 1. 21—

11. Ed. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series (No. 105), Poona, 1937 (with Nārāyaṇa-kṛta-vṛtti, Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa and Bhaṭṭa-Kumārila-kārikā).

There are also other editions of the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*, viz.,

(1) Ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay (containing the text only).

(2) Ed. Rāma Nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna (with Nārāyaṇa's commentary). Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1869.

(3) Ed. T. Gaṇapati Śāstri (with Haradattācārya's commentary Anāvilā). Trivandrum, 1923.

(4) Ed. Svāmi Ravi Tirtha (with the commentaries of Devasvāmin and Nārāyaṇa). Adyar Libary Series, No. 44. Adyar, 1944.

Only Vol I (containing Adhyāya I) of this edition has been published.

12. Ed. Henriette J. W. Solomons. Leyden, 1913.

* * * ऊर्ध्वं सीमन्तमुन्नयति भूर्भुवः सुवो राकामहं यास्ते राके ॥
सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः ।
विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तवेति ।
तीरेऽसौ तवेति वा यस्यास्तीरे वसति ।

VII. *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra*[13] (belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*) ii. 1. 3—

* * * * सीमन्तमुन्नीयाभिमन्त्रयते ।
सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः ।
विवृत्तचका आसीनास्तीरे तुभ्यं गङ्गे ॥
विश्वा उत त्वया वयं धारा उदन्या इव । अति गाहेमहि द्विषः ॥ इति ॥

VIII. *Āgniveśya-gṛhya-sūtra*[14] (belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*) ii. 1. 2—

* * * राकामहं यास्ते राके इति द्वाभ्यामूर्ध्वं
सीमन्तमुन्नीयाभिमन्त्रयते —
सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः ।
विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरे तुभ्यं गङ्गे ॥
विश्वा उत त्वया वयं धारा उदन्या इव । अति गाहेमहि द्विषः ॥ इति ॥

IX. *Vaikhānasa-gṛhya-sūtra*[15] (belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*) 3. 12—

* * * सीमन्ते 'राकामहं' 'यास्ते राके' इति स्थापयित्वा उन्नयनं कुर्यात्,
'सोम एवे' ति पुरस्तादिव कुर्यात् * * * * * ॥

The greatest difficulties, which make the correct understanding of the above extracts impossible, are due chiefly to

(1) the words 'विवृत्तचक्राः', 'अविमुक्तचक्रे' and 'निविष्टचक्रा' occurring in the Gāthās as given in the different texts,

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13. Ed. J. Kirste (with extracts from the commentary of Mātṛdatta). Vienna, 1889.
14. Ed. L. A. Ravivarma. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. CXLIV. Trivandrum, 1940.
15. Ed. W. Caland (with English translation). Bibliotheca Indica. Calcutta, 1927.
In this edition the work has been named as '*Vaikhānasa-smārta-sūtra*' in the title-pages.

(2) the plural forms of the verbs 'वसन्ति' and 'भवन्ति' (of which the former occurs in the *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* and the *Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* both belonging to the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda*, and the latter in the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* belonging to the *Ṛg-veda)*, and

(3) the varied texts of the second Gāthā ( viz, 'सोम एव नो राजा' etc. ) as given in the different Gṛhya-sūtras.

Now, in interpreting the word 'विवृत्तचक्राः' ( which occurs in most of the Gṛhya-sūtras mentioned above ) Haradattamiśra says in his commentary on the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvedīya Ekāgni-kāṇḍa*[16].

"विवृत्तचक्रा विविधं वृत्तं चक्रं राष्ट्रं यासां ता एवंभूताः".

But we fail to understand what Haradattamiśra exactly means by the expression 'विविधं वृत्तं etc.' Does he mean to say 'whose dominion became varied', 'whose dominion came into being in various ways', or 'to whom natural calamity befell in various ways, ? In whatever way we may try to understand Haradatta's expression, his interpretation of the word 'चक्र' does not help us to explain the words 'अविमुक्तचक्रे' and 'निविष्टचक्रा' occurring in the other Gṛhya-sūtras. H. Oldenberg takes 'विवृत्तचक्राः' to be a corrupt word, suggests in its place the reading 'अविवृत्तचक्रे' (which he takes to be a vocative feminine referring to 'गङ्गे' )[17] and translates the whole Gāthā thus :

"Soma alone is our king, thus say the Brāhmaṇa tribes' sitting near thy banks, O Gaṅgā, whose wheel does not roll back (?) !"

The note of interrogation, placed by Oldenberg at the end of his translation, shows clearly that even by effecting an arbitrary

16. We have already said that this work is the same as the *Āpastambīya Mantra-pāṭha.*

17. See Oldenberg's note on *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* ii. 1,3— 'The corrupt word *vivṛttacakrā (ḥ)* seems to contain a vocative fem. referring to Gaṅge–avivṛttacakra ? The *Āpastambīya Mantra-pāṭha* read, vivṛttacakra āsīnās tīreṇa yamune tava. Comp. *Āśvalāyana* I. 14. 7; *Pāraskara* I. 15.8',—S. B. E., Vol XXX, p. 208.

We have already seen that of the several Mss. utilised in the printed edition of the *Mantra-pāṭha*, only one contains the reading 'विवृत्तचक्र आसीनाः' in one of the two Gāthās.

change of reading he could not make out any cogent meaning. In his Introduction (p. xlvi) to his edition of the *Āpastāmbīya Mantra-pāṭha* M. Winternitz translates, 'quite tentatively' as he says, the whole verse, 'यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजा etc'', of which the second line (विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव) has been rendered by him as follows :

'sitting on thy banks, O Yamunā, turning round the wheel(?)'. After placing, like Oldenberg, a note of interrogation at the end of his translation Winternitz frankly confesses his inability to understand the meaning of the verse, which was made unintelligible to him by the word 'विवृत्तचक्राः'. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, on the other hand, translate the above line of the *Āpastambīya Mantra-pāṭha* thus :

'when they stayed their chariots on the banks of the Yamunā'.[18] These two scholars, however, suggest that in the said verse of the *Mantra-pāṭha* 'a reference to a warlike raid seems more plausible !' It is to be noted that the meanings, which Oldenberg and other attribute to the word 'चक्र' (as used in the expression विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनाः) do not suit in the other cases mentioned above.

As to the word '(अविमुक्तक्रे' occurring in the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* Jayarāmācārya and Gadādhara-dīkṣita take it to be an adjective of the word 'तीरे' and give for it the synonym 'अनुल्लङ्घित-शास्त्रे' in their commentaries on this work. In Gadādhara's commentary, as printed in Gopal Shastri Nene's edition of the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra*, the reading 'अनुल्लङ्घितशस्त्रे' is found in place of 'अनुल्लङ्घितशास्त्रे'. H. Oldenberg, on the other hand, takes, 'अविमुक्त-चक्रे' to be a Vocative feminine qualifying the river addressed, and translates it thus :

'O (river) whose dominion is unbroken, N. N. !'[19]

It is clear that neither Jayarāma and Gadādhara nor Oldenberg can be taken to have satisfactorily explained the word 'अविमुक्तचक्रे'. The word 'चक्र' may mean 'a section of a book' or 'a disk' (which is a particular kind of missile), but we fail to understand how it can be taken to mean 'शास्त्र' (holy scripture in general) or 'शस्त्र'

18. See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 440 (s. v. Salva).

19. S, B. E., Vol. XXIX, p. 293 and note on Sūtra 8.

(hymn of praise ; missile in general) and what purpose is served by such application of the word 'चक्र' in bringing out the significance of the expression 'अविमुक्तचक्रे' as applied to the bank of a river. Oldenberg's interpretation of the word 'चक्र' is also equally unsatisfactory and shows a state of indecision.

We have already noted that in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* Halāyudha reads 'अविमुक्तचक्राः' for 'अविमुक्तचक्रे'. Going to explain the verse 'सोम एव नो राजा etc.' Halāyudha takes this word (अविमुक्तचक्राः) to be an adjective of the word 'प्रजाः' and explains it saying :

'अविमुक्तं परित्यक्तं (अपरित्यक्तं ?) चक्रं मण्डलं याभिस्ता अविमुक्तचक्राः ।'

We have already said that Halāyudha's reading does not find support in any of the Mss. and commentaries of the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra.* Moreover, the meaning 'मण्डल' (circle, or district or province) for 'चक्र' does not help us to explain the words 'विवृत्तचक्राः' and 'निविष्टचक्रा' occurring in the other Gṛhya-sūtras.

The word 'निविष्टचक्रा' occurs in the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*, but unfortunately none of the three commentators (viz., Nārāyaṇa, Haradattācārya and Devasvāmin), known to us, says anything about its meaning. In his translation of this Gṛhya-sūtra H. Oldenberg takes the word 'निविष्टचक्रा' to be an adjective of 'असौ' (and not of 'गङ्गे', 'कावेरि' etc. as the commentators say), translates the words 'निविष्टचक्राऽसौ' etc.' as

> "Settled is the wheel of N. N.—(here the name) the river which they dwell",

and clarifies his idea by adding in his note on Sūtra 7 : "The wheel of course means the dominion".[20] Following Oldenberg P. V. Kane also takes the word 'चक्र' to mean 'dominion' and translates the expression निविष्टचक्राऽसौ' thus : "Fixed is the wheel (dominion) of this (river)".[21] But it is difficult to understand how a river can have dominion (चक्र = राष्ट्र ), and what help is rendered to our understanding by such unusual conception.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
21. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part i, p. 223.

From what has been said above it is evident that the interpretations of the words 'विवृत्तचक्रा:', 'अविमुक्तचक्रे' and 'निविष्टचक्रा', as suggested by the native and the foreign scholars, are not at all satisfactory and do not help us in any way to understand the import of the two Gāthās given in the Gṛhya sūtras mentioned above. We should, therefore, like to take the word 'चक्र' to mean 'army' (सैन्यम्) and explain the said words thus :

(1) विवृत्तचक्रा:'— (a) 'विवृत्तं चक्रं याभ्यस्ता: (प्रजा:)'— those (people) from whom the (victorious) army (of the invading king) has returned (or departed), or (b) 'विवृत्तं चक्रं यासां ता:'— those (people) whose army has turned back (i. e., has suffered defeat and ceased to fight).

The word 'विवृत्तचक्र' must be an antonym of 'प्रवृत्तचक्र' found used in the *Vāyu-purāna* and other works.[22]

(2) 'अविमुक्तचक्रे'—'न विमुक्तं चक्रं यस्मात् तस्मिन् (तीरे)—(on the bank) from which the (victorious) army (of the invading king) has not been sent away.

(3) 'निविष्टचका'—'निविष्टं चक्रं यस्यां सा (नदी)'—(a river) on (the bank of) which the (victorious) army (of the invading king) has been encamped.[23]

By taking the word 'चक्र' in the above-mentioned sense we may translate the relevant passages of the Gṛhya-sūtras[24] thus :

22. Ānandāśrama Press ed. (Poona), 98. 109—प्रवृत्तचक्रो बलवान् म्लेच्छानामन्तकृद्बली (said of Kalki Viṣṇuyaśas). Here the word 'प्रवृत्तचक्र:' means 'one, whose army has been mobilised.'

    In enumerating the benefits of performing Śrāddha under different Nakṣatras the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* uses the word 'प्रवृत्तचक्रता' in verse 266 of its Ācārādhyāya. Vijñāneśvara takes this word to mean 'अप्रतिहताज्ञता' (unrestricted authority), but Aparārka explains it by saying "चक्रप्रवृत्तिकाम: स्वातौ".

23. For the use of 'नि + विश्' in the sense of 'encamping (the army)' see *Raghu-vaṁśa* 5. 49, 7. 2 and 12. 68.

24. In translating these passages I have taken the help of H. Oldenberg as far as possible.

I. *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra* 1.22–

(The husband) then says to the lute-players (वीणागाथिनः), "Sing in chorus (संगायत)[25] the king or any other (person) who is more heroic."

II. *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* vi. 14. 4-6–

(The husband then) says to the two lute-players "Sing !"

Of the next two (verses, or Gāthās, which are to be found in the *Āpastambīya mantra-pāṭha*) the first (is meant) for the people of Sālva and the other for the Brāhmaṇas.[26]

And (in the case of the latter, there should be a) mention (of the name) of the river in (the vicinity of ) which (*they*) *dwell*.

[We have already said that the two verses referred to in the *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra*, have been given in the *Āpastambīya Mantra-pāṭha*. These two verses may be translated as follows :

(a) "It is only the king of Yugandhara[27] who is our sovereign"—thus said the people of Sālva by taking their seats along thy bank, O Yamunā, after the (victorious) army (of that king) had withdrawn (or, after [their own] army had turned back, i.e., suffered defeat and ceased to fight).

(b) "Soma only is our king"—thus said the Brāhmaṇic people (or, the descendants of Brāhmaṇas—ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः) by taking their seats along thy bank, O (river) So-and-so, after the (victorious) army (of the invading king) had withdrawn etc. etc. (as in the preceding verse).

III. *Parāskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 15. 7-8—

(The husband) then says to the two lute-players[28] "(You

25. For the meaning of 'सं + गै' according to the commentators of the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra*, see foot-note 3 on p. 29 below.
26. In his comment on this Sūtra of the *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* Haradattamiśra says that the other verse was meant not for all Brāhmaṇas but only for those of Sālva (इतरा 'सोम एव नो राजे'त्येषा । न सर्वेषां ब्राह्मणानामपि तु साल्वानाम्).
27. According to Haradatta, the word 'यौगन्धरि' means 'Yugandhara's son or descendant' (युगन्धरस्यापत्यं).
28. According to Harihara and Gadādhara, the word 'वीणागाथिनौ' has been used in the Vocative Case.

two) should sing in chorus (संगायेताम्)[29] the king or any other (person) who is more heroic (यो वाऽप्यन्यो[30] वीरतरः").

Here some prescribe the (following) set Gāthā also (to be sung by the lute-players) :

[Or, here some (teachers) recite the (following) set Gāthā also :][31]

"Soma only is our king. May these human races dwell, O (river) So-and-so, on thy bank from which the (victorious) army (of the invading king) has not been sent away."

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29. The prefix 'सम्' of 'संगायेताम्' is taken by Karkopādhyāya to mean 'सोत्साहौ', by Harihara to mean 'सम्यक्' and by Gadādhara to mean 'सोत्साहौ' in one place and 'सम्यक्' in another. For the word 'संगायेताम्' Jayarāma gives the synonym 'संप्रगायेताम्'.
30. According to Viśvanātha the word 'अपि' means 'समुच्चय' (अपिः समुच्चये).
31. In interpreting this line (नियुक्तामप्येके गाथामुपोदाहरन्ति), the commentators are in a great difficulty. All of them, as well as the Paddhatikāra (referred to by Harihara and Gadādhara) take the word 'अपि' to mean both 'समुच्चय' (aggregation) and 'विकल्प' (option), and the word 'एके' to mean 'एके आचार्याः' (some teachers); but Jayarāma and Gadādhara explain 'उपोदाहरन्ति' as 'समीपे गायन्ति', whereas Harihara and Viśvanātha takes it to mean 'पठन्ति' and 'गानमिच्छन्ति' respectively. Thus, as to the reciting or singing of the Gāthā and the persons to do so, the commentators hold different views. According to Karka (i) the luteplayers sing either about the king or about some other valiant person, and (ii) some teachers recite the set Gāthā (सोम एव नो राजा etc.) on this occasion and some do not Harihara is of opinion that the set Gāthās ( सोम एव नो राजा etc., which is meant for singing) is either to be recited by these 'teachers' who like to do so or to be sung by the lute-players. Jayarāma and Gadādhara, on the other hand, opine that this Gāthā is to be sung by 'some teachers' (and not by the lute-players). According to these two commentators, the above-mentioned line of the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* is to be translated thus :

(Here one)[32] mentions the name of the river near which (she) dwells.

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"Here some (teachers) sing the (following) set Gāthā also". Viśvanātha as well as the Paddhatikāra, referred to in Gadādhara's commentary, tells us that the set Gāthā is to be sung by the lute-players only; and the *Prayoga-ratna*, referred to in the same commentary, says that in case of ignorance about Sāma-gāna (chanting of hymns of the *Sāma-veda*) the lute-players may simply recite the set Gāthā (तत्र सामगानापरिज्ञाने मन्त्रमात्रं पठेतामिति प्रयोगरत्ने).

As to the occasions on which the husband is to order the lute-players to sing, Harihara says in his *Paddhati* that in case of a song about a more valiant person and also in that of the set Gāthā, special orders (with the mention of a particular king in the former case) are to be made to the lute-players. So also says the *Garga-paddhati* mentioned in Gadādhara's commentary.

32. The relevant text of the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* runs as follows :

यां नदीमुपवसिता भवति तस्या नाम गृह्णाति ।

As in this line there is no mention or indication of the person who is to mention the name of the river, there has been a lot of confusion among the commentators as to the verb 'गृह्णाति'. According to Harihara and Viśvanātha it is the pregnant wife ( गर्भिणी ) who is to mention the name of the river (see Harihara's commentary) :

ततो गर्भिणी यां नदीमुप समीपे आवसिता स्थिता भवति तस्या * * ** नाम गृह्णाति ।। अथ पद्धतिः ।। * * * असौ स्थाने समीपावस्थिताया गङ्गाप्रमुखाया नद्याः संबुद्ध्यन्तं गङ्गेत्यादिनाम गृह्णाति गर्भिण्येव । ततो ब्राह्मणभोजनं ददाति ।।

See also Gadādhara's commentary : * * * नियुक्तगाथा-गानेऽपि प्रैषः सोमं राजानं संगायेतामिति हरिहरः । नद्या नामग्रहणं गर्भिणीकर्तृकमिति तत्पद्धतौ । * * ।।

In Devanātha Śarman and Bāla.mukunda Śarman's edition of the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* as well as in Lādhārāma Śarmā's edition of the same work, the last line of Harihara's commentary has been wrongly punctuated as follows : गङ्गेत्यादिनाम गृह्णाति । गर्भिण्येव ततो ब्राह्मणभोजनं ददाति ।। Viśvanātha's commentary : यस्या नद्याः समीपे गर्भिणी स्थिता भवति तस्या नाम गर्भिण्येव उच्चारयतीत्यर्थः ।। ), Gadādhara, on

IV. *Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 10. 9-10—

Next, (saying) "These (are) the two lute-players", (the husband) receives (them).

Then (he) orders them : "Sing".

They sing this song (गाथां) :

"Soma only is our king"–thus said the Brāhmaṇic people (or, the descendants of Brāhmaṇas-ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः) by taking their seats along thy bank, O (river) So-and-so, after the (victorious) army (of the invading king) had withdrawn (or, after [their own] army had turned back).

(Here he) utters the name of that river, resorting to the bank of which (*they*) *reside*.

V. *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 14. 6-7–

(The husband) gives orders to the two lute players, "(You two) should sing king Soma in chorus."

(The latter sing this Gāthā;)

"May Soma, our king, protect the human races, O (river) So-and-so, on (the bank of) which the (victorious) army (of the invading king) has been encamped".

(Here he names) the river on (the bank of) which (*they*) *dwell.*

VI. *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra* 1. 21—

* * * * (the husband) parts (his wife's) hair upwards (with the words) 'Bhūr Bhuvaḥ Suvaḥ' (and with the verses) 'Rākā (do) I' (*Ṛg-veda* ii. 32 4.) and 'Which (are) thy, O Rākā' (*Ṛg-veda* ii. 32 5).

(He then recites the verse) :

" 'Soma only is our king'—thus said the Brāhmaṇic people (or, the descendants of Brāhmaṇas—ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः) by taking their seats along thy bank, O Yamunā, after the (victorious) army (of the invading king) had withdrawn (or, after [their own] army had turned back)".

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the other hand, says that it is the singer of the Gāthā ( गाथागानकर्ता ) who is to do so ( यां नदीमुप समीपे आवसिता स्थिता भवति तस्या नद्या गाथागानकर्ता गङ्गे यमुने इत्येवं नाम गृह्णाति ॥ ).

Or, (he may say : ) "along thy bank, O So-and-so", (with the mention of the name of the river ) on the bank of which ( he ) dwells.

VII. *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra*, ii. 1. 3—

After parting ( his wife's ) hair upwards (the husband) recites the (following) Mantras :

" 'Soma only is our king'—thus said the Brāhmaṇic people ( or, the descendants of Brāhmaṇas) by taking their seats on thy bank, O Gaṅgā, after the (victorious) army (of the invading king) had withdrawn (or, after their own army had turned back").

"Let us, through thy favour, overwhelm all our foes, like torrents of water" (*Ṛg-veda* ii. 7. 3).[33]

VIII. *Āgniveśya-gṛhya-sūtra* ii. 1. 2—

After parting (his wife's) hair upwards with the two (verses 'Ṛākā (do) I' (*Ṛg-veda* ii. 32, 4, and) 'Which (are) thy, O Ṛākā' (*Ṛg-veda* ii. 32, 5) (the husband) recites the (following) Mantras :

" 'Soma only is our king'—thus said etc. etc."

"Let us, through thy favour, overwhelm etc. etc."

(The same as in the *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* quoted immediately above).

IX. *Vaikhānasa-gṛhya-sūtra* 3. 12 —

This (quill together with the attached objects) he should place, with the Mantras : "I invoke Ṛākā", "Thy graces, O Rākā," on the parting line of the hair of the wife, who, being adorned with a wreath and perfumed, is seated in the same manner, and, then, he should smooth (with it the parting of the hair). With the Mantra "Soma is our king" he should do as indicated before.

A perusal of the extracts quoted and translated above from the different Gṛhya-sūtras will show that the custom of singing or reciting Gāthās or Mantras in the ceremony of Sīmantonnayana passed through three main stages. In its *first stage*, which is repres-

33. H. Oldenberg translates this verse thus :

'May we find our way with thee through all hostile powers, as through streams of water'. S. B. E., Vol. XXX, p. 209.

ented especially by the *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra*, a band of luteplayers, who must have been professional men and numbered more than two, as the *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra* shows, presented themselves on the occasion, either of own accord or at the invitation of the householder,[34] and sang songs about the heroic exploits of the ruling king or any other person who was known to them as a greater hero. As neither the Gṛhya-sūtras nor the commentators thereof refer to any restriction as regards the caste of the householder in the matter of presence of the lute-players and their singing of songs about a heroic king on this occasion, it is sure that this custom must have come down from an age[35] when there was no or little caste distinction and every Aryan regarded a heroic king as an ideal and looked upon royal power and prosperity as the aims of life. As a matter of fact, the ceremony of Sīmantonnayana itself (which was to be performed during the wife's first conception only) was *originally* meant chiefly, if not wholly, for ensuring the birth of a number of heroic and prosperous sons of royal distinction and the necessary of the mother[36] and this is evident not only from the nature of the songs to be sung by the lute-players and the musical instruments, viz., lutes,[37] to be played upon by them but also from some of the articles and

34. See, for instance, Haradattamiśra's commentary on *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* vi. 14. 4, in which he says : "वीणया यो गाथां गायति स वीणागाथी । तावुभौ प्रागेवानीतौ भवतः ॥"

35. My paper on "The pre-Brahma age and its impressions on the social life of the Vedic Aryans" will be sent out for publication very shortly.

36. It can hardly be denied that the procedures of Sīmantonnayana, followed by the early Vedic Aryans, came to be modified in later days by changed popular notions about the purpose of this ceremony as well as by the growing rigours of the caste-system, and that it was these changed procedures which came to be recorded in the extant Gṛhya-sūtras. In some cases again, this ceremony is found to have undergone considerable changes by incorporating certain rites of other ceremonies.

37. According to the *Taittirīya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the lute is a symbol of distinction (श्री) which is the same as royal power (राष्ट्र), and it is played upon for bringing royal distinction to a person.

See *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* iii. 9. 14. 1—

Mantras to be used on this occasion. Though the Gṛhya–sūtras seldom agree with one another in their lists of articles with which the husband is to part his wife's hair, they are unanimous in prescribing the use of a porcupine's quill with three white spots–त्र्येणी शलली, which the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*[38] takes to be productive of well-being, heroism and fame. Unripe Udumbara fruits have been mentioned in this connection in the Gṛhya-sūtras of Pāraskara, Āpastamba, Gobhila and others; and the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* gives out Udumbara to be a symbol of strength or vigour (ऊर्ग्वा उदुम्बरः).[39]

अप वा एतस्माच्छ्री राष्ट्रं क्रामति योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । * * * श्रिया वा एतद्रूपं तद्वीणा । श्रियमेवास्मिस्तद्दधत्तः । यदा खलु वै पुरुषः श्रियमश्नुते वीणाऽस्मै वाद्यते ॥

"Surely distincton ( i. e. royal power), departs from him who performs the horse-sacrifice. * * * * Indeed, what the lute is is a form (or symbol ) of distinction. (Consequently) it is distinction they thus bestow upon him (the sacrificer). As a matter of fact, when a man attains to distinction, the lute is played for him".

See also *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* xiii. 1. 5. 1—

अप वा एतस्माच्छ्री राष्ट्रं क्रामति योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । यदा वै पुरुषः श्रियं गच्छति वीणाऽस्मै वाद्यते । * * । श्रियै वा एतद्रूपं यद्वीणा । श्रियमेवास्मिस्तद्दधत्तः ।

38. i. 5. 6. 6–7—

त्र्येण्या शलल्या निवर्तयेत । त्रीणि त्रीणि वै देवानामृद्धानि । त्रीणि च्छन्दांसि । त्रीणि सवनानि । त्रय इमे लोकाः । ऋद्धयामेव तद्वीर्यं एषु लोकेषु प्रतितिष्ठति ।

According to the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, which is a comparatively late work, the porcupine's quill with three white spots is a form of the threefold science ( *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* ii. 6. 4. 5—सा या त्र्येनी शलली सा त्रय्यै विद्यायै रूपम्).

39. See *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* ( ed. Ānandāśrama Press, Poona ), ii. 5. 4. and v. 1. 10. 1.

According to a Mantra given in *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* (ed. Satyavrata Sāmaśramin, Srirampur, Śaka 1794) i.5.1, *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 15. 6, *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 22, *Khādira-gṛhya-sūtra* ii. 2, 25, etc., the Udumbara tree is a symbol of fertility. This Mantra, which is to be recited by the husband during the Sīmantonnayana, runs as follows :

अयमूर्जावतो वृक्ष ऊर्जीव फलिनी भव ॥
"Rich in sap is this tree; like the tree rich in sap, be thou fruitful".

According to the Gṛhya-sūtras of Pāraskara and Gobhila, the things to be used in parting the wife's hair include a splint (śaṅku) of Vīratara wood,[40] the very name of which is significant in this connection. The *Gobhila-gṛhya-sūtra* says that after the wife's hair has been parted and she has been made to look upon the specially prepared food and to eat it up, Brahmin women are to sit by her side and pronounce such auspicious words as "*A mother of valiant sons* ! A mother of living sons ! A living husband's wife ! "'[41] According to the *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* ( ii. 1. 3 ) and the *Āgniveśya-gṛhya-sūtra* ( ii. 1. 2 ) the husband is to recite, after parting his wife's hair, not only the verse "Soma only is our king, etc." but also *Ṛg-veda* ii. 7. 3, in which Agni is addressed as follows : "Let us, through thy favour, overwhelm all our foes, like torrents of water". That heroism had been a great necessity to the Vedic Aryans before they could establish themselves peacefully in the country, is shown by a large number of Vedic verses especially those of the *Ṛg-veda* and the *Atharva-veda* in which frequent mention has been made of the insecurity of life and property at home and abroad and prayer has been made to gods not only for personal strength and valour for coping success

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The *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*, on the other hand, takes the Udumbara tree to be a symbol of paramount rule. See *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* 39. 2—

भौज्यं वा एतद्वनस्पतीना यदुदुम्बरो यदौदुम्बराणि संभरन्ति भौज्यमेवास्मिस्त-द्धाति * * * ।

Keith's translation (viii. 16)—"The Udumbara is the paramount rule of the trees; in that they bring together Udumbara (products), verily thus he confers upon him the paramount rule."

40. See *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 15. 4 and *Gobhila-gṛhya-sūtra* ii 7. 6.

In his commentary on the *Gobhila-gṛhya-sūtra* Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa refers to the opinions of some scholars (such as the author of the *Gṛhyā-saṁgraha*) who take the word 'वोरतर' to mean a 'शर' (arrow), because it is with arrows that the heroes proceed to fight (अवतरत्त्यनेन वीराः संग्राममिति वीरतरः शर इति).

41. *Gobhila-gṛhya-sūtra* ii. 7. 72—वोरसूर्जीवसूर्जीवपत्नोति ब्राह्मण्यो मङ्गल्याभिर्वाग्भिरुपासीरन् ।

( Bhaṭṭa-nārāyaṇa—वीरान् विक्रान्तान् पुत्रान् सूते इति वीरसूः ...) ।

fully with the enemies and enriching themselves by plunderings but also for the birth of bands of heroic sons who could help them in acquiring wealth and stand guarantee against any kind of hostile activities threatening their existence. As a matter of fact, the early Vedic Aryans lived in an age of constant tribal conflicts and warlike exploits, when the bow was the constant and trusted friend and companion of every one of them and they could not think of parting with it even at death. This fact is known from an interesting verse (X. 18.9) of the Ṛg-veda in which it is said :

"धनुर्हस्तादाददानो मृ तस्याऽस्मे क्षत्राय वर्चसे बलाय ।
अत्रैव त्वमिह वयं सुवीरा विश्वा स्पृधो अभिमातीर्जयेम ॥"

"Taking the bow from hand of the dead man, for the sake of our vigour, energy and strength, thou being (blessed) with excellent male offspring may (remain) here. (O Death), may we here (in this world) conquer all the adversaries who seek to injure us".

This verse shows that after death the Vedic Aryans were cremated or laid down in the graves with their bows; and we may be sure that this practice was followed in the case of every Aryan without distinction of caste, because neither in this verse nor in any other in the whole Sūkta to which this verse belongs there is any mention or indication of caste anywhere and there is also no provision for any particular caste in any of the verses other than this. It is true that in the *Atharva-veda* there are two verses[42] which mention the

42. Viz., *Atharva-veda* xviii. 2, 59 and 60--

दण्डं हस्तादाददानो गतासोः सह श्रोत्रेण वर्चसा बलेन ।
अत्रैव त्वमिह वयं सुवीरा विश्वा मृधो अभिमातीर्जयेम ॥
धनुर्हस्तादाददानो मृतस्य सह क्षत्रेण वर्चसा बलेन ।
समागृभाय वसु भूरि पुष्टमर्वाङ् त्वमेह्युप जीवलोकम् ॥

These two verses have been translated by W. D. Whitney as follows :

"Taking the staff from the hand of the deceased man, together with hearing, splendour, strength–thou just there, here may we, rich in heroes, conquer all scorners (and) evil plotters".

"Taking the bow from the hand of the dead man, together with authority, splendour, strength—take thou hold upon much prosperous good; come thou hitherward unto the world of the living".

taking away of the staff and the bow respectively from the hands of the dead man and thus distinguish clearly beetween the methods of cremating a Brahmin and a Kṣatriya, but we must not forget that the *Atharva-veda* is later in date than even the tenth book of the *Ṛg-veda*, from which it has derived a large number of verses, and that the said two verses of the *Atharva-veda*, having much in common with the *Ṛg-veda* verse quoted above, were undoubtedly composed on the basis of the latter to suit the changed circumstances brought in by the caste-system. So, the statement of the *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* that the bow was to be placed by the side of a dead body only in the case of a Kṣatriya,[43] was simply due to the influence of the growing caste-system which assigned the highest place to the Brahmins and distinguished them from others in all matters.

The necessity felt by the Vedic Aryans for personal strength and valour was so great and deep-rooted that even in spite of serious changes in the social life of the people with the progress of time, their old attitude towards these two qualities of males continued to some extent to much later dates and found expression in some of the rites and practices described in the Gṛhya-sūtras. For instance, in the ceremony of impregnation (गर्भाधान), as the *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* gives it, the husband was to recite, before cohabiting with his wife, certain Mantras, in which the latter was addressed as follows :

"Open thy womb; take in the sperm; may the embryo in (the womb) develop into *a son* (*who will be*) *affording protection* (*to his kinsmen*) *and crushing* (*his foes*) (पुमान् पुत्रः).[44] May the mother

43. See *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra*, iv. 2, 16-17.
According to *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* iv. 2.22, the bow was broken to pieces and thrown on the funeral pile to be burnt with the dead body.

44. The word 'पुमान्' has been taken by Oldenberg, Griffith, and others in the sense of 'male', but that must be its secondary meaning, as is shown by the word 'पुत्रः', which means not only the issue but also its male gender.
According to the Uṇādi-sūtra 'पातेर्डुम्सुन्' (4. 147) the word 'पुंस्' has been derived from the root 'पा' (meaning

bear him for ten months; may he become the most valiant fo his kin.

"May *a protective as well as destructive male embryo* (पुमान् गर्भः) enter thy womb, as an arrow (enters) the quiver ; may a hero be born here (as) thy continuing (in it) for ten months.

.... .... .... .... .... ....

"What mighty vigours the bulls may produce for us, by those do thou become pregnant; may he become the most valiant of his kin".[45]

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'to protect') with the suffix 'डुम्सुन्' (i. e. उम्स्), Or, it may also have been derived from the root 'पुंस्' (meaning 'to crush', 'to punish', 'to trouble', rather than 'to prosper' or 'to cause to prosper' —पुंस अभिवर्धने—Pāṇinīya Dhātupāṭha) by means of the suffix 'क्विप्', just like the word 'द्विष्', (meaning 'hostile', 'inimicali) derived with क्विप' from the root 'द्विष्'. So, the primary meaning of the word 'पुमान्' seems to be (1) (a male) who affords protection, or (2) (a male) who crushes, punishes or troubles (his enemies), and both these meanings are supported fully by the simile (वाण इवेषुधिम्), for an arrow (वाण) also is found to be used for protection as well as for crushing one's enemies.

As in the Vedic society it was only the male who was to give protection to his kin and also to fight with his enemies, the word 'पुमान्' came to be applied generally in the sense of 'male'.

It should be mentioned here that an arrow is mainly noted for three qualities, viz., its straightness, its speed, and its power of striking the target. The mention of the 'quiver' (इषुधि) in the simile shows that the former two qualities (viz., straightness and speed) could not be meant here.

45. *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 25. 1-6—

यस्य (? व्यस्य) योनिं प्रति रेतो गृहाण पुमान् पुत्रो जायतां गर्भो अन्तः ।
तं माता दश मासो बिभर्तु स जायतां वीरतमः स्वानाम् ।।
आ ते गर्भो योनिमेतु पुमान् वाण इवेषुधिम् ।
आ वीरो अत्र जायतां पुत्रस्ते दशमास्यः ।।

.... .... .... .... ....

In describing the rite connected with the construction of a new hut (शालाकम्) the same Gṛhya-sūtra prescribes that while erecting the southern door-post, the householder was to recite the following verses :

> "Here I erect a firm house ; it stands in peace, streaming in ghee. Thus may we walk in thee, O house, blessed with heroes, with all heroes, with unharmed heroes."[46]

And after returning home from a sojourn he was to enter his house and recite the verse :

> "The joyful house I enter which does not bring death to men most manly (I enter) the auspicious one. Bringing refreshment, with genial minds (we enter the house); joyfully I lie down in it."[47]

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यानि प्रभूनि वीर्याण्यृषभा जनयन्तु नः ।
तैस्त्वं गर्भिणी भव स जायतां वीरतमः स्वानाम् ।

For the reading 'व्यस्य' (for 'यस्य' in line 1) see *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra* (H. Oldenberg's ed.) i. 19. 12 and *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvedīya Ekāgni-kāṇḍa* i. 13. 8.

The second verse (आ ते गर्भो etc.), which is practically the same as *Atharva-veda* iii. 23. 2, also occurs in *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 19.

After this verse the *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra* (i. 19) has the following line :

पुमांसं पुत्रं जनयतं पुमाननु जायताम् ।

In *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* i. 4. 9. this line reads 'विन्दस्व तं' for 'जनयत'. In his commentary on the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* Satyavrata Sāmaśramin takes 'पुमांसं' to mean 'प्रजनन-शक्तिमन्तं'.

46. *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 27. 2—

इहैव ध्रुवां निमिनोमि शालां क्षेमे तिष्ठति घृतमुक्षमाणा ।
तां त्वा शाले सुवीराः सर्ववीरा अरिष्टवीरा अनुसंचरेम ॥

47. *Ibid.*, i. 29. 2—

गृहानहं सुमनसः प्रपद्ये अवीरघ्न वीरतमः सुशेवान् ।
इरां वहन्तः सुमनस्यमानास्तेष्वहं सुमनाः संविशामि ॥

For this verse see also *Kāṭhaka-gṛhya-sūtra* 27. 3. *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra* (ed. T. R. Chintamani) iii. 4. 3 and *Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 14. 5 (in all of which there are

The *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* tells us that in the Āyuṣya ceremony (which was intended for yielding long life to a newly born son) the father invoked his son's birth-place, touched him, and recited the following verse :

> "Be a stone, be an axe, be imperishable gold. Thou indeed art the self called son; thus live a hundred autumns."[48]

Then he recited over his wife the verse :

> "Thon art Iḍā, the daughter of Mitra and Varuṇa; thou strong woman hast borne a strong son. Be thou blessed with strong children, thou who hast blessed us with a strong son".[49]

In the ceremony of Mūrdhābhighrāṇa, as described in the same Gṛhya-sūtra, the father murmured the following Mantra in the right ear of his son :

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variations in readings, and in the last two the verse is prescribed for recitation by a groom who has returned home with his newly married bride and is going to enter his house).

48. See *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 16. 18—
अश्मा भव परशुर्भव हिरण्यमस्तुतं भव । etc.

[In his commentary Gadādhara explains this line thus :
हे कुमार, त्वमश्मा पाषाण इव दृढ़ः स्थिरश्च परशुरिव वज्र इवापकर्तृ-नाशको भव । etc.].

This verse also occurs in some of the other Gṛhya-sūtras, but the occasion for its application differs in different works. See, for instance, *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra* 1. 24 (in which this verse has been prescribed for recitation by the father during the ceremony of Medhā-janana of his new-born son), *Vārāha-gṛhya-sūtra* ii. 5 (which has the first line for employment in Jātakarman) and *Jaimini-gṛhya-sūtra* 1.8 (which prescribes the recitation of the verse in Mūrdhābhighrāṇa). In all these three works the reading 'अस्तृतं' occurs inplace of 'अस्तुतं'.

49. *Ibid.*, i. 16. 19—
इडासि मैत्रावरुणी वीरे वीरमजीजनथाः ।
सा त्वं वीरवती भव याऽस्मान् वीरवतोऽकरत् ॥

> "Bestow on us, O bountiful, onward-pressing Indra, plentiful, rich treasures. Give us a hundred autumns to live; give us many heroes, strong-jawed Indra".[50]

The *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* lays down that before initiating a student, a teacher was to make him tread on a stone-slab, with the citation of the following verse :

> "Tread on this stone; like a stone be firm. Destroy those who seek to do thee harm; overcome thy enemies."[51]

That, even in the period of the Gṛhya-sūtras when the Brahmanical caste-system was sufficiently established in the country, the Brahmins could not get fully over their old inclination for royal position and prosperity, is shown by certain statements of the Gṛhya-sūtras. For instance, the Gṛhya-sūtras of Pāraskara, Hiraṇyakeśin, Bhāradvāja, and others inform us that according to them or other authorities, oblations might be made with the Rāṣṭrabhṛt, Jaya and Abhyātāna Mantras[52] by a teacher before initiating a student,[53] by a bridegroom during the marriage ceremony[54], by a husband during Sīmantonnayana, Puṁsavana, Cūḍākaraṇa, etc.,[55] by a student after completing his study of a

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50. *Ibid.*, 1. 18. 5—
    इन्द्र श्रेष्ठानि द्रविणानि धेहि चित्तिं दक्षस्य सुभगत्वमस्मे ।
    पोषं रयीणामविष्टिं तनूनां स्वात्मानं वाचः सुदिनत्वमह्नाम् ॥
51. *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 3. 14, and i. 4. 1.
52. For the Rāśṭrabhṛt Mantras, which were meant for procuring royal power, see *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* iii. 4. 7, *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūttra* i. 3. 13, and so on.

    The Jaya Mantras were intended for earning victory for the sacrificer; and for these see *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* iii. 4. 4, *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 3. 9, *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 5. 9. *Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 10. 11, and so on.

    The Abhyātāna Mantras were aimed at hostile powers; and for these see *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* iii. 4. 5, *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 3. 10-12, *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 5. 10 and so on.
53. See *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 3. 8-13, *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 6, and so on.
54. See *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 20. 8, *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 5. 7-10, *Mānava-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 10, 11 and i. 11. 14-15, *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra* 1. 13, *Kaṭhaka-gṛhya-sūtra* 23.2, and so on.
55. See, for instance, *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra* 1, 21, 22, 28 etc.

Kāṇḍa of the *Black Yajurveda*,[56] and so on. Although, in their commentaries on the *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra*, Karka, Jayarāma and Gadādhara say that such oblations were to be made only by the Rāṣṭrabhṛts,[57] there is little scope for doubt about the fact that Pāraskara, Hiraṇyakeśin and others meant their prescriptions for all Aryans and not merely for the Kṣatriyas; and this is evident from the silence of all these authorities about the castes of the persons who were entitled to make oblations with the Rāṣṭrabhṛt and other Mantras. It is remarkable that whenever these authorities have occasion for recording the rites, manners and customs peculiar to any particular caste, they do so by expressly naming it, but they are found to make no mention of any caste in the the cases of the oblations made with the Rāṣṭrabhṛt and other Mantras. Again, in *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 12. 17 we are told that when a householder offered to his guest a bundle of hay to sit upon, the latter accepted it and sat down on it, citing the verse :

> "A giver of royal power art thou, a teacher's seat; may I not withdraw from thee."[58]

The *Gobhila-gṛhya-sūtra* (iv. 8-9) and the *Khādira-gṛhya-sūtra* (iv. 1-3) describe the methods of performing some peculiar rites for the attainment of special objects, viz., destruction of enemies, ownership of a number of villages, sovereignty (आधिपत्यम्) among men, gaining of a hundred or thousand cart-loads of gold, increase in the stock of cattle, and so on. Similar other instances may be cited from the Gṛhya-sūtras, but it is needless to add any. We must not forget that the Aryan society in the times of the Gṛhya-sūtras was still in a fluid state, and that the caste-barriers were much less rigid than they are at present among the Hindus.

The worldly necessities and the consequent mental tendencies and aspirations of the early Vedic Aryans, as stated above, explain why the lute-players were to sing Gāthās about heroic

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56. See *Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 8. 16.

57. See Karka and others' commentaries (on *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 5. 7– राष्ट्रभृत इच्छन् जयाभ्यातानांश्च जानन्—
चशब्दो राष्ट्रभृद्भिः संनियोगार्थः ।

58. राष्ट्रभृदस्याचार्यासन्दी मा त्वद्योषम् ॥

kings dnring the ceremony of Sīmantonnayana. The *Kauṣītaki-gṛhya-sūtra* indicates that in the first stage of this custom, only Gāthās about heroic kings were sung (and not any about king Soma), and the persons to sing these Gāthās were the lute-players, whose number was more than two and who must have possessed sufficient information about the heroic deeds of the contemporary kings as well as of these of the past. As regards the authorship of these Gāthās the Gṛhya-sūtras show that they were generally composed by the lute-players according to their convenience and preserved in memory for the sake of their profession; but at times they seem to have been composed extempore and sung at order. Besides these, there were also set (नियुक्ता) Gāthās recording the extremely heroic exploits of ancient kings and coming down from the past. Although the Purāṇas, and the *Mahābhārata* record a large number of such Gāthās, the Gṛhya-sūtras have not preserved any, except only one referred to in the *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* and given *in extenso* in the *Āpastambīya Mantra-pāṭha.* This Gāthā (यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजा etc.), which we have quoted and translated above, forms the model of another set Gāthā (सोम एव नो राजा etc.) and must have come from an age earlier than that of composition of the latter, if not of the *Yajurveda* itself, in which the Brahmins are found for the first time to have given themselves out as subjects of king Soma and not of any Kṣatriya ruler.[59] It records a major military operation which was regarded as highly remarkable and extraordinarily heroic in those days and in which the king of the Yugandharas defeated the king of the Sālvas and occupied his kingdom. From this Gāthā we further learn that after the victorious army of the king of the Yugandharas had been withdrawn at

59. See *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* i. 8. 10.2—एष वो भरता राजा सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा (said by the priest during the Rājasūya ceremony). See also *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, i. 8. 12. 2, *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* ii. 6.9, *Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā*, xv. 7 *Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā* ix. 40, and x. 18, *Taitlirīya-brāhmaṇa* i. 7. 4 and 6 (एष वो भरता राजा सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजेत्याह । तस्मात् सोमराजानो ब्राह्मणाः ॥), *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* v. 3. 3. 12 *Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra* (Bibl. Ind. edn.) xviii. 12. 6-8, *Baudhāyana-śrauta-sūtra* (Bibl. Ind. edn.) 12. 9, *Satyāṣāḍha-śrauta-sūtra* (also called *Hiraṇyakeśi-śrauta-sūtra*, Ānandāśrama Press ed.) xiii. 5. 4, and so on.

the end of the war, the Sālvas assembled on the bank of the Yamunā (up to which the invader must have extended his victorious arms) and declared the conqueror to be their own king, thus taking, as it were, an oath of allegiance to their new ruler in the presence of the holy river. Here it will be interesting to note that in this Gāthā, as also in the other occurring in various forms in the different Gṛhya-sūtras, we find references to an ancient custom prevalent in the Vedic times. According to this custom, the subjects of a vanquished ruler assembled on the bank of a river after the army of the conqueror had been encamped (cf. निविष्टचक्र) on it or withdrawn from it at the conclusion of the war, took their seats, and gave out that the victor was their king. Now, the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa* (i. 2.9) mentions the Sālvas coupled with the Matsyas, and the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (x. 4. 1. 10) records 'a boast by Śyāparṇa Sāyakāyana that if a certain rite of his had been completed, his race would have been the nobles, Brahmins and peasants of the Sālvas'. In *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgavāsī Press ed ) iv. 1. 12 (= Poona critical ed. iv, 1. 9) the lands of the Śālvas and the Yugandharas (शाल्वा युगन्धराः) have been named separately, but side by side, among the lovely and prosperous countries lying round about the land of the Kurus, and it is remarkable that Arjuna considered all of these countries as habitable to themselves and did not express any unfavourable opinion about any one of them. According to *Mahābhārata* viii. 44. 39 and iii. 129.9, on the other hand, "Yugandhara" was an unholy place situated not very far from the western bank of the Yamunā in the land of the Bāhīkas, which as *Mahābhārata* viii. 44. 6–7 tell us, extended from the land of the five rivers up to a distance from Kurukṣetra and the Yamunā. As regards the land of the Sālvas Haradatta says in his commentaries on the *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* and the *Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvedīya Ekāgni*-kāṇḍa (*alias Mantra-pāṭha*) that it was situated on the bank of the Yamunā and inhabited mostly by Vaiśyas.[60] The *Mahābhārata* places it near Kurukṣetra[61] and

60. See Haradatta's commentary on *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* iv. 14. 5—
उत्तरयोः ऋचोः या पूर्वा यौगन्धरिरित्येषा । सा साल्वानां सीमन्तकर्मणि गाथा । साल्वदेशनिवासिनाम् अस्यामृचि गानं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । स देशो यमुनातीरे भवति । वैश्याश्च तत्र भूयिष्ठं भवन्ति * * * ॥
See also his commentary on *Ekāgni-kāṇḍa* ii. 11. 12—

names the Śālvas immediately after the Kurus and the Pāñcālas together with other tribes (except the Yugandharas) which followed the 'eternal law.'[62] In *Mahābhārata* ix. 20.1, on the other hand, the king of the Śālvas has been called the lord of the Mleccha tribes (म्लेच्छगणाधिपः). From these and other statements of the *Mahābhārata* about the Sālvas and the Yugandharas it appears that these were distinct and independent tribes occupying separate territories and following the Brahmanical religion, that the Sālvas were more powerful than the Yugandharas, and that in comparatively late times both these countries, though retaining their separate existence, were overrun by the Mlecchas like the land of the five rivers. But in the post-*Mahābhārata* period the land of the Yugandharas, together with five others, came to be included in that of the Sālvas (and not *vice versa*), as is shown by the following Kārikā quoted in Vāmana-Jayāditya's *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* iv. 1. 173—

उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धराः ।
भुलिङ्गाः शरदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

So, the incident, mentioned in the Gāthā 'योगन्धरिरेव नो राजा etc.', must have occurred in the pre—*Mahābhārata* day; and this early date finds strong support in the fact that this Gāthā has been the model of another ancient Gāthā (viz., सोम एव नो राजा etc.) occurring in many of the Gṛhya-sūtras.

Some scholars are of opinion that the school of the Āpastambas originated in Southern India and the Taittirīya literature generally flourished in the Deccan at a very early period.[63] But this view cannot be reconciled satisfactorily with the mention of the Gāthā 'यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजा etc.' in the *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* as well as the *Āpastambīya Mantra-pāṭha*, which must have been written

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यमुनातीरवासिनां वीणागानमन्त्रः यौगन्धरिरिति ॥ साल्वो नाम जनपदः
तद्विषयवासिन्यः प्रजाः साल्वीः * * * ॥

61. *Mahābhārata* iv. 1. 11-12.
62. *Ibid.*, viii. 45. 14.
63. See M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 299. See also Winternitz's Introduction (pp. xv, xlvii) to his edition of the *Āpastambīya Mantra-pāṭha*.

much earlier than the *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra.*[64] As this Gāthā associates the people of Sālva with the river Yamunā and as the *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* prescribes it for these people, it is sure that it relates to the Sālvas of Northern India and not to those of the south[65] and that the Āpastambas, who are now found in Southern India, originally belonged to the north, from where they migrated to the south at a time when the Gāthā had already attained the sacred character of an ancient Ṛk verse[66] and the lute-players' singing the heroic exploit of Yaugandhari on the occasion of the ceremony of S.mantonnayana of the Āpastambas had become a time-honoured, and consequently inviolable, custom with them. So, the occupation of the land of the Sālvas by the king of the Yugandharas had occurred much earlier than the time of the Āpastambas' migrating to Sonthern India, otherwise the victory of this king, which must have been a local affair of minor importance, as the complete silence of the Purāṇas, *Mahābhārata* and other works about this incident indicates, could not have attained a state of such celebrity and importance with the Āpastambas. It seems that when the lute-players of Sālva first began to sing the heroic exploit of Yaugandhari, they did so simply because it was a contemporary incident of uncommon heroism relating to their ruling chief. But soon this exploit attained great popularity in Sālva, so much so that within a short time[67] the Āpastambas also, who, being inhabitants of Kuru-Pañcāla, were close neighbours of the Sālvas, got influenced by it and had the Gāthā 'यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजा' composed[68] and sung by the lute-players during

64. See Winterniz's Introduction (pp. xxxi-xlv) to his edition of the *Mantra-pāṭha.*
65. For information about the Sālvas (or Sāluvas) of Southern India see *ibid.*, p. xlvii.
    In his Tamil-English Dictionary Viśvanātha Pillai informs us that the people of Southern India regarded the tributary kings from Salva as Intruders.
66. In his commentary on *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* vi. 14.5 Haradatta calls the verse 'यौगन्धिरिरेव नो राजा etc.' a Ṛc.
67. Note the use of लुङ् in the word अवादिषु: occurring in the Gāthā 'यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजा'. It is well known that लुङ् is generally used to denote the recent past.
68. The wordings of this Gāthā indicate that it was not composed in Sālva.

their Simantonnayana ceremonies. Thus, with the progress of time this Gāthā came to have a sacred character with the Āpastambas; and in course of time it was included among the Mantras in the *Āpastambīya Mantra-pāṭha* (*alias Kṛṣṇa-Yajurvedīya Ekāgni kāṇḍa*). Though, from the incorporation of this Gāthā in the *Mantra-pāṭha* without any remark that it was meant for the people of Sālva and from the mention of the river Yamunā in the Gāthā, it appears that the *Mantra-pāṭha* was written in Northern India at a time when the Āpastambas were living on the bank of the Yamunā, we cannot be sure on this point, because in the other Gāthā (viz., सोम एव नो राजा), given in the *Mantra-pāṭha*, there is no express mention of the river Yamunā. It may be that the original reading of this second Gāthā was 'तीरेण यमुने तव' (instead of 'तीरेणासौ तव'), as the *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra* shows, and that the Āpastambas of Southern India had it changed in the *Mantra-pāṭha* to suit their own new place of residence, but we are not yet able to prove it with any conclusive evidence. However, in course of time the Āpastambas came to look upon the *Mantra-pāṭha* as a highly sacred text; and when, later on, they wrote the Gṛhya-sūtra under changed circumstances, they did not venture to tamper with the text of the *Mantra-pāṭha*. So, they prescribed that the Gāthā 'यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजा' was meant for the Sālvas of Northern India (and not for themselves) and the other (viz., सोम एव नो राजा) was intended for the *Brahmins*.

The custom of singing or reciting Gāthās in the ceremony of Simantonnayana passed through its *second stage* after the Brahmins had declared themselves immune from the rule of Kṣatriya kings and claimed to be the subjects of king Soma.[69] During the period, the Brahmins began to be more conscious of their superiority, and many of them did not like that the luteplayers should sing songs about the heroic exploits of Kṣatriyas on the occasion of their Simantonnayana ceremonies. So, in accordance with their new claim they had another Gāthā composed in imitation of that (viz., यौगन्धरिरेव नो राजा) already popular with the Āpastambas living on the bank of the Yamunā. This new Gāthā has been given in the *Bhāradvāja-gṛhya-sūtra* as follows :

69. This happened first during the *Yajurvedic* period. For the relevant passages see foot-note 1 on p. 167 above.

सोम एव नो राजेत्याहुर्ब्राह्मणीः प्रजाः ।
विवृत्तचक्रा आसीनास्तीरेण यमुने तव ॥

The mention of the river Yamunā shows that, like its prototype, this Gāthā also had its origin on the bank of this river, most probably among the Āpastambas. Soon it became popular with the other Vedic schools and began to be used by them in their Sīmantonnyana ceremonies. As to the method of use of this Gāthā, there was often no unanimity among the different schools or among the different families belonging to a particular school. From the Gṛhya-sūtras of Pāraskara and others we learn that some Brahmins had both this Gāthā and those about some heroic king sung by the lute-players, who were only two in number, and some had only this Gāthā sung by the same number of them. As the people had no knowledge of the history of the rise of this Gāthā and its prototype, they failed to know exactly which river was to be named on this occasion and who was to name it. Consequently, the text of this Gāthā began to vary hopelessly in different works, and there was considerable difference of opinion as to whether the river to be named was that on the bank of which the non-Brahmin people or the Brahmins gathered in ancient times to declare their allegiance to their new conqueror or to king Soma, or it was one which was resorted to for residence by the family in which the Sīmantonnayana ceremony was being performed, and whether it was the husband or the wife who was to name the river. From the use of the verbs 'भवन्ति' and 'वसन्ति' in the plural number in some of the extracts quoted above[70] it seems that originally the river to be named was that on the bank of which the declaration of allegiance to a new ruler or to king Soma was made, and the persons to name the river were the lute—players.[71] But with the migration of the priestly families from their original homes there

70. See *Āśvalāyana--gṛhya-sūtra* i. 14. 7 as well as *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 15.8 as quoted in Halāyudda's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, pp. 189-190.

See also *Āpastamba-gṛhya-sūtra* vi. 14.6 and *Baudhāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 10. 12.

71. In his commentary on *Āśvalāyana-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 14.7, Nārāyaṇa also says that the two lute-players were to name the river in the Vocative Case. So also does Gadādhara on his commentary on *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 15. 7-8.

was a remarkable change in the custom. The ancient name of the river came to be replaced by the name of that on the bank of which they settled, as the person to name the river was the husband in some families and the wife in others.[72]

As to the castes to which the lute-players belonged, the Gṛhya-sūtras say nothing. As the lute-players attended the Simantonnayana ceremonies of all the the three higher castes, viz., Brahmin, Kṣatriya and Vaiśya, some later authorities were of opinion that they came from one or more of these castes.[73] Others, again, held that they belonged only to the Brahmin caste.[74] From the fact that the authors of the Gṛhya-sūtras did not put any restriction on the castes of the lute-players, it seems that they might belong to any of the higher three castes.

We now come to the *third stage*, during which the custom attained further modifications. At this stage the singing of songs by lute-players was no longer in vogue, there was also no provision for any song about heroic deeds to be sung by anybody else, and the husband, if he was a Brahmin, was only to recite the verse 'सोम एव नो राजा' after parting his wife's hair.

The three stages of the custom of singing Gāthās, of which we have said above, were more or less overlapping and cannot, therefore, be assigned to distinct periods. While in one family or locality this custom was passing through its second or third stage, in another it was in its first or second stage. However, in course of time, the ceremony of Sīmantonnayana itself became obsolete with many families, probably because its necessity was no longer felt by the people of later ages.

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72. See, for instance, Harihara's commentary on *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 15. 7-8.
73. See, for instance, Gadādhara's commentary on *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 15. 7-8.
74. See, for instance, the opinion of the "*Prayoga-ratna*" referred to in Gadādhara's commentary on *Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra* i. 15. 7-8 (ब्राह्मणो वीणागाथिनाविति प्रयोगरत्ने).

## INTERPRETATION AND IMPORTANCE OF THE WORD PAŚUTṚPA IN ṚGVEDA 7. 86.5*

Vedic literature, though widely studied and interpreted by renowned scholars, both ancient and modern, still contains words and expressions which have baffled the attempts at their correct exposition. Being the most ancient of these works, the *Ṛgveda* contains, naturally enough, a number of peculiar words and expressions which have remained obscure to this day due either to their extremely rare use, their becoming obsolete even during the later Vedic period or to the absence of any reliable tradition about their source, grammatical formation, relation or meaning. But even in the case of such words which present little grammatical or semantic difficulty scholars have sometimes got puzzled in explaining their formation and bringing out their relevant meaning due to lack of a correct conception of many of the aspects of the life of the Vedic people.

A word of the latter type is *paśutṛpam*, occurring in *Ṛgveda* 7. 86. 5, which runs as follows :

अव द्रुग्धानि पित्र्या सृजा नोऽव या वयं चकृमा तनूभिः ।
अव राजन् पशुतृपं न तायुं सृजा वत्सं न दाम्नो वसिष्ठम् ॥

The first half of this verse is to be constucted thus :

[हे वरुण] नः पित्र्या द्रुग्धानि, वयं [च] या तनूभिः चकृम[तानि अपि], अव सृज ।
and may be translated as follows : "Remove, O Varuṇa, [ our sins arising from ] the acts of violation [of your laws] done by our forefathers, [and also] those which we did with [our] persons."

But difficulty arises with the second half, in which the expression *paśutṛpam na tāyum* has been explained by Sāyaṇa thus :

"स्तैन्यप्रायश्चित्तं कृत्वावसाने घासादिभिः पशूनां तर्पयितारं स्तेनम् इव" ।

('like a thief who, after undergoing the penance for theft, satisfies cattle with grass etc'). Following Sāyaṇa, more or less, Alfred Ludwig, R T. H. Griffith and P. Peterson translate the word *paśutṛpam*, respectively, as 'ein Vietfütterer' ('a cattle-feeder'), (one)

* *V. I. Journal*; Vol. *IV*, pt. i, pp. 34-38.

who feeds the cattle', and '(one) who has wrought atonement.'[1] H. H. Wilson; on the other hand, takes it to mean 'nourishing the animal (stolen)', evidently by dissolving it as '*(hṛtam) paśum tṛpnoti iti, tam*'; and he translates the said line as, "Liberate, royal Varuṇa like a calf from its tether, Vasiṣṭha, like a thief nourishing the animal (he has stolen)."[2] According to Max Müller and R. C. Datta this word means '(one) who has feasted on stolen cattle' and *paśukhādaka* ( eater of animals') respectively.[3] So; they must have dissolved it, respectively, as ('*hṛtaiḥ*) *paśubhis tṛptam*' and '*paśubhis tṛpyati iti tam*.' Monier-Williams renders it as 'gratifying one's self with cattle. *i. e.*, stealing cattle'[4] and Hermann Grassmann as 'an den Heerden sich ergötzend, danach Gelüsten haben' (*i.e.*,delighting oneself with herds of cattle, having desire for them) in his *Worterbuch Zum Rigveda*[5], and as 'rinderlustigen' ( = greedy of cattle) in his translation of the *Ṛgveda*[6]. Following C. R. Lanman, who postulares a Sanskrit root *tṛp* in the sense of 'to steal'[7] and is thus decidedly in favour of taking *paśutṛp* to mean 'cattle-stealing', R.

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1. See Ludwig, *Der Rigveda* (Prag, 1876), I. p. 102 (No. 85 verse 5) : Griffith, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda* (Reprint, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasí, 1963), II. p. 28 : Peterson, *Hymns from the Ṛgveda* (2nd edn, Bombay, 1897) p. 314 (and also p. 332—'Who has made atonement').

   In his note on his translation of the expression *paśutṛpaṁ tāyum na*, Griffith writes : "Like a thief who feeds the cattle : who has performed penance for his theft, and, at the completion of the service, offered fodder to the stolen animal : 'who has feasted on stolen cattle'.—Max Müller."
2. Wilson, *Rig-veda-sanhitā*, Vol. IV. (Poona, 1927), p. 228.
3. Max Müller. *Vedic Hymns*, Part I (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 32), p. 257 : and R. C. Datta, *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (Tr. Bengali, Calcutta, 2nd edn., 1909), p. 799.
4. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, *s. v. paśu*'.
5. Leipzig, 1873. p. 795.
6. Leipzig, 1876. 1877.
7. See Lanman, *Sanskrit Reader*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 165 : "√tṛp, steal, not actually occurring in vbl. forms, but rendered probable by the deriv, tṛpu, 'thief', the cpds. *asu.* and *paśu-tṛp*, and by the Avestan √*tṛp*, 'steal'." (vbl = verbal; deriv = derivative; cpds = compounds).

Pischel, K. F. Geldner, A. A. Macdonell, A. B. Keith and several others translate *paśuirpam* as 'cattle-stealing', 'cattle-stealer' or 'cattle-thief.[8] Pischel could not be pleased with the comparison of Vasiṣṭha to a cattle-stealer and a calf, nor did he find much sense in the said line as occurring in the printed text of the *Ṛgveda*. So, overlooking the use of *na* ( = *iva*) for a second time in this line he felt inclined to read *paśutṛp tāyuḥ* for *paśutṛpam tāyum*, and to take this line to mean, "Release Vasiṣṭha, as a cattle-stealing thief (releases) the calf from the rope."[9] But the facts seriously opposing such a change in reading are that it affects the metre of verse, that it has no support in any known work, and that the double use of the word *na* (=*iva*) in the said line points invariably to the presence of two similes.

Now, as regards the suitability of the above-mentioned meanings given by scholars to the word *paśutṛpam*, it may be said that none of them is beyond objection. Sāyaṇa's explanation is to be set aside for four grave reasons, which are as follows : (1) the said verse of the *Ṛgveda* does not contain any mention or even indication of any penance (*prāyaścitta*) having been undergone by the thief for the crime ; (2) as the offer of fodder to cows is made after the practice of penance and is meant only for indicating whether the sin arising from the crime has been removed completely by the penance practised by the sinner,[10] it does not form a part of the latter ; (3) simple offer of fodder to the cows, which for some personal reason or for the satisfaction of the animals, cannot be said to follow invariably the practice of penance in a case in which there is no mention or indication of the latter; and

8. See Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I. p. 106; Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, II. (*Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. 34, 1951). p. 257; Macdonell, *Vedic Reader for Students*, (Oxford, 1928), p. 138; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 303; Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit Worterbuch* (*s. v.* '*paśutṛp*'); Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, *Vedic Reader*, (rev. edn., Calcutta University, 1944), pp. 280-81; and so on.

9. Pischel. *Vedische Studien*, I, p. 106.

10. For a description of the method of offering fodder to cows (*gogrāsadāna*) after penance, see Raghunandana's *Prāyaścitta-tattva* (in his *Smṛtitattva*, ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1895, Vol. 1), p. 472; Vijñāneśvara and Aparāditya's commentaries on *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* 3. 299, and so on.

(4) being bound by Varuṇa for the sins committed by himself and his forefathers Vasiṣṭha praises this god and wants to be set free by him (and not by any other deity), and the owner of a calf binds it with a rope for its undesirable activities and then sets it free after being moved to pity by its continuous lowing for getting released, whereas, according to Sāyaṇa's explanation, the thief pleases the cow with fodder etc., but it is untied and set free by a human being. From these it is evident that the said explanation of Sāyaṇa does not stand scrutiny, nor does it satisfy the conditions of the simile.

Of the explanations offered by Ludwig, Griffith and other modern scholars mentioned above, it may be said that some of them[11] follow Sāyaṇa very faithfully and the others give the reasons for the binding of the thief and for his release. Moreover, a few of them also make the word *tāyum* redundant[12], and none satisfies the conditions of the simile even partially. So, they have to be rejected without hesitation.

The unsatisfactory nature of the interpretations given for the word by the above-mentioned scholars induce us to take the root *tṛp* as transitive, to mean 'to satisfy' and to dissolve the compound as *'paśubhis tṛpnoti* (*tṛpati vā*) *iti, tam,* which means, *'yaḥ steno mokṣārtham grāhakam rājānam vā paśudānena tarpayati,tam* (*i. e.*, the thief who, for attaining freedom from bondage, satisfies his captor or the king by giving cattle according to his demand). It is hardly necessary to say that our explanation of the said word gives the cause for the thief's release from bondage and also satisfies all the conditions of the simile (which are wanting in the other interpretations). From the said hymn of the *Ṛgveda* we learn that Vasiṣṭha, being conscious of the bonds caused by the sins committed by himself and his forefathers, pleases Varuṇa with a moving *stoma* (prayer) and hopes to be released by the latter from bondage, just as a petty thief, who, bound by his captor or the king with a rope[13] for his crime, satisfies the latter with cattle and attains

11. *Viz.*, those of Ludwig, Griffith and Peterson.
12. See, for instance, Pischel, *Vedische Studien*, I, p. 106, and Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 302. Also Peterson, *Hymns from the Ṛig-veda*, pp. 232 and 233.
13. The word *dāman* ('rope') is to be connected both with *tāyu* and *vatsa*.

freedom from him, and a calf, which was bound with a rope by its master for its misconduct (with regard to its mother's milk or something else), excites the latter's sympathy by continuous lowing and is released by him. It is to be noted that the root *tṛp* in *paśutṛpam* is highly significant in pointing out how, for purchasing his freedom, even a petty thief had to give his captor or the king as many animals (most probably cows) as could create the latter's satisfaction.

Thus, our explanation of the word *paśutṛpam* throws much light on the method of punishment of those petty thieves who did not do any harm to the person or life of the Vedic people. It also shows that the application of our knowledge of comparative philology is not always very safe and helpful in bringing out the correct meaning of an obscure Vedic word or passage.

## INTERPRETATION AND INTEREST OF A WORD AND AN EXPRESSION OF THE *TAITTIRĪYA-SAṀHITĀ**

The word and the expression in question are *bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau* and *pādāv upa jīvataḥ* respectively, both occuring in an account of Prajāpati's creation of living beings which has been given in *Ts.* 7.1.1.4-6[1] as follows :

Being desirous of offspring, Prajāpati created, at first *from his mouth*, the Trivṛt Stoma, and, after it, the god Agni, the Gāyatri metre, the Rathantara Sāman, the Brāhmaṇa among men; and the goat (*aja*) among the beasts; then, *from his breast and arms*, he created the Pañcadaśa Stoma, and, after it, the god Indra, the Triṣṭubh metre, the Bṛhat Sāman, the Rājanya among men, and the ram (*avi*) among the beasts; next, *from the middle part* (*madhyataḥ*) of his body, he created the Saptadaśa Stoma, and, after it, the deities 'All-gods' (*viśve devāḥ*), the Jagati metre, the Vairūpa Sāman, the Vaiśya among men and the cows (*gāvaḥ*) among the beasts; and last of all, *from his feet*, he created the Ekaviṁśa Stoma and, after it, no god, but the Anuṣṭubh metre, the Vairāja Sāman the Śūdra among men, and the horse among the beasts.

The said Saṁhitā further says that the horse and the Śūdra are *bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau*' (*tau bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇāv aśvaś ca śūdraś ca*) and 'live by (depending) on the feet, (they) were created from the feet (of Prajāpati)' (*'pādāv upa jīvataḥ, patto hy asṛjyetām'*), and that the Śūdra is not considered fit in (the matter of performance of the Vedic) sacrifice' (*śudro yajñe' navakḷptaḥ*).

In commenting on *Ts.* 7. 1. 1, Sāyaṇa explains the word '*bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau*' thus :

भूतानां पूर्वोत्पन्नानां ब्राह्मणादीनां संक्रामः सम्यग् आक्रमणं तदधीनत्वेन अवस्थानमित्यर्थः। सोऽयं भूतसंक्रमणः ययोः अश्वशूद्रयोः, तावुवौ भूतसं-ा-मिणौ। शूद्राणां वर्णत्रयपरिचर्या मुख्यत्वेन तदधीनत्वम्, अश्वानां च वहनेन तदधीनत्वम् (See Ts., Part VIII, p. 2495).

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* *J. of the Dept. of Sans. Uni. of Delhi*, Vol. III, Nos. 1-2, pp. 63-71.

1. *Ts = Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (ed. Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1951).

Even a cursory glance over this explanation given by Sāyaṇa will make it clear that it consists of a number of highly confused statements based on absolutely wrong formation, association and meaning of words. According to Sāyaṇa, 'bhūta' means 'the Brāhmaṇas and others (who) originated earlier (from Prajāpati)', and he is perfectly right in this interpretation of this word; but although √*kram* (meaning 'to go', 'to move') is contradictory to, and not synonymous with, √*shtā* (meaning 'to remain', 'to stay', 'to stand'), he takes 'saṁkrāma' (a verbal noun, evidently derived from *sam*+ √*kram* with the addition of the Kṛt suffix *ghañ*>*a* in the neuter voice —bhāve vācye) to mean 'samyag ākramaṇam', which he explains as 'tad-adhīnatvena *avasthānam* ['*remaining* in (a state of) subservience (or, subordination) to them'] by arbitrarily importing the word 'tadadhīnatvena', the meaning of which is not comprised in that of 'saṁkrāma', even if it mean 'avasthāna.' It is hardly necessary to say that by *tat* (in 'tad-adhīnatvena') Sāyaṇa means 'the Brāhmaṇas and others' (because it is these people to whom the Śūdra and the horse are subservient); and he not only gives *sam*+ √*kram* a totally wrong meaning, but also makes *śūdra* and *aśva* the undeclared Subjects (*anukta kartā*) of 'saṁkrāma' (because, according to Sāyaṇa, the Śūdra and the horse are *subservient* to the Brāhmaṇas and others). Still, as his commentary shows, he expounds '*bhūta-saṁkrāmaḥ*' as '*bhūtānāṁ saṁkrāmaḥ*', although the word '*bhūta*', given the sixth case-ending and meaning 'the Brāhmaṇas and others', has relation not with '*saṁkrāmaḥ*' but with '*adhīnatvena*' [because, according to Sāyaṇa, '*bhūta-saṁkrāmaḥ*' means '*bhūtānām adhīnatvena aśva-śūdrayoḥ avasthānam*'—'the horseand the Śudra's remaining in (a state of) subservience to the created beings (i.e., Brāhmaṇas and others)' and is neither the (undeclared) Subject nor the (undeclared) Object of '*saṁkrāma*', and, as has been said above, he makes *śūdra* and *aśva* the undeclared Subjects of '*saṁkrāma*'. As the said Compound (*bhūta-saṁkrāmaḥ*) cannot be supported even by the dictum '*sāpekṣatve'pi gamakatvāt samāsaḥ*', there being no word in the text or the commentary which characterises the word '*bhūta*' or '*saṁkrāma*', we fail to understand how Sāyaṇa could make the word '*bhūta*', which has no relation with '*saṁkrāma*', have the sixth case-ending and enter into Ṣaṣṭhī-Tatpuruṣa Compound with the latter, by eliminating not only the word '*adhīnatvena*' with which it is related but also the word '*aśva-śūdrayoḥ*'

which, being the undeclared Subject, has relation with *saṁkrāmaḥ*'. Thus, Sāyaṇa dissolves and explains the Compound '*bhūtasaṁkrāmaḥ*' in a peculiar and most ungrammatical way which throws Pāṇini's rule 'kartṛ-karmaṇoḥ kṛti[2] (2.3.65) into the air and makes the Compound completely nonsensical (because '*bhūta-saṁkrāmaḥ*' has only the words '*bhūta*' and '*saṁkrāma*', which, according to Sāyaṇa, are not related to each other, '*bhūtānāṁ saṁkrāmaḥ*', in his opinion, being equivalent to '*bhūtānām* (i. e., *brāhmaṇādīnām*) *adhīnatvena aśva-śūdrayoḥ saṁkrāmaḥ* (i, e., *avasthānam*)'—'the horse and the Śūdra's remaining in (a state of) subservience to the living beings (i.e., to the Brāhmaṇas and others)'. The Compound '*bhūta-saṁkrāmaḥ*' could, however, be expounded as '*bhūtayoḥ saṁkrāmaḥ*' (and not as '*bhūtānāṁ saṁkrāmaḥ*', as Sāyaṇa has done), if '*bhūta*' meant the Śūdra and the horse. But we have already said that '*bhūta*' means the Brāhmaṇas and others who were created by Prajāpati earlier than the Śūdra.

Or, if, in Sāyaṇa's commentary '*bhūtānāṁ pūrvotpannānām* etc.' quoted above, we take '*bhūtānām*' to mean '(the Brāhmaṇas and others) who originated earlier', '*saṁkrāmaḥ*' to mean '*samyag ākramaṇam* (i.e. *adhīnatvena avasthānam*)', and '*aśvaaśūdrayoḥ*' to have the seventh case-ending, then '*bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau*' comes to mean '(those two, viz., the horse and the Śūdra) to whom (the Brāhmaṇas and others) who originated earlier, became subservient (or, subordinate)'. But this meaning, being definitely against Brāhmaṇical tradition which makes the horse and the Śūdra subservient to the Brāhmaṇas and others, has got no ground to stand upon,

Again, in deriving '*bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau*' from '*bhūta-saṁkrāma* (evidently with the addition of the Taddhita suffix *ini>in*), Sāyaṇa says :

"सोऽयं भूतसंक्रमणः ययोः अश्वशूद्रयोः, तावुभौ भूतसंक्रमिणौ। शूद्राणां वर्णत्रयपरिचर्यामुख्यत्वेन तदधीनत्वम्, अश्वानां च वहनेन तदधीनत्वम्।"

It is to be noted that here also Sāyaṇa wrongly takes '*saṁkrāmaḥ*' to mean '*adhīnatvena avasthānam*' and connects the wrongly form·

2. This rule says that the sixth case-ending is added to a word denoting the undeclared Subject or Object, when it is used in connection with a word ending in a Kṛt suffix used in the neuter voice (bhāve vācye).

ed Compound *'bhūta-saṁkrāmaḥ'* (and not merely the word *saṁkrāmaḥ'*) with *'aśva-śūdrayoḥ'* as its undeclared Subject, by totally ignoring the word *'bhūta'* immediately preceding *'saṁkrāma'* in the Compound. However, in explaining how the Śūdra and the horse become subservient to the Brāhmaṇas and others, Sāyaṇa says that the subservience of the Śūdra is due to his chief duty of serving the higher three castes, and that of the horse is due to its carrying these people.

From what has been said above it is evident that Sāyaṇa's derivation of *'bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau'* is totally wrong, and more so his interpretation of this word, which, as we have already seen above, he takes to mean 'remaining *in ( a state of ) subservience to* the living beings (viz. Brāhmaṇas and others) who originated earlier'.

Unfortunately this wrong interpretation of Sāyaṇa has been followed, without the least shade of doubt, by A. B. Keith, who translates *'bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau'*, as 'dependent on others'[3] evidently by keeping in view the words 'tad-adhīnatvena' and 'tad adhīnatvam' used by Sāyaṇa in his cammentary.

But it is quite obvious that, in the Compound *'bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau'*, the word *'saṁkrāmin'* has been formed by adding to the *Causative* (*ṇijanta*) *√kram* (meaning 'to cause to go', 'to cause to move') the Kṛt suffix *ṇini* (*<in*) in the sense of 'that is his duty (or habit or nature.—*tācchīlye*)', and that, consequently, the word 'bhūta', immediately preceding the word *'saṁkrāmin'* in the Compound and not meaning a genus (*jāti*), in the Accusative Case. So, the said Compound is to be derived as *'bhūtāni saṁkrāmayataḥ iti* (*tācchīlye*) *bhūta+sam-√kram+ṇic+*nini', in accordance with Pāṇini's rule 'supyajātau ṇinis tācchīlye' (3.2.78), which says that, in the sense of 'that is his duty (or habit or nature)', the suffix *ṇini* (*<in*) is added to a root, in case it is preceded immediately by an inflected word not meaning a genus. Consequently, the word *'bhūta-samkrāmiṇau'* is an Upapada-Tatpuruṣa Compound and means '(the two) having the duty (or habit or nature) of making beings go or move (by serving them as their feet)'. J. Muir renders

3. See Keith, *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (English translation; Harvard Oriental Series), Part II, p. 558.

it as 'transporters of (other) creatures'[4] and P. V. Kane as 'conveyers of beings'[5] but, as the roots *ṇī* (meaning 'to lead', 'to conduct', 'to take') and *vah* (meaning 'to carry', to transport', 'to bear', 'to convey') are not synonymous with √*kram* (meaning 'to go', 'to move') or √*kram*+ṇic (meaning 'to cause to go' or 'to cause to move'), these renderings of Muir and Kane give only the indirect or secondary sense of this word and not its direct or primary meaning.

Of the expression '*tasmāt pādāv upa jīvataḥ, patto hy asṛjyetām*', Sāyaṇa's interpretation is as follows :

"यस्मादश्वशूद्रौ पादत उत्पन्नौ तस्मात् पादावेव तयोर्जीवनसाधनम्। शूद्रो हि ब्राह्मणाद्याज्ञया पद्भ्यां यत्र क्वापि गमनागमने कुर्वन् जीवति, अश्वश्च ब्राह्मणादिवाहिपादैर्यत्र क्वापि गच्छन् खाद्यं लभते।"

"As the Śūdra and the horse came out from (Prajāpati's) feet, so it is the two feet which are the means of their livelihood, for a Śūdra lives by doing (the work of ) going and coming by means of (his *two*) *feet* wheresoever (necessary) at the order of the Brāhmaṇas and others, and a horse gets its food by going wheresoever (necessary) by means of its ( *four* ) *feet* carrying the Brāhmaṇas and others."

So, according to Sāyaṇa, the Śūdra and the horse earn their livelihood by means of their *own feet.*

Following Sāyaṇa, Muir translates the said expression thus : "Hence (too) these two subsist by *their feet*, for they were created from the foot."[6] Like Muir, Keith also translates it as follows : "Therefore they depend on *their feet*, for they were created from the feet."[7] Although, in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 34, Kane quotes and translates a part of *Ts*. 7. 1. 1. 6 but not the said expression which immediately follows this part, his statement about the duty of the Śūdra that 'he was employed for carrying persons in a palanquin or otherwise' indicates that, according to Kane also, the Śūdra, like the horse, depended on his *own feet* for his livelihood.

4. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts* (London). I, p. 16.
5. Kane. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part I p. 34.
6. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, I, p. 16.
7. *Taittiriya Sanhita* (English translation), Pars II, p. 558.

But we cannot overlook the dual number in *pādau* (in the expression 'pādāv upa jīvataḥ'), which points to a human being having two feet and not to a horse, which has four. If the author of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* really wanted to express the idea that the Śūdra and the horse earned their living by means of their own feet, he would certainly think it more reasonable to say 'tāsmāt tau pādopajīvinau, patto hy asṛjyetām' in order to avoid the difficulty to be created by the difference in the numbers of feet possessed by a human being and a horse. Moreover, there are statements in early Vedic and non-Vedic works that the Śūdra was originally meant for serving 'the feet' of the members of the higher three castes. Thus, in giving the story of Prajāpati's creation of Stomas, metres, gods, and classes of men and beasts from the different parts of his body, the *Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa*[8] (1.69, p. 31) says that as the Śūdra was created from Prajāpati's feet, he 'desires to live by washing the feet' (of the members of the higher three castes).[9] In the same story given in much the same way the *Tāṇḍya mahā-brāhmaṇa*[10] (6.1.11) also says that being created from Prajāpati's feet the Śūdra 'does not prosper by violating (his duty of) washing the feet' (of the members of the higher three castes).[11] The *Apastamba-dharmasūtra*[12] (2. 26. 15) says that 'the Śūdra who

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8. Ed. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur, 1954.
9. "स पद्भ्यामेव प्रतिष्ठाया एकविंशं स्तोमम् असृजत ¨ शूद्रम् ¨ अविं पशुम् । तस्मात् शूद्रः........पादावनेज्येनैव जिजीविषति । पद्भ्यां ह्येनं प्रतिष्ठाया असृजत"
10. *Alias Pañcaviṁśa-brāhmaṇa*; ed. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1935-36.
11. "स पत्त एव प्रतिष्ठाया एकविंशमसृजत तम्''' अन्वसृज्यत''' शूद्रो मनुष्यः । तस्मात् शूद्रः''''पादावनेज्यं नाति वर्धते, पत्तो हि सृष्टः । तस्मात् एकविंश-स्तोमानां प्रतिष्ठा, प्रतिष्ठाया हि सृष्टः........।" (नाति वर्धते = न अतिक्रम्य वर्धते).

    In his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 34 P. V. Kane quotes this passage and translates 'pādāvanejyaṁ nāti vardhate' as 'does not go beyond washing the feet (of the three other varṇas). But this translation is wrong, because the Śūdra has to do many other duties besides washing the feet of the members of the higher Varṇas.
12. Ed. Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 93, 1932.

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washes the feet' (of the said people for earning his livelihood) is exempted from payment of taxes.[13] It is hardly necessary to say that these statements about the Śūdra's washing the feet of the said people do not point to this act as the Śūdra's only duty to them but are indicative of his complete submission to and dependence on them as his masters and, consequently, of his obligation to render all kinds of service desired of him by these people.

It is remarkable that, although the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* belongs to the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda*, it prescribes to Śūdra the duty of washing the feet of the twice-born people. So, the word 'pādau' in the expression *'tasmāt pādāv upa jīvataḥ'* of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* should be taken to mean the feet of the said people, and, consequently, the expression *'pādāv upa jīvataḥ'* to mean '(the two, viz., the Śūdra and the horse) live (in complete dependence) on the feet (of the members of the higher three castes)' i. e., for their own maintenance they render service to these people with complete submission to them. As the Śūdra serves a twice-born man by carrying him in a palanquin, or drawing or driving his car or cart, or propelling his boat as a boatman, or carrying his message to a distant place, or working in some other similar capacity, he practically serves the feet of the latter by doing their work and thus giving them complete relife. Similarly, by being on the move with a man on his back or by drawing his car, a horse servss the man's feet by doing their work. Consequently, the *primary meaning* of *'bhūtasaṁkrāmiṇau'* is '(the two, viz., the śūdra and the horse) making creatures go or move (from place to place by serving as their feet)'. But as the Śūdra has to do for his master many other kinds of work which are required by the latter for the sustenance of his individual, social and religions life, and as the horse serves his master also by carrying burdens or drawing the plough' the *wider meaning* of *'bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau'* must be '(the two viz the horse and the Śūdra) making creaturs (viz., the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya and the Vaiśya) go on (in the way of their life)'; and this meaning finds strong support in the statements of the *Jaiminīya brāhmaṇa* and the *Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa* that it was for 'pratiṣṭhā' ('establishment' i. e., placing the life of the twice-born people on a firm basis) that the Śūdra was created from Prajāpati's feet (on

13. Śūdraś ca pādāvanektā (i. e. akaraḥ).

which Prajāpati's body rested)[14] In its Puruṣa-sūkta the *Ṛgveda* also says that the Śūdra was born from Puruṣa's two feet (which were the props and means of movement of Puruṣa's body).[15] Although this work takes Puruṣa's mouth, arms and thighs to have turned into, and thus to be identical with, the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya and the Vaiśya respectively[16] it gives out the Śūdra to be different from Puruṣa's feet but to be associated with these by his origin. As both Puruṣa and Prajāpati, who are looked upon as identical,[17] are taken to be the Vedic Sacrifice (*yajña*),[18] the *Ṛgveda* makes the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya and the Vaiśya the embodiments of Sacrifice, and the Śūdra its basis, and implies that the Śūdra was originally non-sacrificial and not directly connected in his origin with the other three, that, before incorporation into the Vedic society, he did not worship any Vedic deity, and, that it was for the sake of Sacrifice (*yajña*) that he was admitted

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14. For the relevant passages of these two Brāhmaṇas see foot-notes 2 and 4 on p. 68 above.

15-16. *Ṛgveda* 10. 90, 11-12.

"यत् पुरुषं व्यदधुः कतिधा व्यकल्पयन् ।
मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू का ऊरू पादा उच्येते ॥
ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।
ऊरू तदस्य यद् वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायता ॥"

"As (the gods) made Puruṣa ready (for sacrifice), into how many parts did (they) dispose (him)?

What (was) his mouth, what (his two) arms, what (his two) thighs, (and) what (his two) feet called?

"His mouth became the Brāhmaṇa; (his two) arms were made (into) the Rājanya;

what (was) his (two) thighs, that (became) the Vaiśya; from (his two) feet the Śūdra was born."

17. See, for instance, *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (Ānandāśrama Press ed.) 3. 8. 23.1 (puruṣo vai yajñaḥ, yajñaḥ prajāpatiḥ), and Sāyaṇa's commentary on *Ṛgveda* 10. 90. 11-14 and 16.

18. For the identification of Puruṣa with Sacrifice (yajña) see *Ṛgveda* 10. 90. 16 and *Taittirīya brāhmaṇa* 3. 8. 23. 1 (quoted in the immediately preceding foot-note), and of Prajāpati with it see *Ts* (1. 6. 11. 1 = 2.5.7.3; 3.2.3.4, 5. 1. 8. 3-4, etc), *Maitrāyaṇī-saṁhitā* (1.10.5., 3. 6 4., 3. 9. 6. etc), *Kāṭhakasaṁhitā* (19. 6, 23. 2, etc), *Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha saṁhitā* (30. 4, 40. 2, 41. 7, etc), *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (Mādhyandina School, 1. 1. 1. 13, 1. 5. 2. 17, 1. 7. 4.4, etc), and so on.

into the Vedic society without any god of his own. As a matter of fact, the Śūdra, as the *Ṛgveda*, *Atharvaveda*, etc., show.[19] was originally a hostile non-Aryan tribe, which occupied territories to the north or north-west of India. After complete defeat brought on by its 'lack of martial spirit' and its 'possession of little valour', as the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* say,[20] it was widely absorbed into the Aryan society and made to form the fourth class or caste, only for serving the members of this society by its dexterity in the practice of various kinds of arts and crafts (*śilpa*, *kāru*), by tilling

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19. We have seen above how the *Ṛgveda* distinguishes the Śūdra from the Brāhmaṇa and others of the Vedic fold.

The *Atharva-veda* makes the *Śūdra* distinct from the 'Ārya' in a number of places (such as *Śaunaka-saṁhitā* 4. 20. 4 and 8, 19. 32. 8, 19. 62. 1; *Paippalāda-saṁhitā* 2. 31. 2, 2. 32. 5, 3. 13. 8, 8. 6. 8, 9. 10. 5, etc), and classes him with the northern or north-western non-Aryan hostile tribes in two verses (5. 22. 6-7), in which Takman (Malarial Fever) is asked to attack and exhaust by enjoyment a wanton Dāsa girl and a lascivious Śūdra girl living in far-off lands with the Mūjavats, Mahāvṛṣas and Bahlikas (all of whom are of non-Aryan origin and culture).

The *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (1. 2. 6. 7) describes the Brāhmaṇa as the *daivya varṇa* and the Śūdra as the *asurya varṇa*; according to the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* (10.69), a Śūdra is 'anārya'; and the *Baudhāyana*, (2. 2. 3) and the *Āpastamba-dharmasūtra* (1. 27. 11) call him 'kṛṣṇa varṇa'.

Other matters favouring the Śūdra's non-Aryan origin will be stated in our article entitled "*A Critical Study of the Vedic Traditions of Origin of the Śūdra*" ( to be published in *Our Heritage*, a half-yearly bulletin of the Research Department, Sanskrit College, Calcutta).

20. See *Vāyu-purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama press ed.) 8. 165–166 ab, and *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press ed.) 1. 7. 157 cd–158 ab

*sevantaś ca* (*Vāyu-p.—śocantaś ca*) *dravantaś ca paricaryāsu ye ratāḥ*|
*nistejaso' lpa-vīryāṣ ca śūdrāṁs tān abravicca* (*Vāyu*-p.-'*tu*' for '*ca*')*saḥ* ||

the soil, by tending cattle, by working as messengers or carriers of loads, by summoning people according to neccessity, and by doing many other kinds of work for facilitating the performance of Vedic sacrifices and making the life of the Vedic people easier. Equally important in the life of these people was the horse which rendered them extremely useful service both in times of war and peace and lived in complete dependance on them for their maintenance. So, it is very natural that the word *'bhūta-saṁkrāmiṇau'* and the expression *'pādāv upajīvataḥ'* have been used with respect to the Śūdra and the horse in the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*.

# WAS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT OF THIEVES UNKNOWN IN THE ṚGVEDIC AGE ?*

In the *Cambridge History of India*[1] it has been said that 'of death as a punishment for theft, as in later times and in other primitive societies, curiously enough nothing appears in the Rigveda'. A similar statement has been made in the *History and Culture of the Indian People*[2] as follows : "Whereas death was one of the punishments for theft in later times, it was not so in the Rigvedic age." Macdonell and Keith are in a state of indecision and doubt when, in connection with the nature of thieves in the Vedic age, they say in their *Vedic Index*[3] (I, p. 304) : "The practice of binding them in stocks seems clearly referred to. But later, at any rate—and in all probability earlier also, as in other countries—a more severe penalty could be exacted and death inflicted by the king." It is to be noted that for the latter part of their statement Macdonell and Keith refer not to any Vedic passage but simply to 'Gautamadharmasūtra 12.43-45, Āpastambadharmasūtra 1.9.25. 4-5, and Jolly, Recht und Sitte, 124.' So, by the word 'earlier' they mean an age not much prior to that of Gautama and other comparatively Dharmaśāstra-writers, who flourished much later than the Vedic period. In his *History of Dharmaśāstra*[4], Vol. III, p. 519, Dr. Kane refers to *Ṛgveda* 8.67.14 (quoted and translated below) with the statement that 'a *stena* was bound with ropes (when caught)', but he says nothing more about the nature of punishment of thieves in the Vedic age, although he says much on *steya* and *sāhasa* in Vol. III, pp. 519-530 and on *steya-prāyaścitta* in Vol. IV, pp. 69ff. and 101ff. on the basis of these topics as dealt with in the Smṛti works.

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* *Our Heritage*, Vol. XV, pp. 1-25.

1. Vol. I—Ancient India (ed. E. J. Rapson, first Indian reprint, Delhi, 1955), p. 87.
2. Vol. I—Vedic Age, (ed. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1951), p. 357.
3. Published by Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1958.
4. *Published, in five volumes, by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1930-62.*

A careful study of the *Ṛgveda*, however, shows that this work contains at least two highly interesting verses which testify definitely to the punishment of thieves with death. One of these verses is *Ṛgveda* 5.79.9, which runs thus :

व्युच्छा दुहितर्दिवो मा चिरं तनुथा अपः ।
नेत्त्वा स्तेनं यथा रिपुं तपापि सूरो अर्चिषा सुजाते अश्वसूनृते ॥

This verse has been translated by Wilson, Griffith, Das, Datta, Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner, as follows :

"Daughter of heaven, Dawn ! delay not our [sacred] rite; let not the sun scorch thee with his ray, as [a prince punishes] a thief, or [subdues] an enemy : bright-born goddess, [who art] sincerely praised for [the gift of ] horses."—Wilson.[5]

"O Daughter of the Sky, shine forth; delay not to perform thy task.

Let not the Sun with fervent heat consume thee like a robber foe, high-born ! delightful with thy steeds !"—Griffith.[6]

"Daughter of heaven, flash forth or be dawning; do not tarry long; let not the Sun scorch thee with his rays as [a king punishes] a thief [or subdues his] enemy, etc."—Das.[7]

"हे स्वर्गनन्दिनी ऊषा ! तुम प्रकाशित हओ, आमादिगेर कार्ये विलम्ब करिओ ना; राजा येरूप चौरेर शास्तिविधान करेन अथवा शत्रु जय करेन, तद्रूप सूर्यं येन रश्मिद्वारा तोमाके सन्तप्त ना करेन । हे सुजात देवि ! लोके अश्वलाभेर निमित्त सर्वान्तः करणे तोमार स्तव करिया थाके ।" Datta.[7a]

[="O Dawn, daughter of Heaven, be manifest; do not make delay in our work; as a king punishes a thief or conquers an enemy in the same way let not the Sun scorch thee with (his) rays. O well-born goddess ! people eulogise thee whole-heartedly for gaining horses."]

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5. *Rig-veda-sanhitā* (English translation by H. H. Wilson), Vol. III (Poona, 1926), p. 276.
6. *Hymns of the Ṛgveda* (English translation by R. T. H. Griffith), Vol, I (Varanasi, 1963), p. 547.
7. Abinas Chandra Das, *Rig-vedic India*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1921), p. 397.
7a. Ramesh Chandra Datta, *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (translated into Bengali; Calcutta, second ed., 1909), p. 604.

"O Himmelstochter, leuchte auf;
und nicht verzögere dein Werk,
Damit dich nicht, wie einen Dieb,
die Sonne brennt mit ihrem Strahl,
o edle, rossereiche du."—Grassmann.[8]

[="O daughter of Heaven, shine up; and do not delay thy work, so that the Sun does not burn thee like a thief with his ray, O thou highborn (one) rich in horses !"]

"leuchte auf, himelstochter, verzögere dein werk nicht/nicht soll wie einen feindlichen räuber die sonne mit ihrer flamme dich brennen; o edele an rossen trefliches besitzende."—Ludwig.[9]

[="Shine up, Heaven's daughter, delay not thy work; let not the Sun burn thee like a hostile robber, with his blaze, O highborn (one) with excellent possession of horses !"]

"Leuchte auf, Tochter des Himmels, zieh dein Work nicht in die Länge, damit dich nicht wie einen betrügerischen Dieb die Sonne mit ihrer Glut versenge, du Edelgeborene, Rosseschenkende."—Geldner[10].

[="Shine up, daughter of Heaven, draw thy work not into their length of time, so that the Sun does not scorch thee with his ray like a deceitful thief, thou noble by birth (and) bountiful of horses !"].

But the question is whether we should accept any of these translations as reliable. In this verse there are several points which deserve very careful consideration. A prayer has been made to Uṣas (Dawn) in the expression "मा चिरं तनुथा अपः" (in which 'अपः' means 'कर्म'—work). But what do the word 'चिर' and the root 'तन्' ( in 'तनुथाः' ) really mean, and how is 'अपः' related to the verb 'तनुथाः' ? Whose work and what sort of work does 'अपः'

8. *Rig-veda* (German translation by Hermann, Grassmann) Vol. I, (Leipzig, 1876), p. 224.
It is to be noted that in his translation Grassmann gives no equivalent for the word 'रिपुम्'.

9. *Der Rigveda* (German translation by Alfred Ludwig), Vol. I (Prag, 1876), No. 11 (p. 18).

10. *Der Rigveda* (German translation by K. F. Geldner), Vol. II (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 34, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1951), p. 84.

mean ? Wherein does the similarity between Uṣas and a Stena lie, so that a comparison between them as scorched or burnt by 'Sūra' has been possible ? Are the words 'स्तेनम्' and 'रिपुम्' to be taken separately as substantives with the second case-ending ? If not, what is the real significances of the word 'रिपु' for which it has to be taken as a qualifying adjunct to 'स्तेन', and how far does this word (रिपु) serve to facilitate the comparison between Uṣas and a Stena ? Do the words 'सूर' and 'अर्चिस्', though used in connection with Uṣas as well as 'Stena', carry the same meanings in both the cases ? Why is Uṣas called 'सुजाता' and 'अश्वसूनृता', and what do these words really mean, so that their use in this verse as well as in the others of the same Sūkta may not be irrelevant and unnecessary ? These are the most pertinent questions which are to be answered first before proceeding to interpret and translate the said verse corretly.

Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, a pre-Sāyaṇa commentator of the *Ṛgveda* explains the part "मा चिरं तनुथा अप:" of the said verse of this Veda as "मा चिरं कुरु उदयलक्षणं कर्म, शीघ्रं व्युच्छेत्यर्थ:[11], in which he gives 'कुरु' as the synonym for 'तनुथा:' and takes the word 'चिरं' as an adjective meaning 'दीर्घ' (long) and qualifying the substantive 'कर्म', or as an adverb having the same meaning but qualifying the verb 'कुरु', or as a noun meaning 'दीर्घकाल' (long time) and taking the second case-ending in the sense of 'अत्यन्तसंयोग' (i. e. 'व्याप्ति') Sāyaṇa and Mudgala[12], on the other hand, explain the said part of the verse as "अप: अस्मदीयं कर्म प्रति चिरं विलम्बं मा तनुथा: कृथा: (Mudgala— मा कुरु for कृथा:')". Thus, although, like Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and Mudgala take the root 'तन्' (in 'तनुथा:') to be synonymous with 'कृ' ('to do'), they look upon the word 'चिर' as a noun meaning 'विलम्ब' and as the object of the verb 'तनुथा:'; and, for connecting 'अप:' with the remaining part of the sentence and also for accounting for its second case-ending, they supply a new word

11. *Ṛgveda* (edited, with the commentaries of Skandasvāmin, Udgītha, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Mudgala, by Vishva Bandhu and published by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, Panjab), Part IV 1964), p. 1924.

12. *Ibid.*, Part IV, p. 1924.

'प्रति', an Indeclinable used as a Karma-pravacanīya, and thus get over the difficulties created by the said relation between 'चिरम्' and 'तनुथाः'. As Sāyaṇa's commentary of the *Ṛgveda* is much more scholarly and consequently enjoys much greater fame and popularity than those of Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and others and as his interpretation of 'चिरं तनुथाः' does not apparently allow scope for doubt, it has been followed by Wilson, Griffith, Das, Datta, Grassmann and Ludwig[13] and also by Keith.[14] Now, the word 'चिर', which may be a noun or an adjective, has been used only twice in the *Ṛgveda*[15], but not even once in any of the two recensions of the *Atharva-veda* now available to us. In the *Yajurveda* it has been used thrice in the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*, five times in the *Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā*, once in the *Maitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā*, and once in the *Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha saṁhitā*.[16] Of the Brāhmaṇas, the *Aitareya* has it twice, the *Śatapatha* seven times, and the *Sāmavidhāna* once.[17] In all the places of these

13. see Wilson, Griffith, Das, Datta, Grassmann and Ludwig's translations of *Ṛgveda* 5. 79. 9 quoted above.
14. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 31, Combridge Massachusetts, 1925), p. 120—'..........the prayer that is once offered to her not to *delay* her coming, that the sun may not scorch her as a thief or an enemy'.
15. Viz., in *Ṛgveda* 5. 79. 9 (cited above) and 5. 56. 7 (referred to below).
16. See *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (ed. Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1900) 5. 4. 5. 4, 6. 5. 6. 5; *Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā* (ed. Śrīpāda-śarman, Svādhyāya-maṇḍala, Bombay, 1943) 12. 2 (p. 111) 21. 8 (p. 227), 26. 6 (p. 279): *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (ed. Śrīpāda-śarman, Svādhyāya-maṇḍala, Bombay, 1942) 2. 1. 8 (p- 108); *Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṁhitā* (ed. Raghu Vira, Lahore, 1932) 41. 4 (p. 239).
17. See *Aitereya-brāhmaṇa* (ed. Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1930-31) 1. 16 (3. 5); *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (ed. Acyuta-grantha-mālā, Varanasi, Saṁvat 1994-7) 6. 6. 2 9. 11. 5. 1. 4, 11. 5. 3. 8-12, 13. 8. 1. 2; *Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa* (ed. A. C. Burnell, with Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya, vol. I, London, 1873) 3. 4. 11. (p. 85).

    According to the *Vaidika padānukrama-koṣa* (Brāhmaṇa-bhāga) published by the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur (Panjab), the word चिर occurs once in the *Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa*', but we could not find it in the *Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa* edited by Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra and published from Nagpur in 1954.

works except on three occasions in the *Śatapatha-brahmaṇa*[18],this word has been used with the second case-ending, and in many of these places it means 'a long time' (दीर्घकाल), and in the remaining others, 'long' (दीर्घ, only in point of time), but on no occasion does it mean 'delay' (विलम्ब), which is its indirect or secondary meaning.[19] Even in the expression "मा··· यामेषु··· चिरं करत्" contained in *Ṛgveda* 5.56.7, which Sāyaṇa explains as "यामेषु गमनेषु सोऽश्वः चिरं विलम्बं मा करत् मा करोतु" and Mudgala as "यामेषु गमनेषु सोऽश्वः मा चिरं करत् मा करोतु विलम्बम्",[20] the word 'चिर' really means 'a long time' (दीर्घकाल).[21]

18. Viz., in *Śatapathe-brāhmaṇa* 11. 5. 3. 8-12 ····पुरा चिरादस्य ज्येष्ठः पुत्रो म्रियेत····पुरा चिरादस्य गृहपतिर्म्रियेत····etc.) 13. 8. 12 ....(चिर एव कुर्यात्····).

    In his English translation of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* Julius Eggeling renders 'पुरा चिरात्' as 'before long', and 'चिरे' as 'a long time after'.—See Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLIV, pp. 82-83 and p. 422).

19. We have already seen that in *Ṛgveda* 5. 79.9 Sāyaṇa as well as Mudgala takes 'चिर' to mean 'विलम्ब'. Similarly, in *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* 1. 16 (3. 5, p. 68) Sāyaṇa explains 'चिरम्' (in the expression "····यदि चिरं जायेत····") as 'विलम्बेन'. As in all other cases of the use of this word ('चिर') in the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇs the meaning 'दीर्घकाल' or 'दीर्घ' (in point of time) is undeniable, there is no necessity of taking this word as occuring in *Ṛgveda* 5. 79. 9 and *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* 1. 16 (3.5) to mean 'विलम्ब,' which being derived from 'वि+ √लम्ब्' (meaning 'to hang', 'to be suspended', 'to procrastinate'), relates to the *mode* of doing a work (the question of time being indirectly connected with that) and not directly to the *time* necessary for its performance.

20. *Ṛgveda* (ed. Vishva Bandhu, with the commentaries of Skandasvāmin, Udgītha Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Mudgala), Part IV, p. 1841.

21. So, "मा····यामेषु····चिरं करत्" is to be taken to mean "मा गमनेषु दीर्घकालं करोतु"—"Let not [the horse] take a long time in its course."

    But following Sāyana Max Müller, Wilson, Griffith Datta, Ludwig, Geldner and others take 'चिरम्' in the said

The meaning 'a long time' or 'long' (in point of time) of this word is also evident not only from Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava's commentary, in which 'कालदैर्घ्यम्' has been given as a synonym for 'चिरम्'[22] but also from the use of the word 'ताजक्' as its antonym in *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* 5. 4. 5. 4-5 (यं कामयेत चिरं पाप्मनो निर्मुच्येतेत्येकैकं तस्य जुहुयाच्चिरमेव पाप्मनो निर्मुच्यते यं कामयेत ताजक् पाप्मनो निर्मुच्येतेति सर्वाणि तस्यानुद्रुत्य जुहुयात् ताजगेव पाप्मनो निर्मुच्यते....). According to Sāyaṇa 'ताजक्' means 'तदानीमेव' or 'तस्मिन्नेव काले' (i.e. 'immediately,' or 'in a very short time').[23] In the *Atharva-veda* this word occurs as 'ताजत्' which has

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expression to mean 'delay.'—See Max Müller, *Vedic Hymns*, Part I (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 32, reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1964), p. 337; Wilson, *Rig-veda-sanhita*, Vol, III, p. 250; Griffith *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, p. 527; Ramesh Chandra Datta, *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (translated into Bengali), p. 581; Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, II, p. 305 (No. 690, verse 7)—'zogerung' (=delay); Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, II, p. 64—'säumen' (=delay); and so on.

According to Grassmann the expression 'मा.... चिरं करत्,' as occuring in the said verse of the *Ṛgveda*, means "Nicht saum'............larg" (="Let not........delay long").—See Grassmann, *Rig-veda*, Vol. I, p. 208, But in his *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda* (Leipzig, 1873), col. 456 Grassmann gives for 'चिर' (adjective) and 'चिरम्' (neuter) the German equivalents 'lang' (='long') and 'lange' (='for a long time') respectively.

22. *Ṛgveda* (ed. Vishva Bandhu, with the commentaries of Skandasvāmin, Udgītha, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Mudgala), Part IV, p. 1841.

23. See Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya on *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* 2. 1. 5. 7 and 2.2.2.3 and *Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa* (ed. Ānanda-candra Vedāntavāgīśa, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta), Vol. II (1874), p. 385.

In his English translation on the *Taittiriya-saṁhitā* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 18 and 19, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1914) Keith renders 'ताजक्' as 'swiftly' on pp. 139 and 148 and as 'quickly' on pp. 432 and 542, but the context and the use of the word 'चिर' as an antonym of 'ताजक्' show that this rendering is not at all happy.

That the meaning of 'ताजक्' relates to the *time* necessary for the performance of a work and not to the *manner* of

evidently the same meaning as that of 'ताजक्'.[24] In those cases in

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doing it, is further shown by the Old Persian word 'ताज़ह्', which means 'fresh' or 'immediate'. Gf. also the Bengali word 'ताजा' (meaning 'fresh', and secondarily 'living'), which has been derived either from the Sanskrit word 'ताजक्' or 'ताजत्' or from the Old Persian word 'ताज.ह्'.

24. See *Atharva-veda* 8.8.3, in which 'ताजत्' means 'in no time' (i. e., 'immediately' or 'in a very short time').
In their *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* Bohtlingk and Roth take this word as an adverb to mean 'plotzlich' (=suddenly) and 'jahlings' (=abruptly, or in violent haste), and following them Whitney translates the expression "ताजद्भङ्ग इव भज्यन्ताम्" as "Let them be *suddenly* broken like hemp." (See also *Vedic Index*, I, p. 305.) But this is not very convincing, for 'sudden' breaking presupposes stout resistance (which is not at all possible with hemp, which is too weak to resist pressure even for a very short time). Griffith's translation "Like reeds let them be broken through" is equally unsatisfactory. We cannot overlook the word 'ताजक्' as used in the *Taittirīya-saṁhita, Kāthaka-saṁhitā, Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṁhitā, Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa, Taittiriya brāhmaṇa* and *Taittirīya-āraṇyaka*, and also the facts that in the *Taittirīyasaṁhitā* 'ताजक् has been used as an antonym of 'चिर' and that there is no authority, direct or indirect, for taking 'ताजत्', to mean 'through' (or 'thoroughly' or 'from end to end').
In the *Kauśika sūtra* (ed. Maurice Bloomfield, Baltimore, 1889, 16. 14) of the *Atharvaveda*, 'ताजद्भङ्गः' has been used as a compound word but without accent in any of its members (like the other words of this Sūtra work). Although it means एरण्ड' (the castor-oil plant) according to the commentator Dārila and is thus a Nitya-samāsa (permanent compound), it may, as a Bahuvrihi compound be expounded as 'ताजत्' ( = तत्क्षणादेव)भङ्गोऽस्य इति' ('what breaks in no time'). According to Böhtlingk and Roth 'ताजद्भङ्ग' (a Bahuvrihi compound in the masculine gender) means 'eine best. leicht brechende' (i. e., what is broken most easily). But the use of 'ताजक्' in the Vedic Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas mentioned above, particularly

which the word 'चिर' has been used adverbially with the second case-endindg,[25] its meaning naturally is 'by, or in the course of, a long time' ( 'दीर्घकालेन' अथवा, 'दीर्घकालो यथा भवति तथा' ) and not 'slowly'[26], which is indirect or secondary. But in the other cases, if any, the use of the second case-ending in 'चिर' should be taken to have been in the sense of 'अत्यन्तसंयोग' (i.e. 'व्याप्ति').[27]

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in the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (in which it has been used as an antonym of 'चिर'), shows that it cannot mean 'easily'. In his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* Monier Williams takes 'ताजद्भङ्ग' to mean 'a species of very fragile wood'. He also follows Böhtlingk and Roth in rendering 'ताजत्' as 'suddenly', 'abruptly'.

25. As in *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* 5.4.5.4 ("....चिरं पाप्मनो निर्मुच्येत ..."), 5.4.5.5 ("...चिरमेव पाप्मनो निर्मुच्येत...."), 6.5.6.5 ("...यदि चिरम् अवर्षुकः...."), *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* 1.16 (3.5, p. 68—"...यदि चिरं जायते...."), *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* 6.6.2.9 (यदि चिरम् अच्चिरारोहति....), and so on. See also *Kāṭhaka-saṁhitā* 12.2 (p. 111—"....चिरम्... एयुश्चिरं पुनः परेयुः...."), 21.8 (p. 227—चिरं पाप्मनो मुच्येतेति चिरमेव पाप्मनो मुच्यते...."), 26.6 (p. 279—"...चिरं प्रवर्षति), *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* 2.1.8 (p. 108—यदि चिरमिव वीर्येत........), *Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṁhitā* 41.4 (p. 239—"....चिरं प्रवर्षति...."), *Sāma-vidhāna-brahmaṇa* 3.4.11 ("...स चिरं जीवति ...."), *Aitareya-āraṇyaka* (ed. A. B. Keith, Oxford, 1909) 3.2.4 (p. 138—न चिरमिव जीविष्यति...."), 1.1.2 (p. 77—चिरतरमिव वा........ आगच्छन्ति ...."), and *Taittirīy-āraṇyaka* (ed. Ānandāśrama Press, Poona, 1926, with Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya) 2.20.1 ("...चिरं जीवितं वर्धयन्ति....").

26. In his English translation (p. 432) of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* Keith renders 'चिरम्' (occurring in *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* 5.4.5.4-5) as 'slowly'. But in the said passage of this Saṁhitā this word really means 'by a long period' or 'in the course of a long time', from which the meaning 'slowly' may be derived indirectly.

27. Thus, in *Sāma-vidhāna-brāhmaṇa* 3.4.11 (p. 85 — स चिरं जीवति), the word 'चिरम्' may be taken either as an adverb modifying 'जीवति' or as a noun having the second case ending due to 'अत्यन्तसंयोग' (i. e. 'व्याप्ति'). As an ad-

The root 'तन्' has also been used in the forms 'तनुते', 'तनुध्वम्', 'तनुष्व', 'तनुहि', 'तनोमि' and 'तनोषि' in a good number of verses of the *Ṛgveda*, but in all the cases, except one, it is synonymous with वि+ √स्तृ' (meaning 'to spread', 'to extend', 'to stretch'). This solitary exception is *Ṛgveda*, 8. 19. 20 ( ....अव स्थिरा तनुहि भूरि शर्धतां....), in which the verb 'तनुहि' has been used not singly but with the Indecline 'अव'. Sāyaṇa explains the expression "अव स्थिरा तनुहि भूरि शर्धताम्" as "शर्धताम् अभिभवतां शत्रूणां भूरि भूरीणि बहूनि स्थिराणि दृढान्यपि अव तनुहि अवाञ्चि कुरु, पराजितानि कुरु इत्यर्थः", taking 'अव' to mean 'अवाञ्चि' i.e, 'पराजितानि' and 'तनुहि' to mean 'कुरु'. Following Sāyaṇa Wilson translates 'अव तनुहि' as 'humble', Griffith as 'bring down', Datta as 'पराजित कर' (=humble, bring down), and Ludwing as 'zieh nider' (='bring down'), whereas Grassmann follows Böhtlingk and Roth in translating this expression as 'mache schlaff' (='make slack')[28]. But, as 'अव', being associated with a noun or a verb, is capable of reversing its meaning,[29] as in the other places of the *Ṛgveda* the root 'तन्' has been used in the sense of 'विस्तार' ('to extend', 'to spread', 'to stretch'), and as the reversed meaning of 'तन्' created

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verb it means 'दीर्घम्' ('for long'), but as a noun it means 'दीघकालं (व्याप्य); ('throughout the long period of time'). See also *Aitareya-āraṇyaka* 3.2.4 (p. 136—चिरमिव जीविष्यति ....).

28. See Wilson, *Ṛig-veda-sanhita*, Vol. V, p. 55; Griffith, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, Vol. II, p. 146; Ramesn Chandra Datta, *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (translated into Bengali), p. 863, Ludwig, *Der Rigveda*, I, No. 401 (p. 425); and Grassmann, *Rig-veda*, Vol. I, p. 424.

    In his *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, col. 514 Grassmann follows Böhtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Worterbuch* and gives 'abspannen' (='to relax', 'to slacken', 'to unyoke') and 'schlaff machen' (='to make loose of slack') as the German equivalents for 'अव + √तन्'.

29. See, for instance, 'गुण' (merit) and 'अवगुण' (demerit), '√गण्' (to regard) and 'अव + √गण्' (to disregard), '√गै' (to celebrate) and 'अव + गै' (to denounce, to sing deprecatingly), '√मन्' (to esteem) and 'अव + √मन्' (to despise). and so on.

by its association with 'अव' is not at all unsuitable in the *Ṛgvedic* verse (8.19.20) containing the expression 'अव स्थिरा तनुहि भूरि शर्धताम्', Geldner renders 'अव तनुहि' as 'entspanne' (='do the reverse of extending', i. e. 'reduce', 'contract').[30] So, in 'मा चिरं तनुथा अपः' (in *Ṛgveda* 5.79.9) also, the root 'तन्' should be taken to mean 'to extend', 'to spread', 'to stretch'; and in this expression 'अप' is clearly the object of 'तनुथाः' and 'चिरम्' is either an adverb meaning 'for long' (दीर्घम्) or a noun (with the second case-ending) meaning 'over a long time' (दीर्घकालं व्याप्य). So, this expression (मा चिरं तनुथा अपः) should be translated thus :

"*Do not spread out the work for long (over a long time)*".

Now, the question is "What is the work which, if spread out over a long time would make Uṣas punishable like a thief ?"

From the *Ṛgvedic* hymns and verses in praise of Uṣas we learn that this goddess had a number of important functions. We have shown elsewhere[31] that the night, with its blinding darkness and the tyranny of wolves, snakes and other ferocious beasts and also of bands of more dangerous and desperate thieves and robbers, was the most dangerous time in the life of a Vedic Aryan, who for his one safety and also for that of his near and dear ones, waited eagerly for the advent of the dawn. Thus, in *Atharva-veda* 19.48.2 a prayer is made to the night in the following words :

"O night ! mother ! commit thou us to the dawn; let the dawn commit us to the day, the day to thee, O shining one."

A similar prayer is to be found in *Atharva-veda* 19.50.7, which says :

"Unto the dawn, O night, do thou commit us all, free from guilt; may the dawn bestow us on the day, the day on thee, O shining one."

Being thus longed for by all creatures[32] and adored by them that she may be visible,[33] the dawn speeds to the east[34] and knows no

30. Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, Vol. II, p. 321.
31. *Our Heritage*, XIII, 1965, Part I, pp. 106-109.
32. *Ṛgveda* 7.75.7.
33. *Ibid.*, 1.48.8.
34. *Ibid.*, 1.92.4.

delay[35]. She rides a big, shining car[36] drawn by ruddy, *strong swift, docile and well-harnessed steeds,*[37] and rushes to men.[38] Like a warrior casting his darts or a swift charger scattering enemies she disperses the hostile glooms,[39] baffles animosities,[40] scatters foes,[41] and drives away the malevolent.[42] By her sense-bestowing light[43] she restores the consciousness of all living beings[44] and inspires life in them.[45] She protects mortals[46] as well as their sacred rites by forcing the hostile beings to withdraw.[47] Although *she 'wastes away the life of mortals like the skilled wife of a hunter cutting (off the limbs of) birds'*[48] *and thus consumes their youth*[49] *and shortens their longevity day by day,*[50] she brings health[51] and fortunate days to human habitations.[52] She directs all household affairs,[53] and rouses men drooping in sleep to exert for wealth, food, enjoyment, etc.[54] With her approach the sacred fire is kindled in every dwelling,[55] and pious men perform their sacrificial rites, which

35. *Ibid.*, 1.48.6, 113.3.
36. *Ibid.*, 1.48.10, 5.80.2, 6.64.4, 7.78.1; 1.123.7, 3.61.2, 6.65.2, 7.78.1.
37. *Ibid.*, 1.113.14, 3.61.2, 4.51.5, 6.65.2, 7.75.6, 7.78.4. According to *Ṛgveda* 1.49.1, 1.92.2, 1.124.11 and 5.80.3 the car of Uṣas is drawn by ruddy cows.
38. *Ibid.*, 1.48.7.
39. *Ibid.*, 6.64.3; see also *ibid.*, 1.92.4-6, 5.80.5-6.
40. *Ibid.*, 4.52.4.
41. *Ibid.*, 7.75.1.
42. *Ibid.*, 1.48.8.
43. *Ibid.*, 4.51.1.
44. *Ibid.*, 1.92.6., 4.52.4.
45. *Ibid.*, 1.113.16, 1.48.10.
46. *Ibid.*, 1.123.3.
47. *Ibid.*, 1.113.12.
48. *Ibid,*, 1.92.10.
49. *Ibid.*, 7.75.5.
50. *Ibid.*, 1.92.11, 1.124.2 and 10, 7.75.5.
51. *Ibid* , 1.123.1.
52. *Ibid.*, 1.124.9.
53. *Ibid.*, 1.48.5.
54. *Ibid.*, 1.48.1ff., 1.92.9., 1.113.5-7, 1.124.12, 4.51.5, 5.79.1ff., and so on.
55. *Ibid.*, 1.124.11.

give them longevity as well as health, vigour, wealth and progeny.[56] She is worshipped at the first (daily) rite;[57] and being gratified by hymns and sacrifices she gives ample wealth which brings in fame, progeny, troops of slaves, cattle and horses.[58]

All these acts the dawn has to perform during her short stay before sunrise. But if she spreads out her work over a long time and does not speed up to finish it quickly, she not only makes men continue in sleep and thus fail to dot heir secular and religous works in time with consequent loss to their life and property but also does positive harm to them by leaving her work incomplete and prolonging the darkness which is very favourable for the sinister activities of deadly enemies and ferocious wild beasts and reptiles.

Thus, by delaying her work the dawn harms the life and property of the people and thus fails to undo the great mischief done to the latter by *stealing daily a part of their longevity.* Consequently, in the said hymn the dawn is asked to be very particular about her appearance and activities and is warned that in case she fails to do her work in time, the closely following sun will overtake and punish her like a thief (who is sure to be captured and punished by a heroic pursuer in case his work of stealing is not finished quickly but is continued after sunrise).

But the mischievous activities of the dawn which make her comparable to a thief show that the latter, to be the fit standard of comparison for the life-killing and otherwise injurious dawn, cannot be an ordinary one who steals minor things and does no harm to one's body or life. So, in the expression 'नेत् त्वा स्तेनं यथा रिपुं तपापि सूरो अर्चिषा etc.' the word 'स्तेन' (which, though meaning 'a thief', is by itself incapable of denoting his harmful character as well) requires a qualifying adjunct to enable it to serve the said purpose; and the only word in the said expression which can be taken to characterise 'स्तेन', is 'रिपु', which is usually taken to mean an 'an enemy' or 'a foe'. But we cannot overlook the fact that a thief who is punishable for an offence cannot but be considered as an enemy by the punisher (who, as we have said

56. *Ibid.*, 1.92.14, 1.124.12, etc.
57. *Ibid.*, 6.64.5
58. *Ibid.*, 1.92.8.

elsewhere,[59] is the same as the person wronged or the king). So, in the said expression the word 'रिपु', if it has been used to qualify 'स्तेन', as Sāyaṇa, Mudgala and others say,[60] cannot be taken to mean simply 'a foe', 'an enemy' or 'hostile', as has been done by Griffith, Ludwig and others[61] (because in that case the use of this word 'रिपु' becomes quite unnecessary). Geldner's rendering of this word ('रिपु') as 'betrügerischen' (=deceitful) is equally unacceptable, the *Ṛgveda* mentioning no 'deceitful' act of the dawn which may facilitate her comparison with a 'deceitful' thief. So, we have to interpret the word 'रिपु' in a different way and to take it to mean 'हिंसक' (injurious harmful); and for this meaning of this word we may refer to a good number of verses of the *Ṛgveda*. For instance, in *Ṛgveda* 7.104.10-11 a prayer is made to Agni for the destruction of that man—the enemy (रिपुः), the robber (स्तेनः), the theft-committer (स्तेयकृत्)—who designs to injure the essence of the sacrificers' food, horses, cattle and bodies and seeks these persons' destruction by day or by night; in *Ṛgveda* 3.30.15 Indra is invoked to destroy the sacrificers' quiver-bearing foemen (रिपवः) who are malignant mortals (ह्रुत्वासो मर्त्यासः) armed with mischievous weapons (or, with ill arts—दुमायिवः); *Ṛgveda* 2.34.9 mentions the injurious (रिपु) mortal foe (मर्त्य रिपु) who cherishes wolf-like enmity against the sacrificers; in *Ṛgveda* 6.51.7 the Vasus are asked to so provide that the enemy (रिपुः) may injure his own person; *Ṛgveda* 1.36.16 mentions a mortal foe (मर्त्यो रिपुः) who strikes one with sharp weapons; in *Ṛgveda* 1.148.5 it is hoped that the hostile (रिपवः), both skilled and fain to harm,

59. *Our Heritage*, XIII, 1965, Part I, pp. 120-122.

60 For Mudgala's commentary see *Ṛgveda* (edited by Vishva Bandhu, with the commentaries of Skandasvāmin, Udgītha, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Mudgala), Part IV, p. 1924 See also Ludwig and Geldner's translation of *Ṛgveda* 5.79.9 on p. 467 above of this article.

61. For Griffith and other' translation of *Ṛgveda* 5.79.9 see pp. 467-68 above of this article. See also Sāyaṇa and Mudgala's commentaries on this verse.

It has already been said that in translating the said verse of the *Ṛgveda* Grassmann overlooks the word 'रिपुम्', for which he gives no equivalent. (See his translation given on p. 467 of this article).

may never injure Agni; in *Ṛgveda* 1.189.5 Agni is asked by the sacrificers not to give them up to the voracious, malevolent foe (रिपु); in *Ṛgveda* 2.23.16 the Stenas (thieves) are called enemies (रिपवः) delighting in violence (द्रुहस्पदे निरामिणः); and *Ṛgveda* 8.18 14 mentions the sacrificers' mortal foe (मर्त्यं रिपु) who wishes to do them harm. These and similar other verses of the *Ṛgveda* show that in early times the word 'रिपु', which must have been derived not from √रप् as is said in the Uṇādisūtra 'रपेरिच्चोपधायाः'[62] but from √रिप्

62. According to this Sūtra, 'रिपु' is derived from √रप् with the addition of the suffix 'उ' and the change of the penultimate vowel 'अ' into 'इ'. As Sanskrit grammarians take √रप् (as well as √लप्) to mean 'to speak distinctly' (रप लप व्यक्तायां वाचि–Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita's *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1924, p. 186, Sāyaṇācārya's *Mādhavīya-dhātu-vṛtti*, ed. Ananta Śāstrī Phadake and Sadā-śiva Śarmā Śāstrī, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Benares, 1934, p. 87, and Maitreya Rakṣita's *Dhātu-pradīpa*, ed. Srish Chandra Chakravarti, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1919, p. 35), Bhaṭṭoji-dīkṣita explains this Sūtra as "अनिष्टं रपतीति रिपुः" (i.e. a 'रिपु' is one who speaks undesirably, ominously or harmfully). But as one, more particularly a Stena, does not become a 'रिपु' simply by making undesirable, ominous or harmful statements, the meaning of √रप्, if it has formed the basis of the word 'रिपु', must have been different. As a matter of fact, besides √रप्( = √लप्), meaning 'to speak distinctly', 'to praise', which is found used in the forms 'रपत्' in *Ṛgveda* 1.174.7 and 10.11.2 and 'रपति' (preceded by the Indeclinable 'प्र') in *Ṛgveda* 10.61.18, there was in the pre-Vedic days another √रप् meaning, 'to harm', 'to hurt', 'to injure', and this is shown not only by the word 'रपस्' evidently derived from the root √रप् with the addition of the suffix 'असुन्' ( = अस्) as in the cases of the words 'पयस्, सरस्. सदस्, चेतस्, त्यजस्', etc. (cf. the Uṇādi-sūtra 'सर्वधातुभ्योऽसुन्') and employed in the sense of 'harm', 'injury', 'disease', 'mischief' etc. in some of the verses of the *Ṛgveda* (such as 1.69.8, 2.33.3, 2.33.7, 6.31.3, etc.) but also by the word 'रफित' (occurring in *Ṛgveda* 10.117.2) which Sāyaṇa

derives from the root 'रफ्' meaning 'हिंसा' (to harm, to hurt', 'to injure'—रफतिर्हिंसार्थः :—Sāyaṇa's commentary on *Ṛgveda* 10.117.2) and explains as 'दारिद्र्येण हिंसितः' and which is translated, more or less after Sāyaṇa, by Wilson as 'the sufferer', by Griffith as 'the needy', by Grassman as 'hungernd' (=hungered, hungry) in his *Ṛgveda* and as 'beschädigt' (=injured, harmed, hurt), 'krank' (=ill, sick, diseased) and 'elend' (=afflicted, distressed) in his *Wörterbuchzum Rig veda* (col. 1146), and by Ludwig as 'in üblem zustande' (=in bad condition) [although Geldner renders it as 'klappernd' (=keeping up a noise) most probably by following Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava who explains 'रफिताय' as 'शब्दायमानाय]. Sanskrit roots similar to '√रप्' and '√रफ्' (both meaning 'to harm', 'to hurt', 'to injure') are '√तुप्' and 'तुफ्', 'तुम्प्' and '√तुम्फ', '√त्रुप्' and '√त्रुफ्' and 'त्रुम्प्', and '√त्रुम्फ्', all of which mean 'हिंसा' according to Sanskrit grammarians. (See, for instance, *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, pp. 186 and 223, *Mādhavīya-dhātu-vṛtti*, pp. 88 and 329, and *Dhātu-pradīpa*, pp. 35 and 107). We shall see in the immediately following foot-note that like the हिंसार्थ root 'रिफ' found used in *Atharva-veda* 3.28.1 in the form 'रिफती' and mentioned in Sanskrit grammars (such, for instance, as *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, p. 223, *Mādhavīya-dhātu-vṛtti*. p. 328 and *Dhātu-pradīpa*, p. 107), the root 'रिप्' also was used in the pre-Vedic days to mean 'to harm', 'to hurt', 'to injure'.

It may be mentioned in this connection that like √रप् the English verb 'ra' means 'to utter' (as in 'to rap out' meaning 'to utter with sudden voilence') and to strike with a quick, sharp blow'. See also the English word 'rapacious', and the Danish and Swedish words 'rap' and 'rapp' respectively, both meaning 'a blow.'

As both √रप् (meaning 'हिंसा') and 'रिप्' became obsolute even as early as in the *Ṛgvedic* age, Sanskrit grammarians, who came much later than the Vedic period, were compelled to derive the word 'रिपु' from the surviving root 'रप्' meaning 'to speak', to utter distinctly.'

meaning to hurt', 'to harm', 'to injure',[63] was used to mean such an enemy as did harm not only to one's property but also to one's body or life; and with this meaning this word ('रिपु') is to be taken to characterise 'स्तेन' in the line 'नेत् त्वा स्तेनं यथा रिपुं तपाति सूरो अर्चिषा etc.', so that the comparison between Uṣas and the Stena may be complete.

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63. Although Sanskrit grammarians make no mention of any root 'रिप्' *meaning 'to injure', 'to harm', 'to hurt'*, its pre-Vedic existence is indicated (1) by the words 'रिप्', 'रिप्र' and 'रिपु' (which must have been derived with Kṛt suffixes from the root 'रिप्' now lost to us and of which the first, viz. 'रिप्', means 'injurious enemy' as in *Ṛgveda* 7.32.12 quoted below or 'injury' as in *Ṛgveda* 2.32.2 [रिपः हिंसारूपा मायाः—Sāyaṇa], 7.60.9 [रिपः हिंसाः—Sāyaṇa] and 7.104.18 [रिपः हिंसाः—Sāyaṇa]), (2) by the Uṇādi-sūtra 'रपेरिच्चोपधायाः' (explained in the immediately preceding foot-note) which, in deriving the word 'रिपु', practically makes '√रप्' into '√रिप्', (3) by the हिंसार्थ root 'रिफ्' (mentioned in Sanskrit grammars such as the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, p. 223, *Mādhavīya-dhātu-vṛtti*, p. 328 and *Dhātu-pradīpa*, p. 107 and occurring in the form 'रिफती' in *Atharva-veda* 3.28.1) which, like '√रफ्', 'तुफ्' etc. (beside '√रप्', '√तुप्' etc.—all meaning 'हिंसा') points to a synonymous root 'रिप्' known to the early Aryans, (4) and also perhaps by the root 'रिप्' (forming the basis of the word 'रिरिपुः' in *Ṛgveda* 8.85.8) which most probably means 'to do mischief' and not 'anschmieren' (= to cheat) or 'betrügen' ( = to deceive to cheat) as said in Bohtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, Grassmann's *Rig-veda* and *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, and Geldner's *Der Rigveda*.

Very much like Bohtlingk and others Ludwig translates 'रिरिपुः' as 'schlechtes getan haben' (=have performed meanly).

It may be interesting to note in this connection that the English word 'rip' (a verb) means 'to divide or separate into parts by cutting or tearing', 'to tear off, out, or open, by violence', 'to take away by cutting or tearing', that in Norwegian and Swedish dialects there

is the verb 'ripa' (or 'rippa') meaning 'to scratch', 'to tear', and that the Icelandic 'rifa' (a verb) means 'to tear', 'to rend'. The English verb 'rive' (meaning 'to rend asunder by force') may also be mentioned here. Cf. also the Frisian and Older Danish 'rippe', and Low German and Flemish 'rippen'.

According to Sanskrit grammarians √रिफ् also means 'कत्थन' ('to boast', 'to brag', 'to praise', 'to flatter', 'to abuse'). So, the corresponding root 'रिप्' also might have been used in the same sense. In English 'to rip out' means 'to give vent to hastily and violently'.

We have already seen from the *Ṛgvedic* verses quoted above that the word 'रिपु' often meant not an ordinary enemy but an injurious or hurtful one. In *Ṛgveda* 7.32.12 the expression "न दभन्ति····रिप:" has been explained by Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava as "न हिंसन्ति····रिपव:" and by Sāyaṇa as "····रिप: रिपव: न दभन्ति न हिंसन्ति". Wilson translates it as "Enemies overcome not....", Griffith as "....no foes subdue", Grassmann as "....beschäd' gen Feinde nicht" (=....foes do not injure), and Ludwig as "....betören feinde (versündigungen) nicht" [=....foes (committing sins) do not stupefy], but Geldner renders it as "····hinter-gehen die *Schelme* nicht", (=....the rogues do not *cheat*). From the use of the word 'दक्ष' (meaning 'strength' or 'ability' according to Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Sāyaṇa, Wilson, Griffith, Datta, Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner and others) in connection with Indra immediately after the said expression in the same verse and from the fact that the root 'दभ्' has been used in some places of the *Ṛgveda* (such as 1. 148. 5, 10.165.3, and also perhaps 6.28.3, 10.87.9 and 10.120.4) to mean 'to injure', 'to harm', it appears that the meaning of the word 'रिप्' also was once associated with creation of injury. As regards 'रिप्र', which the *Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa* (ed. Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, Nagpur, 1954, 1.28, p. 14), and Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Sāyaṇa, Udgītha, Uvaṭa, Mahīdhara and others take to mean 'पाप' (sin) and Whitney translates as 'evil' and 'defilement', Wilson as 'sin', Griffith as 'impurity', 'defilement', 'blot', 'stain' etc., Grassmann as 'Unreinigkeit' (=impurity, uncleanliness) and 'Schmutz' (=dirt, filth), Ludwig as 'befleckung' (=stain, pollution), Geldner as 'Unreine' (=impurity), and Keith as 'pollution', it is probable that the meaning of this

Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Wilson, Keith, Macdonell, Das and Datta take 'स्तेनम्' and 'रिपुम्' in the said line as independent words,[64] but we cannot overlook the facts that, as we have alredy seen, the comparison between Uṣas and a 'Stena' remains incomplete due to their common property (साधारण धर्म) being imperfect, in case the word 'स्तेनम्' is not qualified by the word 'रिपुम्' in the said line, that nowhere in the verse containing the said line there is any word denoting alternation and that there are other verses in the *Ṛgveda* in which Stenas have been called 'Ripus' (harmful enemies).[65]

In commenting on the *Ṛgveda* Skandasvāmin, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and Mudgala take 'सूर' to mean 'the sun' on many occasions,[66] and on a few others[67] Veṇkaṭa-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa take this word to mean 'a highly heroic person' (सुवीर्यः). Being used in this Veda in connection with the sun as well as fire,

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word also was originally based on creation of injury. For interpretation of 'रिप्र' see Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and Udgītha's commentaries on the *Ṛgveda* (9.78.1, 10. 17.10, 10.16.9), Sāyaṅa's commentaries on the *Atharva-veda* (6.51.2, 18.3.17) and the *Taṭttirīya-saṁhitā* (1.2.1.1) of the *Kṛṣṇa-yajurveda*, Uvaṭa and Mahīdhara's comment-aries on the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (4.2) of the *Śukla-yajurveda*, Whitney and Griffith's translations of the *Atharva-veda*, Wilson, Griffith, Datta, Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner's translations of the *Ṛgveda*, and Keith's transla-tion of the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* (p. 19).

64. See Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava's commentary (....यथा स्तेनं रिपुं च पुरुषो बाधते....) on *Ṛgveda* 5.79.9; Wilson, A.C. Das and R.C. Datta's translation of this verse quoted above (on p. 467 of this article); Keith,*Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, p. 120 ('....not to delay her coming, that the sun may not scorch her as a *thief or an enemy*'); and Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 47 ('She is once asked not to delay, that the sun may not scorch her as a *thief or an enemy*')

65. See *Ṛgveda* 2.23.16 (referred to above) and 6.51.13. Also *Ṛgveda* (ed. Vishva Bandhu, with the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and others) 5.85.13.

66. *Ibid.*, 1.50.9, 66.1, 71.9, 121.10, 121.13, 122,15, and so on.

67. *Ibid.*, 9.10.9, 66.18, 91.3, and 10.8.3.

the word 'अर्चिस्' means 'ray' (of the sun)[68] and 'flame' (of fire)[69]; and the root 'तप्', as used in this Veda, sometimes means 'to afflict', 'to harass'[70] and sometimes 'to scorch', 'to burn'.[71] So, in the line 'नेत् त्वा स्तेनं यथा रिपुं तपाति सूरो अर्चिषा' etc.' the words 'सूर' and 'अर्चिस्' and the root 'तप' may be taken respectively to mean 'the sun', '(the sun's) ray', and 'to afflict' (or, 'to scorch') in the case of the dawn, and 'a hero', 'the flame (of fire)', and 'to burn' in the case of the thief (स्तेन). Although Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner, Whitney and Griffith take 'सूर' to mean invariably 'the sun',[72] we feel inclined to interpret it as 'a hero' also, because, as we have shown elsewhere,[73] it was only a hero who could venture to capture and torment a desperate thief in the Ṛgvedic age and also because one or two days' basking in the sun cannot normally cause a man's death. Even if, following Griffith, Ludwig, Geldner and others, we take the word 'सूर' to mean only 'the sun', the heroic punisher of the thief may be left to be understood from the context for the reasons mentioned above.

The word 'सुजाता' has been interpreted by Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava as 'शोभनजनना'[74] (having handsome birth), and by Sāyaṇa and Mudgala[75] as 'शोभनप्रादुर्भूता' (becoming manifest beautifully). Following Sāyaṇa more or less, Wilson renders it as 'bright-born[76] or 'well-born'[77], but Griffith, Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner

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68. *Ibid.*, 5.79.9, 8.7.36, 7.62.1.
69. *Ibid.*, 2.8.4; 5.17.3; 6.60.10; 10.87.2, 11, 14, 17.
70. *Ibid.*, 1.105.8, 6.59.8, 7.83.5, 10.33.2, etc.
71. *Ibid.*, 5.43.7, 7.34.19, 10.182.3, etc.
72. Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner, Griffith and others' translation of the *Ṛgveda*, and Whitney and Griffith's translation of the *Atharva-veda*. See also Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, col. 1566.
73. *Our Heritage*, XIII, 1965, Part I, p. 101 (foot-note 147) and p. 115 (foot-note 207).
74-75. For Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Mudgala's explanation of the word 'सुजाता' see their commentaries on *Ṛgveda* 5.79.1
76. See Wilson, *Rig-veda-sanhita*, Vol. III. pp. 275-6.
77. *Ibid.*, Vol., III, p. 428. By retaining the word 'सुजाता' in his Bengali translation of the *Ṛgveda* Ramesh Chandra Datta appears to have taken it to mean 'well-born'.

take it to mean 'high-born' or 'noble by birth'.[78] Although, from the charming beauty Uṣas creates by her appearance in the eastern horizon, it is very natural for one to speak of her as 'having handsome birth' or 'becoming manifest beautifully' or 'being bright-born' (or 'well-born'), these meanings, as given to the word 'सुजाता' by the said commentators and Wilson, do not suit the contents of any of the verses of *Ṛgveda* 5.79 in which Uṣas has been requested to appear in due time, to perform all her duties speedily, and to bestow upon her worshippers food, kine, wealth and fame. It is hardly necessary to say that the lovely, bright or well-got birth of Uṣas or her beatiful manifestation has little to do with her timely appearance, her due performance of her work, or her bestowal of food, kine etc. on her worshippers. As a matter of fact, the said meanings given to the word 'सुजाता' by Sāyana and the other commentators and Wilson serve no other purpose than mere laudation of Uṣas. On the other hand, in as many as four verses of the present hymn (5.79)and also in numerous other places of the *Ṛgveda*[79] Uṣas has been called 'daughter of Dyaus' (दिवो दुहिता). As in the *Ṛgveda* Dyaus is said to be the parent of Indra, Agni, Sūrya, Parjanya, the Ādityas, the Aśvins, the Maruts and the Aṅgirases and is thus recognised as a deity of high position and respect,[80] Uṣas being his daughter, can reasonably claim to be 'high-born' or 'noble by birth' ; and, as a matter of fact, she has been called so, because one, born in a high family and thus inheriting a number of good qualities and a high sense of self-respect, generally becomes dutiful and munificent and cannot entertain even the idea of being punished as a thief. So, by calling her 'सुजाता' the eulogist not only elates her with a careful eye to his own interest but also tries indirectly connected with his life and property.

As to the meaning of the word 'अश्वसूनृता' there is great divergence of opinion among scholars. Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava takes it to

78. See Griffith, Grassmann, Ludwig and Geldner's translation of *Ṛgveda* 5.79.

79. See, for instance, *Ṛgveda* 1.30.22 ; 1.48.1, 8. 9; 1.92.5, 7 ; 1.113.7 ; 1.124.3 ; 4.15.10–11 ; 4.52.1 ; 5.80.5–6 ; 6.64 4-5 6.65.1, 6 ; 7.75.4 ; 7.77.6 ; and so on.

80. This position and respect of Dyaus must be due to his past glory which made him the father of so many deities mostly of wide recognition, the *Ṛgveda* containing no single hymn addressed to this god.

mean 'कल्याणनिर्गच्छच्छब्दा' (from whom sounds come out agreeably) or 'कल्याणाश्वा' ('whose steeds are auspicious or excellent')[81]; Sāyaṇa explains it as 'अश्वार्था प्रियसत्यात्मिका स्तुतिवाक् यस्याः सा' ('to whom pleasant and true laudatory speech is made for the sake of horses'); and Mudgala interprets it as 'अश्वात्मा प्रियसत्यात्मिका वाक् यस्याः सा' ('whose utterance based on horses is pleasant and true')[83] Following Sāyaṇa Wilson translates it as 'sincerely praised for (the gift of) horses', and Datta as 'duly eulogised for horses' or 'people eulogise thee whole-heartedly for gaining horses'; but Griffith renders it as 'delightful with steeds', Grassmann as 'rossereiche' (=rich in horses), Ludwig as 'an rossen trefliches besitzende' (=with excellent possession of horses), Geldner as 'Rosseschenkende' (=bountiful of horses),[83] Roth as 'von jubel der Rosse begleitete' (=accompanied by the joyous neigh of horses),[84] and Macdonell as 'resplendent with steeds'.[85] Although this word (अश्वसूनृता) consist of the component parts 'अश्व' and 'सूनृता', we fail to understand how Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava derived these two words and dissolved the said compound, so that he might deduce from it the said peculiar meanings by overlooking the position of its component parts.[86] We also do not know how Griffith, Grassmann and others derived the word 'सूनृता' to suit the meanings given by them to the word 'अश्वसूनृता'. From Griffith's statement "pleasant to those whom thou favourest on account of the horses which thou bestowest[87] made in clarification of the meaning of his rendering ("delightful with thy steeds") of the word 'अश्वसूनृते', tends to indicate that following Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word 'सूनृता' (=सूनृतानि) as 'सुष्ठु नृत्यन्ति शोभनयोग्यानि ( v. l -योगानि), in his commentary on *Ṛgveda*

81-82. For Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Mudgala's explanation of the word 'अश्वसूनृता' see their commentaries on *Ṛgveda* 5.79.1.

83. For Griffith, Grassmann, Ludwig, and Geldner's rendering of this word see their translation of *Ṛgveda* 5.79.9 on pp. 467-68 of this article.

84. For Roth's rendering see Griffith, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I, p. 546 (note 1).

85. *Vedic Mythology*, p. 47.

86. Cf. 'अश्वसूनृता' with its meaning 'कल्याणाश्वा'.

87. Griffith *Hymns of the Ṛgveda*, I. p. 546 (note 1).

7.57.6,[88] he, like Aufrecht,[89] derived the word 'सूनृत' irregularly from the root 'नृत्' (meaning 'to dance') and somehow took it to mean 'delightful'. Or, he followed Böhtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, in which the word 'सूनृत' (an adjective) has been given as meaning 'fröblich' (=joyous, gay), 'wonnig' (=delightful), 'freundlich' (=friendly, kind) and 'freundlich wahr' (=truly friendly, really kind), and the word 'सूनृता' has been taken as a noun (in the feminine gender) meaning 'Freude' (joy, delight), 'Wonne' (=joy), 'Frohlocken'(=exultation, shout for joy), 'Jubel' (=jubilation, loud rejoicing), 'Freundlichken' (=friendliness, kindness), etc. As regards the meanings given to the word 'सूनृत' by Grassmann, Ludwig and other foreign scholars it may be said that some of them are based on those given by Böbtlingk and Roth and the rest are arbitrary and are based more on surmise than on a clear understanding of the grammatical formation of this word.

From Sāyaṇa's explanation of 'अश्वसूनृता' it is evident that he took this word to be a Bahuvrihi compound (most probably in view of the accent being in its normal place in the first member) and dissolved it either as 'अश्वेभ्यः सूनृता यस्याः सा' (in which 'अश्वेभ्यः'

88. This verse ends with the words "जिगृत रायः सूनृता मघानि", which Sāyaṇa explains thus : "तथा, हविषो दातुर्यजमानस्य सूनृता सूनृतानि सुष्ठु नृत्यन्ति शोभनयोग्यानि (v. l.-योगानि) मघानि जिगृत उद्गिरत प्रयच्छतेत्यर्थः ।"

89. In his *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. V, p. 193, foot-note 311, J. Muir refers to Theodor Aufrecht's view about the derivation and meaning of the word 'सूनृत', saying :

"Professor Aufrecht thinks that this word 'सूनृत' is to be explained as follows. He considers it to be a derivative from नृत्, "to be in motion", compounded with सु. Its first meaning is 'movable' (सूनृता मघानि—Rv. 7.57.6), then 'brisk', 'alert' (सूनृत, predicated of Indra, 8.46.10, सूनृते of Ushas, 4.55.9; 1.123.5, 124.10, 8.9.17). As a feminine substantive in the plural it means either 'activity' or, with a supplied गिर्, 'lively, voices' (सूनृतानां गिराम्—3.31.18); नेत्री सूनृतानाम् is Ushas as a stimulator, or rather, leader of joyful voices (of birds, etc.); ......................."

means 'अश्वलाभाय') or as 'अश्वार्था सूनृता यस्याः सा' or as अश्वार्थं or अश्वेभ्यः सूनृतं यस्याः सा' It is hardly necessary to say that this expounding is abnormal, cumbrous and highly laboured. Sanskrit grammarians give no rule allowing a word with the fourth case-ending to enter into a Bahuvrihi compound and to be placed first or providing for the elimination, optional or otherwise, of the second member of such a compound word (viz., 'अश्वार्था' in the present case) forming the first member of a Bahuvrihi compound as does not have either any of the Avyayas 'प्र', 'परा' etc. as its first member and a verbal adjective (formed with the Kṛt suffix 'क्त') as its second member[90] or 'नञ्' (>अ) as its first member and a verbal derivative (such as 'विद्यमान') implying present existence as its second member[91]. Still Sāyaṇa dissolved the said compound (अश्वसूनृता) either by using the fourth case-ending in its first member (अश्व) or by taking the first member of the said compound to be 'अश्वार्था' (which has neither any of the Avyayas 'प्र', 'परा' etc. nor 'नञ्' as its first member and of which the second member 'अर्थ', which is neither a verbal adjective formed with the Kṛt suffix 'क्त' nor a verbal derivative implying present existence, is to be eliminated); and as the word 'सूनृता', which has been taken by him to mean 'प्रियसत्यात्मिका स्तुतिवाक्', has evidently been derived with the Kṛt suffix 'क्त' (>त) employed either in the passive to denote the object (कर्म, viz., 'वाच्', or in the neuter voice (भाववाच्य) to denote the action meant by the verb सूनृता which is understood) and as, consequently, the sixth case-ending in 'यस्याः' cannot be taken to have been used to connect 'यद्' (of 'यस्याः') with 'सूनृता' as its subject (कर्ता) or object (कर्म), an additional word 'संबन्धे' has to be added to the said Vigrahavākya (given by Sāyaṇa) for the sake of the sixth case-ending in 'यस्याः',[92] although this case-ending, when used to *mean* such

90-91. Cf. the Vārttikas "प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्य वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः" and "नञोऽस्त्यर्थानां वाच्यो वा चोत्तरपदलोपः" which sanction, under particular circumstances, the optional elimination of the second member of a compound word forming the first member of a Bahuvrihi compound.

92. Thus, according to Sāyaṇa, the complete Vigraha-vākya for "अश्वसूनृता" must have been "अश्वेभ्यः (or, अश्वार्था) सूनृता (वाक्) यस्याः (संबन्धे") जनैरुच्चारिता.

relations as that between the owner and the owned (स्वस्वामिभावादि-संबन्ध), does not require the actual use of the word 'संबन्ध' for indicating the superficial relation of the अनुक्त कर्ता or कर्म with a कृदन्त verb. So, Sāyaṇa's expounding of the compound 'अश्वसूनृता' is highly defective. As no prayer has been made for horses in any of the verses of the Sūkta (5.79),[93] his explanation is irrelevant and does not suit the contents of any of the verses containing it, nor does it serve the purpose of the eulogist or promote his cause in any way.

Mudgala's expounding and explanation of the word 'अश्वसूनृता', being based on those of Sāyaṇa, are equally defective; or, they have become more faulty because of the use of the word 'आत्मन्' even with 'अश्व'.

Sāyaṇa and other commentators have offered other explanations of the word 'सूनृत' or 'सूनृता' as occurring in some other places of the Vedic works. Thus, in commenting on *Ṛgveda* 7.57.6 Sāyaṇa, as has been said above, derives 'सूनृता' ( = सूनृतानि) from the root 'नृत्' and explains it as 'सुष्ठु नृत्यन्ति शोभनयोग्यानि (v. l. '-योगानि')'; and he takes 'सूनृता' ( = सूनृतानि) in *Ṛgveda* 8.45.12 to mean 'साधनानि', 'सूनृताः' and 'सूनृतानाम्' in *Ṛgveda* 3.31.21 and 3.31.18 to mean 'प्रियतमाः, and 'प्रियतमानाम्' respectively, 'सूनृतानाम्' in *Ṛgveda* 8.32.15 to mean 'शोभनानाम्', and 'सूनृते' (vocative) in *Ṛgveda* 1.123.5, 1.124.10 and 8.9.17 to mean 'सुष्ठु नेत्रि'. In commenting on *Atharva-veda* 3.20.3 he gives 'प्रियवागात्मिका' as the synonym for 'सूनृता', the formation of which he explains saying : "शोभना चासौ ऋता चेति सूनृता, पृषोदरादित्वाद् रूपसिद्धिः". Skanda-svāmin, on the other hand, gives as alternative explanation of 'सूनृता' (occurring in *Ṛgveda* 1.30.5), thus : "शोभनेषु नृषु तायते इति वा सूनृता। तनु विस्तारे। क्विप् च................[94] Although some of these meanings of 'सूनृता' might be used to explain the word 'अश्वसूनृता' a little more conve-

93. In *Ṛgveda* 5.79.7 the poet requests Uṣas to bring 'lofty and resplendent fame' to their 'wealthy patrons who bestow rich gifts of steeds and kine' on them, but does not pray to her for horses.

94. See *Ṛgveda* (ed. Vishva Bandhu, with the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and others), Part I, p. 94.

niently, they would not make it suit in any way the contents of the verses in which it occurs or serve the purpose of the eulogist or promote his cause.

Under these circumstances we should like to derive the word 'सूनृत' from the root 'नृ' (meaning 'नय'—'to carry', 'to take or lead to', 'to conduct'—'नृ नये'[95] (with the addition of the Kṛt suffix 'क्त' (>त) in the passive voice (कर्मणि वाच्ये). Like the roots 'कॄ', 'गॄ', 'तॄ', 'दॄ', 'शॄ', 'सॄ' etc., which, with this suffix, give respectively the forms 'कीर्ण', 'गीर्ण', 'तीर्ण', 'दीर्ण', 'शीर्ण', 'सीर्ण' etc., '√नॄ + क्त' becomes 'नीर्ण', but it also becomes 'नृत' irregularly in the Veda. In commenting on Ṛgveda 1.123.5, 1.124.10 and 8.9.17 Sāyaṇa explains the word 'सूनृते' (vocative) as 'सुष्ठु नेत्रि', evidently by taking it to have been derived from √नृ (meaning 'नय') with the addition of the Kṛt suffix 'क्त' in the active voice and in the present tense. For the shortening of 'ॠ' of √'नॄ' in the Kṛdanta word 'नृत' we may refer, as parallel cases, to 'दृति' (='a leather bag') derived from √दॄ with the Kṛt suffix 'क्तिन्' (>ति) and to 'नृतु' which Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Sāyaṇa and Udgītha derive, in some cases, from the root 'नॄ', (meaning 'नय') by means of the (Uṇādi) suffix 'तु'.[96] The lengthening of 'उ' of the prefix 'सु' ( in सु + √नॄ + क्त) is due to Vedic irregularity as in the cases of the words 'सूभर्व',[97] 'सूयवस',[98]

95. *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, pp. 196 and 229; *Mādhavīya dhātu-vṛtti*, pp. 138 and 369; *Dhātu-pradīpa*, pp. 57 and 126. See also Sāyaṇa's commentary on Ṛgveda 5.52.12, 8.92.3, 10.29.2, etc. in which "नॄ नये" has been quoted.

96. See, for instance, Sāyaṇa's commentary on Ṛgveda 8.92.3 and 5.52.12 (in which he says "नृतुः । नृतिशृध्योः कूः इति कूप्रत्ययः । ह्रस्वश्छान्दसः । ....यद्वा नॄनये । औणादिकस्तुप्रत्ययः । धातोर्ह्रस्वश्छान्दसः । स्तोतृभ्यो गवादिनेता...." and "....नृतुः....'नॄ नये' इत्यस्य वा....रूपम्" respectively and Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava's commentary on Ṛgveda 1.130.7, 2.22.4, 6.29.3, etc. (in which he takes the word 'नृतु' to mean 'नेतृ', evidently by deriving it from √नॄ with the suffix 'तु').

97. This word occurs in Ṛgveda 10.94.3 and 102.5. According to Sāyaṇa it means 'शोभनभक्ष'.

98. For this word see *Atharva-veda* 4.21.7, 7.77.11, 7.79.1 and 9.15.20 (in which 'सु' and 'यवस' mean 'शोभन' and 'तृण' respectively).

'सूनर'[99] etc. So, 'सूनृत', thus derived from √नृ, should be taken to mean 'excellently (or well) carried (or borne or conducted)', or 'brought in conveniently'; and 'अश्वसूनृता' (*feminine*) *should be expounded as* 'अश्वैः सूनृता' *and taken to be a Tatpuruṣa compound meaning 'excellently carried (or borne) by horses or 'brought in conveniently by horses.'* The position of the accent in its normal place in the first member should not stand in the way of our expounding this word (अश्वसूनृता) in the manner mentioned above. As the word 'अश्व' is derived from the root 'अश्' with the (Uṇādi) suffix 'क्वन्' (>व), its initial 'अ' (and not the final one belonging to the suffix) is accented according to Panini's rule "ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम्" (6.1.197) which says that the initial vowel of a word which is formed with a suffix of which the final 'ञ्' or 'न्' becomes इत्, is accented invariably; and as this word (अश्व) which is the first member of the compound 'अश्वसूनृता', has the third case-ending in the V graha-vākya, it retains its accent in accordance with Pāṇini's rule "तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः" (6. 2. 2), which states that *in a Tatpuruṣa compound the first member preserves its original accent, when it is* (1) a word meaning resemblance, or (2) *a word having the third case-ending*, or (3) a word having the seventh case-ending, or (4) a word denoting a standard of comparison, or (5) an Indelinable, or (6) a word having the second case-ending, or (7) a word formed with any of those Kṛt suffixes (viz., tavyat, tavya, anīyar, kyap, yat) which are called Kṛtyas.

We have already seen from the *Ṛgveda* that the car of Uṣasi s drawn by strong, swift, docile and well-harnessed steeds. So, the poet calls her 'अश्वसूनृता' [='excellently carried (or borne) by

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99. For this word (which is derived from √नृ) see *Ṛgveda* 1.40.4, 5.34.7, 8.29.1, 10.115.7; and for its feminine form (सूनरी) see *ibid.*, 1.48.5, 8.10, 4.52.1, 7.81.1.
Sāyaṇa explains the word'सूनर' as 'सुष्ठु नेता' ( in *Ṛgveda* 8.29,1) and 'सुष्ठु प्रेरकः' (in *Ṛgveda* 10.115.7), and the word 'सूनरम्'as 'सुखेन नीयते इति' (in *Ṛgveda* 1.40.4) and 'शोभनमनुष्यम्' (in *Ṛgveda* 5.34.7); and the word 'सूनरी' is explained by him as 'सुष्ठु नयतीति' or 'सुष्ठु नेत्री.

horses' or 'brought in conveniently by horses'] and thus reminds her that as she has got no difficulty of coming in due time, there should be no reason for her being late in her appearance at day-break or taking a long time to finish her work. As a matter of fact, by praising Uṣas as 'सुजाता' and 'अश्वसूनृता' the eulogist inspires her to be punctual, dutiful and munificent and urges her to have a sufficiently high sense of self-respect, so that she may not allow herself to undergo the humiliation of being punished as a hurtful thief for her misconduct. It is hardly necessary to say that in using these words of praise the eulogist had in view his own interest and also that of his near and dear ones.

The difficult words and expressions contained in *Ṛgveda* 5.79. 9 have been explained above; and we are now in a position to translate it more appropriately as follows :

"*Shine up,* [*O dawn,*] *daughter of heaven, do not spread out thy work for long* (*or, over a long time*);

*Let not the sun scorch thee with his ray as a hero burns a hurtful thief with the flame* [*of fire*], *O* [*one who is*] *high-born* [*and is*] *carried excellently by steeds* !"

This verse indicates that as, with the advance of the day, the sun beats the dawn with his rays more and more till the latter ceases to exist, a hero of the *Ṛgvedic* age, whether he was a king or not, went on torturing an injurious thief with fire after the latter's capture for his misdeed and thus brought about his death. The continued torture of such a thief appears to have been motived by the captor's spirit of revenge (and not by his intention of extracting ransom, in which case there would be the possibility of the thief's being let off in spite of his crime).

Another interesting verse on the capital punishment of thieves is *Ṛgveda* 8. 67. 14 which runs as follows :

ते न आस्नो वृकाणाम् आदित्यासो मुमोचत ।
स्तेनं बद्धम् इवादिते ॥

In commenting on this verse Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa explain 'वृकाणाम्' as 'हिंसकानाम् आदातृणां वा'. It is evident that by the term 'हिंसक' these two commentators mean 'a *person* who injures, hurts or destroys'. and by 'आदातृ' they mean 'a *man* who binds, fetters or captures' and not 'one who steals' ('अपहर्तृ', 'स्तेन', as said

by them as well as by Mudgala in their commentaries on *Ṛgveda* 1. 42. 2 and by Sāyaṇa in commenting on *Ṛgveda* 7. 38. 7)[100] evidently because of the irrelevance and absurdity of the idea of rescuing 'a bound thief' (स्तेनं बद्धम्) from the clutch of 'thieves' and more so from their 'jaws' (cf. 'आस्नो वृकाणाम्.........मुमोचत'). In *Ṛgveda* 1. 116. 14 and 117. 16 the expression 'आस्नो वृकस्य' occurs, and very much like Veṅkāṭa-Mādhava Sāyaṇa explains it as 'विकर्तकस्य शुनः आस्यात्' (i. e., from the jaws of a wild dog biting its victim's body into pieces); and he as well as Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and others takes the word 'आसन्' occurring in numerous other passages of this Veda invariably to mean 'आस्य' (mouth). But, curiously enough, unlike Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava[101] he gives 'सकाशात्', without any authority, as the synonym for 'आस्नः' in the verse of the *Ṛgveda* quoted above, evidently because a man's 'mouth' (आस्य) is not his chief organ for inflicting injury on others. So, from the use of the words 'आसन्' for the organ of attack of a 'वृक', from the numerous references to the prevalence and rapacity of wolves of the Vedic age,[102] and from the mention of the difficulty of saving one's life from the 'jaws' of a wolf,[103] it is evident that the words 'वृक' and 'आसन्'

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100. Sāyaṇa explains the word 'वृक' occurring in *Ṛgveda* 7.38.7 as "वृकम् । वसूनाम् आदातारम् । चोरमिति शेषः ।"

101. In Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava's commentary the word 'आस्यात्' (and nothing else) has been given as a synonym for 'आस्नः'.

102–103. Wolf, a dangerous savage beast—*Ṛgveda* 6.51.14, 8.66.8 (=Griffith's *Hymns of the Ṛgveda* 8.55.8); wolves prowling around and to be met with on the way—*Ṛgveda* 10.133.4, 1.105.11 ; fear of attack of wolves—*ibid.*, 10.95.14, 15 ; wolves causing great danger and suffering to life—*ibid.*, 2.34.9, 7.38.7, 10.127.6 ; prayer for protection from the rapacity of wolves—*ibid.*, 1.120.7, 1.183.4, 2.28.10, 2.29.6 6.51.6, 10.127.6.

For the difficulty of saving life from the jaws of wolves see particularly *Ṛgveda* 8.67.14. Also cf. *ibid.*, 1.116 14, 1.117.16, 10.39.13.

Wolves attacking deer, sheep, etc.—*ibid.*, 10 105.7, 8.34.3, etc.

Giving of a hundred sheep and of cattle as food to wolves—*ibid.*, 1.116.16, 1.117.17. 6.13.5.

in the said verse of the *Ṛgveda* really mean 'wolf' and its 'mouth' respectively. So, like Wilson, Griffith, Grassmann, Ludwig, Geldner and others[104] one may feel tempted to translate this verse as follows -

"From the jaws of wolves, ye Ādityas, rescue us like a bound thief, O Aditi !"

But it is difficult to overlook the facts that the root 'मुच्' in 'मुमोचत' points to a victim's being already in the grip of his enemy (from which rescue is sought), that there is no indication in this or in any other verse of the said hymn that wolves had already made their attack, that in some of the verses of this hymn there is mention of 'enemies', 'destroyers' and 'doers of sin' and also of their 'snare' and 'malevolent design'[105], and that the simile of 'a bound thief' exposed to rapacious wolves has been used by the eulogists to describe correctly their own pitiable condition under the tyranny of their enemies. So, it appears more reasonable for one to hold that in the case of those who offer their prayer to Aditi and the Ādityas in this hymn the words 'वृक' and 'आसन्' as Sāyaṇa's explanation, referred to above, shows, have been used as Upalakṣaṇa for 'extremely harmful enemies' and their 'grip' respectively. But in the case of 'a bound thief' these words are

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104. Wilson, Griffith and others translate the said verse thus :

"*Ādityas*, deliver us from the jaws of the destroyer like a bound thief ; O Aditi, (deliver us)."—Wilson, *Rig-veda-sanhita*, Vol. V. p. 141.

"As such, from mouth of ravening wolves, O ye Ādityas, rescue us,

Like a bound thief, O Aditi"—Griffith, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda,* Vol. II, p. 211 (where the number of the Sūkta containing this verse is 56).

"als dise, Ādityas, sollt ihr uns ausz der wölfe rachen retten/wie den gefeszelten dieb, o Aditi" [=As such, Ādityas, rescue us from the jaws of wolves, like a bound thief, O Aditi !"] —Ludwig, *Der Ṛigveda*, I, No. 126 (v. 14).

"Ihr Ādityas, befreit uns aus dem Rachen der Wolfe, die wir wie ein Dieb gefesselt sind, o Aditi". [=Ye Ādityas, free us from the jaws of wolves, (us) who are bound like a thief, O Aditi"]—Geldner, *Der Ṛigveda*, II, p. 391.

105. See *Ṛgveda* 8.67,6, 21, 11, 17, 8, 15.

to be taken in their literal sense to mean 'wolves' and their 'mouth' respectively, there being no reason why these words should sacrifice their literal meanings in this case also. So, the said verse should be translated in a better way as follows :

*"From the grip of the (wolf-like) destroyers, ye Ādityas, rescue us (who are powerless and helpless).*

*Like a bound thief (delivered) from the jaws of wolves, O Aditi."*

A careful study of *Ṛgveda* 8.67 containing the said verse shows that the worshippers of Aditi and the Ādityas understood that it was their 'sin' which made them fall helplessly in the hands of their extremely harmful enemies. So, they pleased their deities with eulogy and offer of oblations in their sacrificial rites[106] and deeming themselves sinless thereby and worthy of the favour of their deities, prayed in the said verse for protection from the hands of their deadly enemies.

In the third pāda of this verse the eulogists compare their own condition with that of a bound thief; and from this we learn that after being captured a thief was bound with a rope and killed by exposure to wolves. But if, like the worshippers pleasing Aditi and the Ādityas for deliverance from the grip of their enemies, he could satisfy his captors (i.e. the persons robbed or the king' men) by any means, he was spared his life and released from bondage.

It is to be noted in the said verse of the *Ṛgveda* that the word used for 'thief' is 'स्तेन' and that it is not qualified by the word 'रिपु' (as in *Ṛgveda* 5.79.9 explained above). We have said elsewhere[107] that a Stena of the Vedic age was a fairly dangerous type of thief and more harmful than a Tāyu So, it is evident from this verse that in case a Stena did not do any harm to the body or life of his victims, he could escape death, after capture, by satisfying them with the offer, as we shall see below, of sufficient wealth mainly in the form of cattle.

The other verses in which there may be an indirect mention of the killing of thieves and robbers are *Ṛgveda* 7.104. 10-11 which say :

106. *Ibid.*, 8.67.3, 5.6.13.

107. See *Our Heritage*, XIII, 1965, Part I, pp. 102-3.

"(The person) who wants to destroy, (O) Agni, the essence of our food, of (our) horses, of (our) cows, of (our) bodies—may he—the adversary, the robber, the theft-committer—go to destruction and be completely deprived of person and progeny."

"May he be estranged from body and progeny; may he be (thrown) below all the three worlds; may his reputation, (O) gods, be lighted who seeks our destruction by day or by night."

Although *Ṛgveda* 5.79.9 and 8.67.14 (cited and translated above) testify definitely to the harmful thieves and robbers' being subjected to capital punishment for their crimes, the latter verse shows that this punishment was not invariable in all cases. As regards the less dangerous thieves (who did not do any harm to their victims' body or life) a remarkably different and moderately humane treatment was made under particular circumstances. This is shown by *Ṛgveda* 7.86.5 which runs as follows :

अव द्रुग्धानि पित्र्या सृजा नोऽव या वयं चकृमा तनूभिः ।
अव राजन् पशुतृपं न तायुं सृजा वत्सं न दाम्नो वसिष्ठम् ॥

"Cast off, ( O Varuṇa, our bonds caused by) our forefathers' acts of violation (of your laws) and (also by) those which (we) did with our persons.

Liberate (me) Vasiṣṭha from (your) fetters, (O) king, like a (petty) thief (who is set free) from the (tying) rope *after he has satisfied (his captor or captors or the king*[108]) *with (the offer of ) cattle*, (and) like a calf (liberated) from (its) tether.[109]

108. From the word 'राजन्' (in the line 'अव राजन् पशुतृपं न तायुं सृजा etc.') it appears that in some cases it was the king who punished a thief or let him off.

109. For our interpretation of the word 'पशुतृपम्' and translation of the said verse (which contains this word) see *supra* pp. 451-55.

Our views on the interpretation and importance of the said word (पशुतृपम्) was also published in a shorter form in the *Vishvesvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. IV, 1966, Part I, pp. 34-38. But unfortunately our original paper was changed so much by reckless deletion and

From this verse we learn that in the *Ṛgvedic* age the petty thieves who stole clothes, utensils and other things but did not do any harm to the body or life of the people, were set free, after they had satisfied their captor or captors or the king by paying a heavy ransom in the form of cattle. This verse further indicates that if these criminals failed to pay the desired ransom, they were tortured for some time and then put to death, just as a remorseless sinner violating Varuṇa's laws is made by this god to suffer from physical troubles caused by diseases and finally punished with death in case he does not please this god by implicit obedience or requisite penance.

A very interesting fact which becomes evident from the verses quoted and explained above is that in the *Ṛgvedic* age there was practically no strict law to control the punishment of thieves and robbers. Any individual who became a victim of theft or robbery but succeeded in capturing the mischief-maker, could take law in his own hand in punishing the latter according to the dictates of his passion; and the State did not interfere with the activities of such an individual, even if he punished a thief or robber with death. This state of affairs was most probably due to the frequency and extremely dangerous nature of these crimes, which made the people's life highly insecure. We have shown elsewhere[110] how theft and robbery were looked upon by the people of the Vedic age as extremely sinful acts, for which death was considered to be the meet punishment. In explaining the etymology of the word 'तायु' occurring in *Ṛgveda* 4.38.5 Yāska refers to the view of the

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insertion of words and by other nonsensical corrections (!) in the name of editing that I myself failed to understand from it what I had meant to say. Even the title of the paper (which I had given as "Interpretation and Importance of a Word of the *Ṛgveda*") was not spared. It was changed to "Interpretation and Importance of the Word 'paśutṛpa' in *Ṛgveda* 7.86.5", although 'paśutṛpa' is a mistake for 'paśutṛp'. I cannot help adding here that about this mischievously destructive act of the editor I was kept in complete darkness and no proof was sent to me for correction or approval for reasons best known to him. Even my earnest request to publish a list of errata in the immediately following issue of the said Journal fell on deaf ears.

110. *Our Heritage*, XIII, 1965, Part I, pp. 115-123.

Nairuktas (etymologists) who take a Tāyu to be 'one in whom (a) bad (type of ) sin has grown completely in magnitude' (संस्त्यानमस्मिन् पापकमिति नैरुक्ताः).[111] We have shown elsewhere[112] that a Tāyu was a petty thief and much less dangerous than a Stena, Taskara or Malimlu (or Malimluca). Still his sin was considered very grave and unpardonable; and this feeling of hatred and animosity must have made the Vedic people so furiously violent to theives and robbers.

111. *Nirukta* (ed. Lakshman Sarup, Lahore, 1927) 4.24 (p. 86).

112. *Our Heritage*, XIII, 1965, Part I, pp. 101-2.

## THE PROFESSIONAL JESTERS OF THE VEDIC AGE*

Jests have formed in all times and climes a very light but pleasant diversion for people of all ages and positions, and the necessity of these has been felt equally by kings and commoners either for relief after languid hours or for relaxation after prolonged physical and mental strain. It is for this reason that jesters have been found to exist from early times in civilized societies in the different parts of the earth, and people, naturally inclined to or equipped for jesting, have often taken it up as a delightful profession for easy solution of their bread problem. In India, as in other countries, there have been professional jesters to amuse people of varied positions in life, but their function and use have been, in many respects, unique and quite different from those of the fun-makers of the other parts of the world. The evidence of the early Sanskrit works shows that the jesters attached to the royal assemblies in ancient India enjoyed a position of high respect. They were given by their royal masters the status of Sacivas (Counsellors and treated as trusted friends (*vayasya, sakhā*), because they served the latter not only as amusing fun-makers giving relief to their taxed mind and nerves but also as witty and extremely cautious guides and psychologists guarding them constantly against dangers from enemies. That this position and function of the jesters of ancient India was not a later development but had its beginning as far back as in the Vedic period, is shown by a verse of the *Ṛg veda* itself which runs as follows :

अश्वा वोल्हा सुखं रथं हसनामुपमन्त्रिणः ।
शेपो रोमण्वन्तौ भेदौ वारिन् मण्डूक इच्छतीन्द्रायेन्द्रो परिस्रव ॥
(IX. 112.4)

In this verse the expression '*hasanām upamantriṇaḥ (icchanti)*', which is highly significant and important for our purpose, is explained by Sāyaṇa thus :

उपमन्त्रिणः उपमन्त्रवन्तो नर्मसचिवा हसनाम् उपहसनां वाचमिच्छन्ति.[1]

* *I. H. Q.* Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2, pp. 190-200.

1. These words occur in Sāyaṇa's explanation of the said verse of the *Ṛgveda*, which runs as follows :
   वोल्हा लक्ष्यं देशं प्रापयन् अश्वः सुखं कल्याणं रथमिच्छति । उपमन्त्रिणः····

So, according to Sāyaṇa, it refers to the coaxing *pleasure-companions* who want fun-making for the creation of laughter. The said verse has been quoted in full in Yāska's *Nirukta*, and Mukunda Śarman explains the words 'hasanām upamantriṇaḥ' in the same way and even in almost the same words as those of Sāyaṇa.[2] K. F. Geldner also takes the word 'upamantrin' in the sense of 'fun-maker' and translates the first half of the said verse thus :

"Das Zugpferd wünscht den leichten Wagen, *die Spassmacher Gelächter,.... .... ....*" (The draught horse desires a light chariot, *the fun maker's laughter,.... .... ....*)[3].

H. H. Wilson, on the other hand, translates the said half as follows :

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उपहसनां वाचमिच्छन्ति । ····यथा····मण्डूकः वारित् । इद् अवधारणे । उदकमेवेच्छति । तथाहं तत्परिस्रवणमिच्छामि । तस्मात् इन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव इति ।

It will be noticed that, so far as the use of the expression 'tathāhaṁ tvat-parisravaṇam icchāmi' is concerned, Sāyāṇa's explanation of the said verse of the *Ṛg-veda* is not beyond objection. As a matter of fact, the author of this verse invokes Soma (juice) to flow out in favour of Indra, desiring this god as its drinker, just as a draught horse desires a light chariot, the jesters desire such (appropriate) words as excite others' laughter. ................and a frog desires water.

2. See Yāska's *Nirukta* (with Mukunda Śurman's commentary which claims to follow that of Dugācārya; Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition, Bombay, 1930), 9.2 (p. 408)--

   यथा वोल्हा वहनसमर्थः । अश्व लक्ष्यं देशं प्रापयन् सुखं सुखकरं कल्याणं रथमिच्छति । उपमन्त्रिणः उपमन्त्रवन्तो नर्मसचिवाः । हसनाम् उपहसनाम् उपहासप्रधानां वाचमिच्छन्ति । ········तथा अहं त्वत्परिस्रवणमिच्छाम्यतः इन्द्राय····परिस्रव···· ।

   It should be mentioned here that Durgācārya left all the words from 'hasanām upamantriṇaḥ' without comment—See Yāska's *Nirukta* (edited, with Durgācārya's commentary, by Satyvarata Sāmaśramī and published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta), 9.2. In his note on p. 2 of vol. IV of his edition Satyavrata Sāmaśramī says :

   टीकाकृता भगवद्दुर्गाचार्येणायं खण्डः कुतो न व्याख्यातः, कथं वा ऋग्भाष्ये प्रमाणत्वेनासौ सायणेनागृहीतश्चेति चिन्त्यमेव ।

3. Geldner, *Der Ṛgveda* (Dritter Teil, Neunter Bis Zehuter Liederkreis), Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 35, 1951, p. 119.

"The draught horse (desires) a cart easy (to draw); *those who invite guests* (*desire*) *merriment*;.... .... ....."[4]

But Wilson's interpretation of the word 'upamantriṇaḥ' does not appear to be happy and reasonable, because 'upa+ √mantṛ', as known from the Saṁhitās (of the *Yajurveda*), the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas,[5] mean simply 'to call', 'to invite', 'to beckon', and there is nothing in the word 'upamantrin' which may indicate that 'upa+ √mantṛ', which forms the basis of this word, is not to be taken in a general sense but is to be understood in a meaning limited by its association with a particular type of persons (called 'guests') as its objects. Moreover, the primary meaning of the word '*hasanā*' (derived from the root '*has*'-to laugh) is 'laughter' or 'what creates laughter', 'merriment' being its secondary meaning. Under these circumstances we have got no other way than taking the word '*upamantrinaḥ*' to mean 'jesters'. As in the said verse this word connot be taken in its literal sense

4. Wilson, *Ṛg-veda* (translated into English), vol. V (edited by E. B. Cowell and W. F. Webster, Poona, 1928), p. 338.
5. See *Taittirīya-saṁhitā*(Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona, with Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya), ii. 4.1.1, ii. 6.6.5, vi. 2.7.1 and vi. 4.10.1; *Kaṭhaka-saṁhitā* (ed. Leopold von Schroeder, Leipzig, 1900-10), 107 25-6 and 29.1; *Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṁhitā* (as used in *Vaidika-padānukramakosa*, edited by Vishva-Bandhu Shastri and published by Vishveshvara-nand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, India, 1955, vol. I—Saṁhitā-bhāga part II, p. 935), 39.3, 45.2; *Aitareya-brāhmana* (Ānandāśrama Press edition, Poona), 7.17 (p. 855); *Satapatha-brāhmana* (ed. A. Weber, Berlin), i. 4.1.34. iii. 2.1.19-21 and 5 1.21, iv. 1.4.4 and 3.3.7, v. 3.5.14, etc.; *Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa* (ed. Bibliotheca Indica, Asiatic Society Calcutta), vii. 5.20; *Saṅkhāyana-brāhmaṇa* (Ānandāśram Press edition) i. 2; *Sāṅkhāyana-āraṇyaka* (Ānandāśram Press edition, 1922), 4.1; *Taittiriya-āraṇyaka*, (Ānandāśram Press edition with Sayaṇa-bhāṣya), ii. 2.1.

   Sāyaṇa does not appear to be right in taking the word 'upamantraye', occurring in *Aitareya brāhmaṇa*, 7.17 (p. 855), to mean 'vyavaharāmi'. Martin Haug gives 'instal' as the English equivalent for it, but A.B Keith translates it as 'invite'.—See Haug's *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* II (translation with Notes). p. 469, and Keith's *Ṛgveda-brāhmaṇas*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 25, 1920, p. 306.

to mean 'those who call or invite or beckon' and thus be associated with '*hasanāṁ*' without an unwarranted stretch of imagination, it naturally comes to be a technical term, used with a conventional meaning, for a particular class of people meant for fun-making and known in later times as '*Narma-sacivas*'. Although there is no second use of the term 'upamantrin' in the whole range of the Vedic literature now extant and the word 'mantrin' is found used (very likely in the sense of 'a minister') only as late as in the Śatarudrīya section of the *Yajurveda*,[6] the post-Vedic tradition of the connection of *Mantrins*' and '*Upamantrins*' primarily with the crown indicates that the fun-making Upamantrins, mentioned

6. See *Taittiriya-saṁhitā*, iv. 5.2.2, *Kapiṣṭhala-kaṭha-saṁhitā* (edited by Raghu Vira and published by Mehar Chand Lacchman Das, Lahore, first edition, 1932), xxvii. 2 and *Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā* (ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1929 with Uvaṭācārya and Mahidhara's commentaries) 16.19. In all these places the word '*mantrin*' (in the expression '*namo mantriṇe vāṇijāya kakṣāṇāṃ pataye namaḥ*) has been used as an epithet of Rudra.

In commenting on the *Taittiriya-sāṁhitā* Sāyaṇa explains the word 'mantri' thus : *rāja-sabhāyāṁ mantrālocana-kuśalo mantrī*'; and A. B. Keith translates it as 'minister' (see Keith's translation of the *Taittiriya-saṁhitā* part 2, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 19. p. 355).

Similarly, in their commentaries on the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* Uvaṭa and Mahidhara explain this word as '*Prasiddha eva mantrī*' and *ālocana-kusālo mantrī*' respectively.

Griffith, Eggeling and Muir, on the other hand, take it to mean 'prudent', 'wise' and 'observant' respectively and to be an adjective to '*vāṇija*' immediately following the word 'mantrin'.–See R. T.H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yojurveda*(translated with a Popular Commentary; second edition, Benares, 1927), p. 170; J. Eggeling's translation of the Śatarudriya section of the *Yajurveda* given in his *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (translated into English), part IV (Sacred Books of the East, vol 43 Oxford, 1897), p. 151; J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, vol. IV (second edition, London, 1873), p. 327. But we fail to understand how the root '*mantṛ*', which is at the basis of the word '*mantrin*', can be taken to men prudence, wisdom or observance. A counsel may be prudent or imprudent, wise or unwise, and observance is outside the meanings of the said root.

in the *Ṛgveda*, were state employees. Thus, we see that even in the *Ṛgvedic* period there were fun-makers who were associated with the crown and recognised as state officers. The term *'upamantrin'* used in the plural number for these fun-makers seems to indicate that a number of them was attached to a particular king in this capacity and that they not only diverted and pleased their royal patron by their fun-making but also worked as his counsellors and guides on occasions calling for their service. As a matter of fact, the root *'mantṛ'* has been used in the *Ṛg-veda*[7] on one occasion, according to Sāyaṇa, to mean 'holding secret counsels.'

Besides the state jesters mentioned above, the Vedic people must have been familiar with the popular fun-makers also. In their long lists of persons to be offered to relevant deities in a Puruṣa-medha Sacrifice, the *Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā* and the *Taittirīya brāhmaṇa* mention a *'kāri'* who is to be sacrificed to *'Hasa'*, the god of laughter (*hasāya kārim*)[8]. In commenting on the former work Mahīdhara gives *'karaṇa-viśiṣṭam'* and *'karaṇa-śīlam'* as equivalents for the word *'kārim'* occurring in *Vājasneyī-saṁhita* 30.6 and 30. 20 respectively. Sāyaṇa, on the other hand, explains this word occurring in *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* iii. 4.2, as follows : "*kāriṁ nṛtyann iva yo gacchati tādṛśaṁ vikaṭa-gamanakāriṇam*". According to Śākaṭāyana, Pāṇini and others, the word *'kāri'* may be derived from the root 'kṛ' in two different ways–(i) by means of the Kṛt suffix *'iñ'* added in the feminine sense to mean 'work', 'action' (*kriyā,kṛti*) when a question and an answer (as in a dialogue) are implied,[9] and (ii) by adding the Uṇādi suffix *'iñ'* in the sense of a *'kāru'* ( artist—*śilpin* ).[10]

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7. *Ṛg-veda* i. 164.10. In this verse the word *'mantrayante'* has been explained by Sāyaṇa as *'guptaṁ parasparaṁ bhāṣante'*. Wilson translates it as 'take counsel'. In his *Ṛg-artha-dīpikā* Mādhava takes this word to mean 'kathayanti'. See *Ṛg-artha-dīpikā* of Mādhava (ed. Lakshman Sarup), vol. II (published by Motilal Banarasi Das, Lahore, 1940), p. 285.

8. *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* 30.6 and *Taittirīya-brābmaṇa* iii. 41

9. vibhāṣ-ākhyāna-paripraśnayor iñ ca.—Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādbyāyī* iii. 3.10.

10. kṛña udicāṁ kāruṣu—an Uṇādi-sūtra (in Pāda iv), for which see Bhaṭṭoji-dıkṣita's *Siddhānta-kaumudī* ( ed. Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1924), p. 312. Bhaṭṭoji-dıkṣita gives *'śilpī'* as the synonym for *'kāriḥ'*.

As in the *Vājasaneyī - saṁhitā* and the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* the word '*kāri*' has been used to mean a human being ( and not 'work' or 'action'--*kriyā, kṛti* ) and as there is no question or answer in the relevant places of these two works, its derivation with the Kṛt suffix '*iñ*' is impossible. So, it must be derived with the Uṇādi suffix '*iñ*' and taken to mean 'an artist' ( *kāru, śilpin* ). Now, we have already seen that Sāyaṇa takes this word ('*kāri*') to mean 'a person walking abnormally like one who goes dancing, as it were'. As neither this word itself (which has been derived from the root 'kṛ' meaning 'to do') nor the context in which it has been used in the said works, suggests in any way its slightest association with the idea of 'going' ( *gamana* ), normal or abnormal, Sāyaṇa's explanation must be taken as laboured and rejected consequently as absolutly implausible and unreliable. As to the equivalents '*karaṇa-viśiṣṭam*' and 'karaṇa-śīlam' given for it by Mahīdhara, it is rather difficult to say what this commentator actually means by these two expressions. If the word '*karaṇa*' is taken to mean 'a body' or 'an organ of sense', then '*karaṇa-viśiṣṭam*' cannot mean anything but one 'who is furnished with (or, characterised by) a body (or, organs of sense)', whereas '*karaṇa-śīlam*' should mean a (licentious) person 'habitually given to the body (or, organs of sense)'. But these two meanings, being quite different from each other and yielding no ground for relation between the *kāri* and the god of laughter cannot be utilised reasonably in the correct understanding of the meaning of the expression '*hasāya kārim*'. Even if 'hasa' is taken to mean '*upahāsa*' (ridicule), as Sāyaṇa has done on one occasion in his commentary on the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇs* (iii. 4.15),[11] then also we find no reason why one who is '*karaṇa-viśiṣṭam*' (furnished with, or characterised by, a body or organs of sense) should be an object of '*upahāsa*' (ridicule). If, again, the word '*karaṇa*' is taken to mean 'action' or 'work' (*kṛti, kārya*) and associated with *hāsya* (because a *kāri*, being as object of sacrifice to the god of laughter, who is his relevant deity, must have something to do with *hāsya* in some capa-

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As, in '*kāri*', there is the Vṛddhi vowel (ā), it could not be formed by the Uṇādi-sūtra 'sarva-dhātubhya in' (given in *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, p. 311), which allows only Guṇa (and not Vṛddhi).

11. hasāya puṁścalūm ālabhate // (Sāyaṇa's commentary *hasāya upahāsābhimānine puṁścalūṁ svecchācāriṇīm....*).

city or other), then *'kārim'*, according to Mahīdhara, comes to mean *'hāsya-karaṇa-viśiṣṭam'* (one who is distinguished by the 'act' of laughing) and *'hāsya-karaṇa-śīlam'* (one who is habituated to giving out laughter), i. e. one who himself is the frequent *doer* of the act of laughing. This meaning of the word *'kāri'* may appear to be very probable[12] so far as its relation with *'hāsa'* is concerned, but we cannot overlook the, fact that Sanskrit grammarians make no express provision for the formation of the word *'kāri'* meaning either 'a doer' or 'a distinguished or habituated doer', although, as we have already seen, they give a rule *(kṛña udīcāṁ kāruṣu)* for the the derivation of 'kāri' meaing a *'kāru'* (artist). As there is no use of the word 'kāri' in the whole range of the Vedic literature except in the places mentioned above and as the derivation of this word (as occurring is the said Vedic works) by the Uṇādi rule *'kṛña udīcāṁ kāruṣu'* admits of no objection and is perfectly logical from the point of view of meaning, there is no necessity of ascribing to it an unauthorised meaning and of deriving it, for that, by unnecessarily extending the scope of Pāṇini's rule 'uṇādayo bahulam' (iii. 3.1) by taking undue advantage of the word *'bahulam'* used in it. As a matter of fact, Pāṇini's use of this word in the said rule is not meant for allowing unrestricted freedom in the formation of Kṛdanta words and in ascribing any meaning to them according to ones sweet will or necessity, but it points to the irregular derivation of a large number of words, already in wide use in his days, about which he gave no rule in his *Aśṭādhyāyī*, even though these words could be derived irregularly, without coming under any general rule, by means of 'uṇ' and other affixes added to verbal roots. So, we have to set aside Mahıdhara's interpretations also as equally forced and unreliable and follow the Sanskrit grammarians in deriving the word *'kāri'* by means of the Uṇādi suffix *'in'* added to the root 'kṛ' according to the Uṇādi-sūtra 'kṛña udīcām kāruṣu' and in taking it to mean 'an artist', who, from his association with the relevant deity *Hasa* (the god of laughter) in the Vedic works mentioned above, must be an artist of laughter. It is hardly necessary to say that an artist of laughter is one who is not only an expert in giving out various kinds of laughter but is also capable of making

12. As a matter of fact, in their famous lexicon *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* Otto Bohtlingk and Rudolph Roth follow Mahidhara in giving karaṇa-śila' as a synonym for 'kāri' and translate it with the words 'eher jubelnd'.

others laugh by his expert fun-making. According to Griffith also, this word (*kāri*) as occuring in *Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā* 30. 6 and 20, meas 'artist' and 'jester' respectively;[13] and Eggeling takes it to mean 'artizan' in the said two places but is not sure about this meaning (as the alternative meaning 'singer of praises', given once after a querry, shows)[14].

That the above modification of the meaning of the root '*kṛ*' from context is nothing peculiar or abnormal, is shown by *Ṛgveda* viii. 21. 12, viii. 66. I and ix. 16. 5, in the first of which the word '*kāriṇaḥ*' is taken by Sāyaṇa to mean '*hiṁsāṁ kurvataḥ*' and translated by Wilson as 'contending against', in the second Sāyaṇa takes '*kāriṇam*' to mean '*hita-karaṇa-śīlam*' and Wilson translates it as 'beneficent'. and in the third '*kāriṇaḥ* is explained by Sāyaṇa as '*bala-karaṇaśīlāḥ*' and translated by Wilson as 'giving vigour'.[15] There are other instances of similar use of the root '*kṛ*' in the Vedic works, but it is needless to cite them here.

From the meaning of the word 'kāri' stated above it is evident that among the people of the Vedic age there were some who practised fun-making as an art for exciting others to laughter. Their mention by the term '*kāri*' (as distinct from '*upamantrin*') indicates that they were different from the court jesters and must have earned their livelihood by amusing the common run of people.

Now, the question arises as to whether the jesters of the Vedic age took any active part in the amorous activities of their patrons, royal or otherwise. We see that Kāmandaka mentions

13. R. T. H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yajurveda* (translated with a Popular Commentary), pp. 304 and 307.
14. See J. Eggeling's translation (pp. 413 and 417) of *Vājasaneyī saṁhitā* 30. 5-22 (on Puruṣa-medha Sacrifice) given in his *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (translated into English), part V (Sacred Books of the East, vol XLIV, Oxford, 1900), pp. 413-7.
15. H. H. Wilson, *Rig-veda* (translated into English), vol. V (Poona, 1928), pp. 62, 138, 214. For K. F. Geldner's interpretation of the said words of the *Ṛg-veda*, see his German translation *Der Rig-veda*, II (Harvard) Oriental Series, Vol. 34, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1951), pp. 326, and III (H. O. S., vol. 35), p. 21.

the court jesters by the term 'narma-saciva',[16] which must have come to be applied to them from a date much earlier than that of Kāmandaka. It is a fact that the word 'narma' has been used neither in the Ṛg veda, Sāma-veda and Atharva-veda nor in the Saṁhitās of the Yajurveda except that of the Vājasaneyins; and in the expressions *'narmīya rebham'* (occurring in *Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā* 30.6 and *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* iii. 4.2) and *'narmāya bhadravatīm'* (in *Taittirīya-brābmaṇa* iii. 4.15), the word *'narma'* has been used in a sense having no association with the idea of amours.[17] It is only in *Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā* 30.20 (*narmāya puṁścalūm*) where this word, being employed in connection with a *'puṁścalū'* (harlot), indicates the association of its meaning with amorous pastimes, but we cannot overlook the facts that the *Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa* (iii. 4.15) has *'hasāya puṁścalūm'* for *'narmīya puṁścalūm'* of the *Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā*(30.20) and that for the expression *"gītāya sūtaṃ nṛttāya śailūśam'* of this Brāhmaṇa ( iii. 4.2 ) the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (30.6) wrongly has *nṛttāya sūtaṁ gītāya śailūṣam* (although the Vedic and Purāṇic traditions associate the Sūta with 'music' and not with 'dancing', which is meant for Sailūṣas). So, it is not at all safe to make, on the basis of the expression *'narmīya puṁścalūm* of the *Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā*, any statement to the effect that the meaning of the word *'narma'* came to be associated with amours in the time of that Saṁhitā. As in the Vedic works this word (*narma*) has not been used in

16. See *Niti-sāra* (Trivandrum ed., 1912), 5. 20—

न नर्मसचिवैः सार्धं किञ्चिदप्यप्रियं वदेत् ।
ते हि मर्मण्यभिघ्नन्ति प्रहासेनैव संसदि ॥

"They must not say anything unpleasant to the [king's] jesters (*narma-saciva*), because the latter strike [people] in the inmost parts [of their mind and thereby bring out the secrets lying therein] even by means of loud laughter ( *prahāsa* ) in an assembly".

17. According to Sāyaṇa, *'narma'* means *'vinoda'* (pleasant diversion) and *'priya-vacana'* (pleasing words) in the expressions *'narmāya rebham'* and *'narmāya bhadravatīm'* respectively of the *Taittīrīya brāhmaṇa* (iii. 4. 2 and 15). Griffith and Eggeling translate this word (occurring in *Vājasaneyī-saṁhitā* 30.6—*narmāya rebham*) as 'sport' and 'fun' respectively.—See R. T.H. Griffith, *The Texts of the White Yajurveda* (translated with a Popular Commentary) p. 304. and J. Eggeling, *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* (translated into English), part V. p. 413.

connection with jesters and as the Vedic passages containing the mention of the *'upamantrins'* and the *'kāri'* are completely silent about the connection of these persons with amorous activities, we may hold that even the court jesters of the Vedic age, who had also to serve their royal patrons as counsellors and guides, took no active part in the amorous activities of the latter.

It appears that as the state jesters had to guard their royal patrons against dangers by their constant company and salutary advice, they naturally got associated more or less with the latter's amorous pastimes also; but it was in much later days that they came to be active helpers in these, probably in imitation of the popular fun-makers who, as known particularly from Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-sūtra*, lacked many of the privileges and activities of the state jesters for want of scope and were, in course of time, compelled by circumstances to associate themselves with fashionable men of wealth or with courtesans as active agents in their love affairs. There is hardly any doubt that in their choice of this modified vocation of life the popular fun-makers were influenced by their brothers of the same profession in state service, who did the duties of spies and psychologists in addition to their usual work of fun-making.

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